FAITH BASED ORGANIZATIONS IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST POVERTY
DENİZ FENERİ WELFARE AND SOLIDARITY ASSOCIATION
SAMPLE OF ANKARA BRANCH

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ABSTRACT

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DENİZ FENERİ WELFARE AND SOLIDARITY ASSOCIATION
SAMPLE OF ANKARA BRANCH

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Along with the power loss of welfare regimes in Europe, the problems which have always existed in the field of poverty started to reemerge as the one of the primary matters of humanity. However, in this period, the state whose intervention to economy was being already argued was deprived of the ability of intervention to the issue of poverty. After 1980s, the new generation social aid organizations emerged in the area of welfare, which was covered by the modern state institutions before. Some of these organizations can be titled as "faith based organizations" (FBOs) which are the organizations that refer directly or indirectly to a religion or religious values, and they function as welfare providers or as political actors. Today, faith based social aid organizations disperse into a wide area, from the sub groups of armed organizations to worship centers of several religions. These organizations perform a welfare function by carrying a number of activities. This study examines the FBOs in the sample of a non-governmental organization, Deniz Feneri (Light House) Association in Turkey. In this regard, the study opens a discussion for a new concept for the world as well as for Turkey.

Keywords: Poverty, faith based organizations, social welfare, religion

ÖZ

YOKSULLUKLA MÜCADELE EDEN İNANÇ TEMELLİ ORGANİZASYONLAR: DENİZ FENERİ YARDIMLAŞMA VE DAYANIŞMA DERNEĞİ ANKARA ŞUBESİ ÖRNEĞİ

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Avrupa genelinde sosyal refah rejimlerinin eski gücünü kaybetmesiyle beraber, insanlığın temel problemlerinden biri olan yoksulluk alanında var olagelen sorunlar yeniden belirgin biçimde kendini hissettirmeye başlamıştır. Ancak, bu dönemde, zaten ekonomik alana müdahalesi tartışmalı olan devlet aygıtı, yoksulluk gibi sorunlara da eskisi kadar müdahale etme gücünden de yoksun kalmıştır. Refah yıllarının yaşandığı periyotta temel olarak modern devletin doldurduğu refah alanında, 1980'lerden sonraki dönemde yeni nesil sosyal yardım organizasyonları ön plana çıkmaya başlamıştır. Bu örgütlerden bir kısmı; yapılanışında, işleyişinde belli dini motivleri, araçları, kavramları, söy1emleri taşıyan ve bir refah fonksiyonunu yerine getiren kurumlar şeklinde tanımlanan "inanç temelli organizasyonlar"dır. Günümüzün inanç temelli sosyal yardım organizasyonları, çok geniş bir alana yayılmakta, silahlı örgütlerin kollarından ibadet merkezlerine kadar değişik aktiviteler yürüterek sosyal refah fonksiyonunu yerine getirmektedirler. Bu çalışma inanç temelli organizasyonları, Türkiye'de bir sivil toplum örgütü olan Deniz Feneri Derneği Ankara Şubesi örneğinde tartışmakta, bu bakımdan dünyada yeni yeni sorgulanmaya başlanan ve Türkiye'de ilk örnekleri görülebilecek bir kavramı tartışmaya açmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Yoksulluk, inanç temelli organizasyonlar, sosyal refah, din

To My Grandmother…

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Poverty is one of the basic matters of humanity. Societies tried to solve this problem in several ways. Community based structures became important tools of struggling against poverty. Especially religion, including different faiths, provided a framework for this issue. By 18th and 19th century, the modern state emerged as a consequence of revolutions in political and industrial areas. These centuries brought a new social space in terms of welfare. However, such social debates were far from being covered by institutions. Poverty has always been observed as a global matter all over the world. In the west, the issue of welfare became an area of interest for the state after the economical recessions of 1929. The regulated Keynesian economy set a strong background for the applications of modern welfare. Particularly, after the Second World War, the West experienced a mass production and mass consumption based period, which was also a stable process in terms of social rights. The welfare era not only provided a more secure-institutional social welfare but also it brought a certain secularization and "privatization for religion" (Casanova, 1994, p.5). However, due to the 1970's oil crises, and technical developments in several areas, mass production based economy as well as the welfare model reached their limits. With the influence of the globalization trends, a "deregulation" started and it forced most of the economies to reform their welfare models into more flexible forms. While capital flows gained an extreme mobilization, national economies had to reform themselves according to the demands of globalization. The idea of "public" was abandoned. This meant the decline of public welfare and rise of deregulated markets.

At the same time, the rise of spirituality has been observed. Religious traditions started to refuse their marginal and privatized role (ibid.). This return of religious

values was formulated in several ways such as a reaction to the individualism of modern society and was used a political tool to cover the welfare area where a certain decline existed. Besides, this "post modern" period provided a new acceleration for the civil society.

By the 1980s, a bunch of organizations operating in the welfare area emerged. Some of these organizations can be nominated as "faith based organizations" (FBOs) which are organizations that refer directly or indirectly to a religion or religious values and they function as welfare providers or as political actors. (FACIT Project Proposal, 2007)[1] These organizations consisted of different categories which were mostly non-governmental. Some of them were established many decades ago. However, with the decline of the welfare state, they became the new actors and clear figures. Nowadays, their role in the welfare system and their efficiency is being examined. One of the primary questions is that in which terms an organization can be considered as an FBO. What kind of processes give rise of these organizations? What are the implications of FBOs and what kinds of welfare model do they suggest? What are the possible results of such kinds of welfare model given the political backgrounds? Do these organizations symbolize a return to traditional welfare or do they constitute a new welfare model?

This study tries to answer these questions by studying one sample organization in Turkey, a non-governmental organization (NGO) struggling against poverty. Deniz Feneri Welfare and Solidarity Association (Deniz Feneri Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Derneği) will be examined in the light of the literature, participant observations as well as depth interview based field researches.

[1] Faith Based Organizations and Exclusion in European City (FACIT) is a European Union Seventh Framework Program (FP7) collaborative project which was launched in 2008. FACIT is operated by seven partners: University of Antwerp as Coordinator (Belgium), Rijksuniversiteit Groningen (The Netherlands), Verwey-Jonker Instituut (The Netherlands), University of Cologne, (Germany) University of Exeter, (United Kingdom) Middle East Technical University, METU (Turkey) Fundación CIREM, (Spain) and Örebro University (Sweden). Additional information can be obtained from the official web site of the project: http://www.facit.be

CHAPTER 2

POVERTY, SOCIAL AID AND RELIGION

2.1 Concept of Poverty

There is no consensus on the definition of poverty. However, most definitions associate poverty with “lack” or “insufficiency” of the necessities required for human survival and welfare (Wratten, 1995, p.12). However, there is no agreement on what these basic human needs are or how they can be identified. Wratten points out the distinction of conventional and participatory definitions.

2.1.1 Conventional Definitions

2.1.1.1 Income-Consumption Based Definitions

Income and consumption is the most used method in measuring welfare. In market economies, the positive correlation between low income level and poverty constitutes the basis of this definition. According to the definition, goods society perceives as necessary can be identified. However, this is less problematic in the North, where poverty is generally a minority problem, than in the South, where it can be argued that the majority fails to achieve the minimum acceptable standard of living. By using these definitions, the World Bank’s World Development Report establishes two poverty lines: those with an income per capita below US$ 370 per year are considered poor, while those with less than US $275 per year are considered extremely poor. In 1994, 1.390 million people were estimated to fall into the “poor” category. Income and consumption data have been used to distinguish different groups such as the “new poor” (direct victims of structural adjustment), the

"borderline poor" (those near the poverty line) and the "chronic poor", who were extremely poor even before adjustments began. Nevertheless, the insufficiency of an income based conceptualization is always apparent. Such a definition does not measure accurately people's capacity to achieve education, information, legal rights, illness, threatened domestic violence or insecurity. Besides, incomes are commonly analyzed at the household level. Yet, individual members of a household do not have equal command over resource and those with low entitlement to consume resources (due, for example, to their age, gender or social status) may be hidden within relatively prosperous households. Both needs and living costs may vary considerably between rural and urban areas and between urban settlements of different sizes. For instance, there are rural areas which are not part of the market economy. In these areas a small standard can be achieved with a small production while a similar standard is higher in metropolitan areas (ibid.).

2.1.1.2 Absolute and Relative Definitions

The definition of "absolute poverty" assumes that the needs can be determined in a fixed form. These needs are vital needs: Water, health, hygiene, education, and transportation. Thus, absolute poverty relates those who do not have sufficient income to afford a minimum level of nutrition and basic needs. The conventional measure of absolute poverty is a headcount index which indicates the number of people who fall below a specific poverty line. This provides simplicity but there are always debates about where the poverty line can be set for a particular country. The international standard of $1 poverty line permits some comparisons among countries albeit very crude (Devas, 2004, p.16). This description is generally used by governments and organizations such as World Bank. As a consequence, absolute definitions do not consider inequalities in a society, they ignore social determination and changing form of these needs. Therefore, this definition has to be adjusted to social variables and technical improvements (Wratten, 1995 p.14).

Conventionally a distinction is drawn between absolute and relative poverty. Relative poverty is a more "flexible" concept. Relative poverty is concerned with the position of the poor in relation to the rest of the society. This concept provides the

opportunity to compare “minimum-need-definitions”. Thus, it provides an evaluation of the state in terms of relative poor and excluded people. The main concern of this concept is distribution of income with the share of national income received by the poor. By definition there will always be some level of relative poverty. The conventional ways of presenting relative poverty are through Lorenz curve and Gini index (Devas, 2004, p.16-17). However, there are several problems about these relative definitions. For instance, according to this definition, the poorer in developed cities such as London, New York City, Tokyo are poorer when compared to people in the developing cities such as Delhi and Rio because, people living in developed cities are extremely excluded when compared to the people in living in poor cities (Wratten, 1995:14). Besides, absolute and relative poverty can move in opposite directions: as economic growth lifts some out of absolute poverty but widens the gap between rich and poor (Devas, 2004, p.17).

2.1.1.3 Definitions According to the Social Indicators

Due to the deficiencies in these definitions, the social indicators have been created to define poverty. These social indicators detail the existing definitions by creating the concepts such as life expectancy, infant mortality, nutrition, the proportion of the household budget spent on food, literacy, school enrollment rates, sanitation, and accession to health clinics or drinking water. This definition is mostly used to contrast the welfare of rural and urban populations. In some specific compositions of these indicators, some scales have been constructed such as physical quality of life and human development index (including income, literacy and life expectancy ratios). However, it is not always possible to access these indicators in a comparable and accurate form. Most of these data are rarely available at the national level. Besides, average figures also tell us little about the position of poor (Devas, 2004, p.17). That is why, in the reports of World Bank, the main element is income-consumption based absolute-relative definitions.

On the other hand, Amartya Sen mentions the concept of “capability poverty”. These capabilities are not only those that relate to avoiding mature mortality, being in good health, being educated but also various social achievements including being able to

appear in public without shame and being able to take part in community life. Naturally, a higher income will help the achievement of a better capacity but it is only one input among many. The capabilities also depend on, for example social and political opportunities, personal factors and environment (Sen, 2006, p.35).

2.1.2 Participatory Definitions

The standardized definitions are the most useful for policy makers because, they allow a uniform scale for measurement and comparison. However, there are certain assumptions in the basis of these definitions such as "determination of the life standard" in an objective way whereas life standard is a subjective and multi dimensional concept. Satterwaite and Chambers (1995), criticizes conventional approaches to measuring poverty for being reductionist and not only for measuring what is measurable, but also ignoring the poor's perceptions of themselves (Devas, 2004, p.18). The quantification of poverty invariably restricts the number of criteria used to describe it, and hence the data only provides a partial picture of the reality of being poor. Moreover, the usage of these "universal" indicators may easily dim out the structural causes of poverty. Thus, people's perceptions are significant while defining poverty. The "poor" are labeled as poor by outsiders, not according to their own criteria. Anthropological studies show that the poor's own conceptions of "poverty" often differ markedly from the experts. Great value may be attached to qualitative dimensions such as independence, security, self-respect, identity, close social relationships, decision-making freedom, and legal-political rights. The socially constructed roles directly determine all these variables (Wratten, 1995, p.16). According to Bauman, poverty means "being in a lack of the opportunities which constitutes a happy life" and this generally leads to a lack of self esteem and not feeling valuable. All this may cause violence and anger (Bilen, Şan, 2006, p.168). Jelin opens a new frame by asking the question of whether it is possible to build a political democracy without guaranteeing a basic minimum level of economic well being. This leads to more questions: Can people enjoy their civil and political rights if they do not have access to basic conditions? (Jelin, 1995, p.27).

On the other hand, for economic and demographic reasons, during the 1980s and 1990s, poverty became increasingly concentrated in urban settlements. The World is urbanizing very rapidly and urbanization process is intensifying at a disconcerting rate in the south (Coupe, Mitlin, Stevens, 2006, p.1). Economical crises, structural adjustment programs, rising food prices, decreasing wages, declining of formal markets and the retrenchment of welfare state caused more imbalanced results in the third world than developed economies. Besides, in the beginning of the 1980s, the poverty seemed to be a problem of the rural areas, whereas today more than half of the absolute poor live in the urban areas (Wratten, 1995, p.11).

2.1.3 Culture of Poverty Approach

The approach of "culture of poverty" which has not been categorized in these definitions must be examined as well. The culture of poverty provides an opportunity to see a deficiency due to the general-material definition of poverty. The approach of culture of poverty builds a relation between laziness and choosing poverty and people's behaviors & believes (Bilen & Şan, 2006, p.169). Along the material deficiencies, the people who have culture of poverty develop a particular culture which is extremely fatalist. Moreover, these habits can be transferred from one generation to another. The effects of culture of poverty are seen in several social researches. As Payne (2005) argues, every year, the students who bring the middle-class culture with them are decreasing in numbers while those who bring the poverty culture are increasing in numbers (Payne, 2005, p.61). As a result, the culture of poverty has chronological aspects. According to Oscar Lewis, the culture of poverty sets barriers in to any kind of radical movements. The culture of poverty is important since it shows the reality meaning that even if an economical solution is available for the poverty, poverty might not be removed easily (Türkdoğan, 2006, p.9). However, it must also be considered that such conceptualization of poverty assumes the problem to be a structural phenomenon. Thus, it suits the purposes of the neo-liberal agenda as well. There is already a parallelism among culture of poverty and "new poverty", which is the result of structural adjustment (Bilen & Şan, 2006, p.169). Briefly, the approach of culture of poverty is mainly crucial for developing countries like Turkey.

2.2 Poverty in the World

When societies leave agriculture and develop a surplus inequalities begin to arise until a level of development that allows a more equitable distribution is reached via industrialization and education. So, in the first 70 years of 20th century, the economic development supported social development by diminishing inequality. Nevertheless, today's economic development increases inequality. Increases in GDP will no longer lead to rewarding employment and appropriates wages for nearly half of the population (Ambert, 1998, p.7-8).

According to the mostly used absolute and relative terms and social indicators, one third of the world population lives under the $1-a-day poverty line while two third of the world population lives under $2-a-day. One out of two children is poor. Ten million children died before they reached the age of 5 in 2003. 1.1 billion people in developing countries lack clean water and half of the world's population has a lack of stable health services. Millions of women spend their whole day trying to collect water. According to UNICEF, 25.000-30.000 children die because of poverty everyday. In the 2005, 72.000 children (in developing countries), 57% of whom are girls, could not go to school. At the start of the new millennium, nearly 1 billion people are illiterate. In 2004, it was estimated that 40.000.000 people were HIV positive and 3 million people die because of HIV every year. In 2005, it is estimated that while half of world population lived in urban, one third of this population lived in slum areas.[2]

If we look into the Gini coefficient[3] for a relative comparison in the global scale, the richest 20% of world population has the 75% of world gross product (GDP). The richest 497 people who compose only 0.000008% of world population have the 7% of world GDP. The most indebted 47 countries do not have the total GDP of the richest 7 people in the world. One quarter of every dollar given to the developing countries is used for recovering the debts. The wealthiest country in the world is also

[2] http://www.globalissues.org/article/26/poverty-facts-and-stats

[3] The Gini index, shows the segments of the population and their share of GDP. It basically means the redistribution of income in a country. The coefficient changes among 1 and 0. When it gets closer to 1, the redistribution becomes more unequal, and if it gets closer to 0 it becomes more equal.

the country where the biggest inequality exists among the rich and the poor. 20% of the world's population who live in developed countries consume 80% of world total production.

Disparity ratio among the richest and poorest countries follows the development depicted below:

Table 1: Disparity Ratio among the Richest and Poorest Countries

• 3 to 1 - 1820
• 11 to 1 - 1913
• 35 to 1 - 1950
• 44 to 1 - 1973
• 72 to 1 - 1992

Source: http://www.globalissues.org/article/26/poverty-facts-and-stats

People's lives are not measured by income alone. Income helps citizens to expand their choices and to gain adequate health, education and resources for themselves and for their children. Income poverty is only part of the picture. A new, multidimensional measure of human deprivation called the capability poverty measure, (CPM) was adopted in the report of UNDP in 1996. The CPM considers the lack of three basic capabilities. Being well nourished and healthy, lack of capability for healthy reproduction, female illiteracy (The composite index emphasizes deprivation of women because, says the report, It is now well known that the deprivation of women adversely affects the human development of families and of society.) Comparing the new capability poverty measure with the income poverty index, the report found that while 21% of the people in developing countries are below the income poverty line, 37% face capability poverty. That is, 900 million people in developing countries are income poor, but 1.6 billion are capability poor. With 1980 to 1998, the speed of the decline of child mortality rates gets slower. The life expectancy declines in 4 of every 5 countries [4]

[4] http://www.womenaid.org/press/info/poverty/cpm.html

Poverty is not as widespread in Western and industrialized countries as it is in Africa, Latin America and parts of Asia. Many countries in these regions live under extreme poverty conditions. Besides, many social problems such as civil wars, abuses of human rights, lack of infrastructure, illnesses and elevated fertility rates make those places disadvantaged (Ambert, 1998, p.7).

On the other hand, the phenomenon of globalization forces nation states to respond to the demands of globalization. Thus, privatizations and decline in the subventions decrases the effect of the state on the market and it creates more problems for the poor who can not purchase the services produced by the free market (Ersoy & Şengül, 2002, p.11).

2.3 Poverty and Social Aid in Turkey

We can find the most updated information about poverty from the census budget surveys in the year 2002. According to these data, 1.35% of people live under the line of hunger. In the year 2002, nearly one million people simply live under the hunger line. The 26.9% is under the poverty line which includes food and other expenses. Considering the purchase parity, 0.20% of the whole population is under $1 poverty line, while 3.04% is under $2.15 and 30.3% is under $4.3. In other words, according to the final researches, one third of the population tries to live with nearly $120-a-month in Turkey.

Table 2: Poverty Lines in Turkey in 2002

		poor people (1.000)			poor people ratio (%)		
		Turkey	Urban	Rural	Turkey	Urban	Rural
Hunger	926	376	550	1,35	0,92	2,01	2,01
Hunger and other	18 441	9 011	9 429	26,96	21,95	34,48	34,48
Below $1 (daily)	136	10	126	0,20	0,03	0,46	0,46
Below $ 2.15(daily)	2 082	971	1 111	3,04	2,37	4,06	4,06
Below $ 4.3 (daily)	20 721	10 106	10 615	30,3	24,62	38,82	38,82
Relative poverty	10 080	4 651	5 430	14,74	11,33	19,86	19,86

Source: http://www.tuik.gov.tr

The primary factor which determines poverty in Turkey is the number of households. In Turkey, nearly half of the households (47%) that contain 7 or more people are poor. There is a negative correlation between education and poverty. Nearly half of the people (45%) who work in temporary jobs are poor. In the rural areas where people work in agriculture, hunting, forestry, fishing sectors, nearly one third of the population (36.6%) are poor. The poverty is more widespread in rural than urban areas.[5]

If we look into the Gini index as an indicator of relative poverty, we see a correlation of 43.6 in 2003. This value does not explain anything by itself. However, if we compare it with some countries, in the same period, the Gini index is 40.8 in the USA, 36.0 in the UK, 36.8 in India, 39.9 in Russia, 34.3 in Greece and 25.8 in Norway. Turkey stands in a line near to the developing countries like Argentine (51.3), China (46.9), Mexico (46.1), Malaysia (49.2) and Philippines (46.5). However, since 1994, there also seems to be an extremely slight recovery in the Gini coefficient of Turkey. According to last Gini index, the first 20% part of the population takes 5.3% of GDP while the last segment of 20% takes nearly half (49.7%).

Table 3: Gini Coefficient in Turkey

GINI Coefficient 2003	Index	Lowest %10	Lowest %20	2. %20	3. %20	4. %20	Highest %20	Highest %10
Turkey	43.6	2.0	5.3	9.7	14.2	21.0	49.7	34.1

Source: 2007 World Development Indicators

When we review the Turkey's position in the United Nation Development Index which includes the criteria of increase in number of schools, literacy, GDP and life expectancy, Turkey is 94th out of 177 countries coming after Tunisia, Jordan, Belize and Sri-Lanka.

[5] Cited from TUIK web site http://www.die.gov.tr/TURKISH/SONIST/YOKSL/140404.htm

Table 4: Turkey in the United Nations Human Development Index

HD Index	**1975**	**1980**	**1985**	**1990**	**1995**	**2001**	**2002**	**2003**
Turkey's Point	0.58	0.61	0.64	0.67	0.70	0.73	0.75	0.75
Level	Mid	Mid	Mid	Mid	Mid	Mid	Mid	Mid
Turkey's order[8]	56	64	68	79	75	96	88	94
Total Countries	102	113	121	136	145	175	177	177
According to country number (%)	54.9	56.6	56.2	58.1	51.7	54.9	49.7	53.1

Source: UNDP, *Human Development Report,* 2003-2005.

2.3.1 Welfare Regime in Turkey

In order to examine the welfare regime, one of the primary determinants of the issue of poverty in Turkey, the Ottoman period must be reviewed.

In the classical Ottoman era, the welfare regime was composed of three elements: Family-community based structures, guilds and *the vakıf.* The state did not have a strong responsibility to intervene into the social sector. The social solidarity mechanisms were the main determinant of the welfare regime. Religious values were central for building a bridge between the rich and the poor, the operation of *"zekat"* and Islamic sacred periods such as Ramadan played an important but a limited role (Gül, 2004, p.261).

Vakıf means foundation, but in Ottoman time it had religious connotations. *Vakıf* was an important institution to help poor people. They provided food, residence, and shelter for desolated children. Actually, *vakıf* provided resources for charity purposes. Also, in major cities like Istanbul and Edirne, some institutions were built with the support of *vakıf* incomes (Özbek, 2002, p.10). In 19th century, the *vakıf*s lost their power with the centralization of their revenues (Singer, 2002, p.12).

Secondly, the welfare regime was based on guilds. The guilds, originally named as *lonca,* were the occupational unions and they covered the social risks of their working members. In the 19th century, thanks to the economical capitulations and the liberalization of the Ottoman market for the foreign trade, the *Ahi* unions disappeared under the tough competition conditions.

Family and community based social welfare were the most important elements of the Ottoman welfare regime. Big mass of people were kept in the family, community and neighborhood relations, meaning that the major component of the welfare model was far away from the institutional coverage.

In 19th Century, Ottoman Empire experienced several reformation processes, which were inspired by the west in the social and economical life. The basis of the modern social security institutions were founded in that reform period. Even though small bureaucratic elite could reveal in this period, there was no industrialization and the economy was still based on agriculture. The first welfare provisions covered the areas of health (Özbek, 2002, p.47-60). Some limited steps were taken such as the establishment of cash departments *(sandık)* for workers. In this period, some public workers entered the coverage of social insurance. Also private insurance was adopted. In the First World War, all the welfare provisions stopped and by the end of the war, the economy was near a total collapse.

Turkish Republic was founded in 1923, after the First World War. However, effects of 19th century norms continued in Turkey until the Second World War. With the republican period, education became free. This was the motor of modernization and nation state building process. Retirement pensions, pensions for widows and orphans were connected to the treasury. The characteristic of the period was a continuity based corporatist system. From 1930, a state oriented development model was adopted until 1950s and it became stronger during Second World War. 1940s were the years of the establishment of a multi party regime and adaptation of the market economy. Keynesian full employment was targeted and insurance institutions were established for the workers. The social welfare of agriculture sector was always underestimated and it got worse during the war era. From 1950s to 1980, with the

effect of the multi party regime and Marshall-IMF funds the welfare system advanced. Social Services and Child Care Organization were established and they still are a vital dimension of the welfare system in Turkey. With the 1960 military coup and the new constitution, the idea of "welfare state" was accepted. Export led growth, planned economy and unemployment insurance were adopted but, in practice, unemployment insurance was not enforced. Labor migration towards the European countries also accentuated the problem of unemployment in a positive way but, 1973's petrol crises prevented the operation of this model. By the end of 1970s, there emerged a certain mass of labor force, their institutions, trade unions, even class struggles in Turkey (Gül, 2004, p.269-272).

The military coup in 1980 and the post coup government of Turgut Özal adopted the pure liberalization and open economy which brought the direct reflection of neo-liberal deregulation rules on the welfare regime. Export led growth model, alignment with the West and EU membership became primary targets. All these required a new capitalist accumulation model which would be based on the lowering of labor wages, and lowering of domestic consumption (Gül, 2004). The thesis of Friedman was followed. The post 1980 era indicated liberalization and market oriented system and its consequences were the decline of public welfare (welfare retrenchment[6]). Özal's government was in power until the beginning of 1990s but, the governments have generally been in the hands of right and conservative parties except small periods of social democratic parties up to now. According to these governments the first and the unique guarantee of the social insurance was family and community based models. The liberal-conservative governments put the family in front of individual which meant a review of traditional welfare model. The welfare model was transformed under this idea. The aim was to reduce state expenditures in the fields of education, health and social services. The enforcement of minimum wage was impeded and unemployment was considered as temporary problem of economic growth. The retirement age was increased and social aid was lowered. Family based social justice-welfare also brought the adoption of some little aid such as payment to nonworking wife and payment to the children. Private universities were opened and the education system started to become more market oriented. The share of education

[6] This concept is adopted from the FACIT Project Proposal, 2007

in the GDP decreased while the number of students multiplied. Similarly, the share of health expenditures decreased but the numbers of people in the health system coverage multiplied. The quality of public health services decreased and the opening of private health organizations were supported. Today, education, social security and health expenditures has a small share in the national income when compared to developed countries such as Germany, Spain Sweden as well as developing countries such as Argentina Mexico and Malaysia. Besides, 20 percent of Turkish population is totally out of the coverage of any social security and this population is only covered by family relations and community ties. On the other hand, in the issue of housing, the state encouraged house purchasing but the governments followed a populist and *laissez-faire* policy in the issue of squatter *gecekondu.* [7] Social Services and Child Care Organization (Sosyal Hizmetler ve Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu-SHÇEK) and social aid system were collected under the prime ministry but the payments such as elderly wage were lowered. In 1986, a new social aid system was adopted and General Management of Social Aid and Solidarity as well as its' local foundations (Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Genel Müdürlüğü-SYDGM) were established. Like in the Ottoman era, SYDGM was supported by a *vakıf* which governed the funds outside the public budget. This fund has been used for promotion of liberalism. It has also served populist aims with the prevention of parliamentary control. However, it became the major component of anti poverty activity and is used for creation of partisan voters in the poor urban areas (Gül, 2002, p.281-285).

From the Ottoman era up to now, the major component of welfare has been community based institutions such as family, neighborhood and *hemşehrilik*. It was the main way to help the poor.

The repressive period[8] of post 1980 and neo-liberalism not only stopped the social activism but it also reduced the welfare state programs and they opened a wider way

[7] *Gecekondu* which means "the house built in one night" actually refers to a residence model which emerges as an output in the urban migration process. *Gecekondu* is the illegal invasion of public land and construction of a primitive house without any infrastructure. By the time, most of them have been legalized but also they carried squatter aspects.

[8] The clear effect of 1980 military coup effect continued until referendum for cancellation of political obligations in 1987 and finishing of Kenan Evren's presidency in 1989. The indirect effects still go on.

for poverty. As the family-community based conservative idea got powerful, religion became a significant part of this welfare regime. The 1980 coup directly affected religious conservatism. Governments often used religious discourses. In this process, the Islamic political parties such as Welfare Party (Refah Partisi-RP) came to power in local elections in 1994 as well as in general elections in 1996. Even though Islamic political power was stopped by another military intervention in 1997, Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi-AK Parti), the representative of political conservative tradition came to power in 2002. During this decade, several theses started were discussed such as Islamization of informal city (Doğan, 2007, p.27). Moreover, in this period, especially in major cities such as Istanbul, Ankara, the coverage of the poor by the temporary aid of coal-food became the reflection of political populism. These policies not only hindered a permanent solution, but they also made the problem chronicle (Buğra and Keyder, 2003).

All these address the question of the role of "revitalization of religion" in the recovering of a declining welfare state. On the other hand, this is the double-dynamic of neo-liberalism and post secularization. Besides, the emergence of NGOs in Turkey must be considered in this context: Rising of neo liberal agenda, decreasing effects of military coups, and a centralist structure coming from the Ottoman Empire. While trade unions were losing their power, NGOs started to organize the welfare idea with the mobilization of a micro activism and the NGOs became popular elements of Turkey. The rising popularity of NGOs reached the top when deficiencies of state were seen in the Marmara Earthquake in August, 1999.

2.3.2 Welfare Institutions in Modern Turkey

There are several institutions which operate in the welfare area. If we a consider a broad conceptualization including labor life, accommodation, health care, education, cultural activities and justice, there are several institutions such as NGOs and trade unions in this field. However, if we adopt a limited definition particularly for the issue of poverty, we will see only a small number of institutions operating on this field. The Management of Social Aid and Solidarity and its local foundations (SYDGM), Social Services and Child Care Organization (SHÇEK) at the national

level, as well as municipalities and provincial private administrations in the local level are the creators of the welfare. Also municipalities (*belediyeler*) and provincial private administrations (*il özel idareleri*) have certain functions in the issue of welfare. These institutions must be examined shortly to see a better picture of the welfare model in Turkey.

2.3.2.1 General Management of Social Aid and Solidarity (SYDGM)

Welfare State is a constitutional value in Turkey. Therefore, fighting against poverty is a mission of state. However, this is a non-obligatory responsibility. The unique element of the social policy in Turkey is General Management of Social Aid and Solidarity, its local foundations (Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Vakıfları) and a fund of Social Aid and Solidarity (SYDF) which provides the financial basis of its activities. It was established by the neo-liberal Özal government in 1986. It covers the "destitute people, people without a regular income and people who gain access to the productive system with a small temporary aid." It is completely a state organization operated by public officers. The budget is based on funds coming from indirect taxes and public transfers. This powerful fund has been used for different kinds of populist purposes such as elections, defense expenditures, personnel expenditures and even for covering budget deficits. The applications to the foundations have increased rapidly in last few years. This affects the problem of sufficient income and it is also completely related with the macro economical balances of state. From 1997 to 2000, the fund expended $400 million and it helped nearly 15 million poor. Some World Bank credits are distributed by SYDGM. Some micro-credit based projects such as SRAP (The Social Risk Mitigation Project- by the support of the World Bank) were launched against poverty. The idea was to reduce negative outputs of structural adjustment policies with micro-credit projects.[9]

2.3.2.2 Social Services and Child Care Organization (SHÇEK)

SHÇEK is a public institution which can be traced back to the Ottoman Empire. SHÇEK is directly under the prime ministry. The organizations' branches in

[9] http://www.sydgm.gov.tr

provinces are under the governor. Thus, SHÇEK has a common network in all provinces. SHÇEK, carries a variety of activities: Orphanages, (building special centers, dormitories and kindergartens, finding families), elderly services (building elderly centers, rest homes, providing care for some special illnesses) family support, women services (building guest houses, consultancy services), youth services (education and rehabilitation services for the children working on streets), care for disabled people, (building care centers, rehabilitation, consultancy), fiscal and cash aid. The desolate people are under the responsibility of SHÇEK until they achieve the age of 18. Elderly people older than 60 who are in need of aid can access the services of SHÇEK and its rest houses. SHÇEK also launches projects for these ideas. SHÇEK employs voluntary people and NGOs for its several services.[10]

2.3.2.3 Municipalities

In Turkey, the municipalities undertake the infrastructural requirements of cities. Especially in major cities, the municipalities also perform social functions: Emergency aid, economical support, food, repairing, scholarship, clothing, physiological support, health, marriage organizations, circumcision *(sünnet)* organizations, cultural activities and transportation. The coverage of social aspects has been strengthened after the 1980's neo liberal era as a risk reduction system. The Islamic governance of the municipalities channeled the resources to the structuring of the private sector in the urban space. After the 1990s the Islamists have acquired significant power in local governments. These situations have allowed the financing of such aids by municipal funds. During this period the public and productive aspects of municipalities has experienced a relative decline while rent economy has gained force and municipalities have developed a discourse of social justice (Doğan, 2007).

2.3.2.4 Provincial Private Administration

The Provincial Private Administrations (PPAs) consist of local authorities of provinces including the governor and the general assembly of the province. It carries

[10] http://www.shcek.gov.tr

out some social services as well. PPAs get the funds directly from the public budget and perform the services in the areas of education, culture and social aid. These services include: construction of recreation centers, libraries, pools, cultural centers, schools; organization of educational courses, services for disabled people, employment for social services, rehabilitation centers, natural gas services and some micro credit projects.

2.4 Enduring Significance of Religion

The role of religion and faith in the life of the poor has been neglected traditionally. According to the formulation by Wilson, this is due to the secularization theory which claims the idea of decline in the role of religion in the social institutions, movements and consciousness with the modernization process. According to Beyer (1994), as states have become more secularized, and globalization has strengthened this process, the "residual problems" increase the gap between privatized religion and secular state with respect to welfare provisions. The dominant economic, political and scientific subsystems leave vast areas of social life underdetermined and do not serious problems that are created such as problems of personal or group identity and ecological threats to increasing disparities in wealth, power, and life chances both within and between regions". [11] Thus, such residual problems give rise to "performance-oriented religio-social movements", and these "constitute distinct possibilities for bridging the gap between privatized religious function and publicly religious performance" (FACIT Project Proposal, 2007) Hence, the process gained acceleration contrary to secularization. In this manner, it must be accepted that religion gained a new role today.

For decades religion based variables have been neglected with a materialist reductionism. Besides, poverty has been regarded as a material deficiency which can be eliminated by technical methods. In contrast, faith has always had a role in the life of the poor and in rationalizing poverty. It sometimes contributed to the prevention of marginalization of the poor. Basically, faith is a bridge between the donor and the

[11] Beyer, P. (1994) *Religion and Globalization*. London: Sage quoted in the Faith Based Organizations and Exclusion in European Cities Project Proposal (2007)

poor. On the other hand, faith is a significant motivation for the donors who help the poor. Furthermore, the expanding efficiency of faith based organizations proves that religion, faith and poverty must be examined together (Clarke, 2008:1-17).

In the last 15 years there is a transformation in the perception of the role of religion in social life. For instance, Casanova suggests the conceptualization of the *deprivatization of religion.* He mentions religion, one of the primary regulators of public life before, and its coming into public life. Since the end of 20th century, religious organizations and leaders became the upfront actors of public space. Such kind of thesis can be a vital tool in explaining the relation between donors and communities (ibid.).

As we mentioned above, even though the issue of religion has been shadowed for a while, this trend is changing. However the studies on religious organizations stay limited on the mainstream Christian Churches in the west. Thus, other religious groups, primarily the ones of Muslim countries were left out of academic studies and studies of organizations such as the World Bank (ibid.).

A clear relation can be observed between religion and conservatism. In western liberal democracies where there is a strong separation of church and state, religion can be perceived as a barrier to social and political change. Besides, religious leaders often considered themselves as the defenders of traditional-spiritual values that are under the challenge of secular modernity. They generally defined the poor in a paternal manner and they advocate philanthropy based systems. In contrast, they generally stayed unwilling to accept the social and political changes which transform the poor to a citizen (Clarke & Jennings, 2008, p.1).

Both religion and faith are still significant. Nationalist struggles often goes hand in hand with religion and the role of religious institutions maintain their strong effect. Furthermore, religion and faith can be a basis for an alternative socio-political system. In the other words, the religion can be a basis for political movements (FACIT Project Proposal, 2007).

Today, religious movements can be orthodox, radical but also progressive while including social welfare aspects. Thus, political and theological meanings must be considered while dealing with the concept of religion. There are several studies which assert the efficiency of religion while dealing with social welfare problems in the USA, UK as well as the slums in the third world countries such as Lima and Peru[12]. A similar approach must be adopted in examining Turkey.

[12] Cloke, P., Johnsen, S. and J. May (2007) 'Ethical citizenship? volunteers and the ethics of providing services for homeless people', *Geoforum*, forthcoming quoted in FACIT Project Proposal (2007)

CHAPTER 3

FAITH BASED ORGANIZATIONS (FBOS)

3.1 FBO Typologies

FBO is any organization that refers directly or indirectly to religion or religious values and that functions as a welfare provider or as a political actor. [13] According to another definition, FBO is an organization firmly related to a religious tradition but that does not have religious activity as its primary aim. Torry places these organizations in a line between the religious and secular organizations (Torry, 2005, p.3)

Figure 1: Torry's FBO Placement

Source: Torry, 2005, p.3

Clarke and Jennings created five categories of FBOs: Charitable organizations, representative organizations, radical-illegal-terrorist organizations, socio-political organizations and missionary organizations.

According to this categorization, charitable organizations mobilize the faithful to help the poor and other excluded groups. They construct social funds and programs to fight against poverty. In other words, they build a clear category for social

[13] Cited from the EU FP7 Faith Based Organizations and Exclusion in the European City (FACIT-2007) Project.

phenomena such as poverty. In the industrialized North, these organizations have a significant role and efficiency. For instance, in the United States in 1999, an estimated 18% of the 37.000 US non-profit organizations involved in social service provision were faith based. These FBOs had annual budgets of $17 billion in 1999 equivalent to the annual Gross National Income (GNI) of medium sized economies such as Syria, Sri-Lanka and Costa Rica. The International Cooperation for Development and Solidarity (CIDSE), the largest alliance of Catholic development agencies, had a combined budget of $950 million in 2000, Association of Protestant Development Agencies (APRODEV) the main associate of protestant development agencies, $470 million and The World Vision International (WVI), the single largest Christian development agency, had a turnover of $600 million in 1999. The four biggest faith based development agencies had a combined annual budget of approximately $2.5 billion at the beginning of the millennium. Besides this financial power, all these organizations are starting to have more and more efficiency at both national and international level (Clarke, G & Jennings, M., 2008, p. 26-27).

These trends can also be observed in developing countries. Muslim countries must be taken into account in this process. For instance, in Egypt, 20% of 12,837 registered NGOs are Islamic ones. Furthermore, these organizations are less dependent on the state than the other organizations. Thus, sometimes they have abilities to build a free space for themselves and they have "civil" aspects. These organizations play a significant role in countries where there is an economic collapse such as Palestine and Somali. Also, many schools in Islamic world have their own NGOs and these NGOs are successful in acquiring Arabic funds (ibid.).

The representative organizations generally represent their followers in the relations with institutions such as state. Main stream Christian Churches, (Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox) are examples of this category. These are hierarchical structures which have the power to deal with state authority (ibid.).

Radical-terrorist-illegal organizations promote radical or militant forms of faith identity, engage in illegal practices on the basis of faith or engage in armed struggle or violent acts justified on the grounds of faith. The discussion on this category

became important recently, largely as a result of the events of 9/11. Such groups typically are born from two main political phenomena: religious nationalism directed at other religious communities and conservative religious politics directed mainly at secularist or enemies within the faith tradition. Such groups are common to all major faith traditions but Islam is predominantly implicated in the promotion of faith based violence and conflict in recent years. They may have targets such as the creation of a pan-national caliphate that unifies the world's Muslims under a single political and religious leader. Afghanistan, Bosnia, Chechnya, Iraq, Kashmir, Palestine are countries where there are example of these organizations. *Al Qaeda* is another example for these organizations. However, these organizations are complex as well. For instance, HAMAS *Harakat al-Mukawama al-Islamiyya* "Islamic Resistance Movement", was born as the rival of secular *Fatah* Party. It attacked Israel with suicide bombings but is widely seen in Palestine and by some academics as a social movement that supports Palestinians in the absence of a viable state and government. HAMAS had an annual budget of approximately 470 million, 85 per cent of which came from abroad. An estimated 90% was spent on social services, including schools, health clinics and day-care centers. HAMAS constructed efficient welfare programs and all these provided a safety net where there was a weakness of authority in the area. Under these conditions, the victory of HAMAS in 2006 elections was not a big surprise (ibid.).

Socio-political organizations interpret and deploy faith as a political or socio-political construct and they generally have political objectives. It is the most diverse category. These organizations differ from representative organizations in so far as they do not normally claim to rule on doctrinal matters or to govern the faithful. Many faith oriented parties constitute examples of this category such as the Christian Democratic Party in Germany (CDU). As Islam equally adopted political purposes, examples easily can be found in Muslim countries: The coalition of *Muttahaida Majlis-i Amal* (MMA) in Pakistan had an 11.3% of votes in 2002 elections. In Indonesia Islamic parties got 16% of total votes in 1999. In Turkey, Welfare Party (Refah Partisi-RP) kept its efficiency until the end of 1990s and had votes up to 20%. What is more important for our subject is that these faith based political parties are

important actors in their countries in issue such as of poverty and in framing national strategies to reduce poverty (ibid.).

These parties can be crucial in terms of the rise of political. In some Muslim countries, moderate political Islam can struggle for an autonomic civil society. While some Islamic organizations perceive state authority as legitimate, others may combat with it. However, most of these organizations mobilize people for social movements. One of the most powerful examples of these organizations is Muslim Brotherhood, founded by Hasan El Banna in Egypt in 1928 and which has branches today in over 70 countries and a millions of members, mostly in Arab world. In some Arab states it has been associated with armed struggle against colonialism. Today, it is still efficient in bringing social assistance to the poor. In addition, the Muslim Brotherhood is criticized for promoting terrorism, yet respected for its social activism and support (Clarke, G & Jennings, M., 2008, p.28).

These organizations are important because of their mobilization power of groups on the basis of faith. However, these organizations may be tools for organizing of small elite groups and secret societies. For instance, in the West, Freemasons derive members primarily from mainstream Protestants and have exercised a shadowy, often corrupt influence on functioning of public institutions including police. *Opus Dei* has been accused of supporting right wing and fascist regimes in the 1970s. In the Middle East, due to the poverty reducing factor, their intervention is considered as positive by the state. This is normal when there are not more resources available for governments. However, there is no clear relation among state and these organizations. Sometimes some symbolic and political threats for a secular state can emerge within these organizations. NGOs may have several bureaucratic difficulties in the beginning and they may live under a certain control and oppression. However, the states legitimize them and support them financially. Briefly, in Middle Eastern countries there is a symbolic struggle among these Islamist institutions and the state, contesting the very boundaries between public and private, between secular and religion and over figures and nature of authority. Social activities conducted in the name of Islam become politically charged and the Islamic institutions have significant roles in explaining the social change in these countries. Thus, Islamic

social organizations are at the center of social initiatives in Egypt, Jordan, Yemen (Clark, 2004, p.18).

The primary aim of missionary organizations is to spread key faith messages amongs the faithful (Clarke, G & Jennings, M., 2008, p.25). Generally, missionary activity is associated with main stream Christian faith. Recently, missionary activity has developed because of the rise of Christian right in the US. An estimated 350.000 American have traveled abroad with Protestant Missionary agencies in 2001. Donations of these agencies achieved 3.75 billion $ with a 44% increase in the last five years and reached an amount greater than four biggest faith based organization (CIDSE, APRODEV, Caritas, World Vision). Similarly, 1990s were golden years for also Muslim organizations. An essential activity area has been emerged for "*da'wa* or misson" organizations like World Muslim League (Saudi Arabia), Africa Muslim Agency (Kuwait), World Islamic Invitation (Liberia) and local *madrassas.* As it is seen, the categories are complex and malleable. An organization can be classified in more than one category. For instance, World Church Council (WCC) and United States Catholic Bishop Conference (USCCB) that are representative organizations have been dealing with poverty matters in recent years (ibid.).

Faith based organizations mostly coincidence with voluntary institutions because of identifications. For instance, Muslim schools can be placed in both of these two categories. Even though Christian TV channels are faith based in USA, they cannot be categorized as voluntary due to profit making purposes. The church schools can be put into more than one category as well. It is still debated whether voluntary aid schools are voluntary organizations or not. Consequently, it is quite clear that non volunteer faith based organizations are relatively smaller in number than volunteer organizations (Torry, 2005, p.23). In brief, these categories have not been crystallized yet.

According to Unruh and Sider, there is no clear definition of "faith-based". They propose a six-fold typology for the social service and educational organizations and programs based on religious characteristics: Faith-permeated, faith-centered, faith-affiliated, faith background, faith-secular partnership, and secular. The typology is

divided into two sections: Organizations and programs. According to this study, religious characteristics of an organization may differ from the programs it provides (Sider, Unruh, 2004, p.109).

Goggin and Orth have developed a Faith Integration Scale that measures the extent to which social service programs incorporate elements of religious identity or practice. Items on the scale are organized under five headings: Organizational factors include the structural characteristics of the FBO itself. The administrative factor focuses on the mission, management, and staffing practices of the organization. Environmental factors include the physical characteristics of the facilities in which FBO services and programs are provided. Funding factors concern the distribution of financial resources that FBOs receive from secular and religious sources. Finally, the programmatic factors focus on specific religious components of FBO activities/services and the extent to which these components are mandatory or voluntary in nature (Sider, Unruh, 2004, p.116). These works have contributed significantly to the taxonomic task.

Table 5: Sider and Unruh's Social Service & Education Organizations Typology

	II. Characteristics of Programs/Projects					
	Faith-Permeated	*Faith-Centered*	*Faith-Affiliated*	*Faith-Background*	*Faith-Secular Partnership*	*Secular*
1. Religious environment (building, name, religious symbols)	Usually	Usually	Often	Sometimes	Sometimes (program administration is usually located in a secular environment, whereas program activities may be located in a religious environment)	No
2. Religious content of program	In addition to acts of compassion and care, also includes explicitly religious, mandatory content integrated into the program; beneficiaries are expected to participate in religious activities and discussions of faith	In addition to acts of compassion and care, also includes explicitly religious content that may be segregated from provision of care; beneficiaries have the option not to participate in religious program components; beneficiaries may also be invited to religious activities outside the program parameters	The religious component aspect is primarily in acts of compassion and care; Program includes little (and entirely optional) or no explicitly religious content; staff may invite beneficiaries to religious activities outside program parameters or hold informal religious conversations with beneficiaries	No explicitly religious content in the program; religious materials or resources may be available to beneficiaries who seek them out; the religious component is seen primarily in the motivation of individual staff members	No explicitly religious content in program activities designed by secular partners; faith partners sometimes supplement with optional religious resources and activities	No religious content

Source: Working Group on Human Needs and Faith-Based and Community Initiatives. (2002). Finding common ground: 29 recommendations of the Working Group on Human Needs and Faith-Based and Community Initiatives. Washington, DC: Search for Common Ground quoted in Sider R.J , Unruh H.R (2004). Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs, Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly 2004

Table 5 (continued)

3. Main form of integration of religious content with other program components (See Table 2.)	Integrated-mandatory (engagement with explicitly religious content is required of all beneficiaries)	Integrated-optional or invitational (engagement of beneficiaries with explicitly religious content is optional or takes place in activities outside program parameters)	Invitational, relational, or implicit (engagement of participants with explicitly religious content takes place in optional activities outside the program parameters or in informal relationships with staff)	Implicit (beneficiaries only encounter religious content if they seek it out)	Implicit, invitational, or relational, depending on staff/volunteers of the faith partners	None
4. Expected connection between religious content and desired outcome	Expectation of explicitly religious experience or change, and belief that this is essential or significant to desired outcome	Strong hope for explicitly religious experience or change, and belief that this significantly contributes to desired outcome	Little expectation that explicitly religious experience or change is necessary for desired outcome; some believe that acts of compassion and care alone have an implicit spiritual impact that contributes to outcomes	No expectation that religious experience or change is needed for desired outcome	No expectation that religious experience or change is needed for desired outcome, but the faith of volunteers from religious partners is expected to add value to the program	No expectation of religious change or experience

Table 5 (continued)

5. Selection of senior management	Faith or ecclesiastical commitment an explicit prerequisite	Faith or ecclesiastical commitment an explicit or implicit prerequisite	Normally (perhaps by unwritten expectation) share the organization's religious orientation but explicit religious criteria is considered irrelevant or improper	Religious criteria considered irrelevant or improper	Required to respect but not necessarily to share faith of religious partners	Religious criteriat considered improper
6. Selection of other staff	Faith commitment is important at all staff levels; most or all staff share organization's religious orientation, with faith an explicit factor in hiring decisions	Faith commitment may be an explicit selection factor for jobs involving religion but may be less important in other positions	Staff expected to respect but not necessarily share the religious orientation of the organization; religious beliefs motivate self-selection of some staff/volunteers	Little or no consideration of faith commitment of any staff; religious beliefs may motivate self-selection of some staff/volunteers	Staff expected to respect faith of religious partners; program relies significantly on volunteers from religious partners	Religuous criteria for any staff considered improper
7. Financial support and nonfinancial resources	Intentional cultivation of support from religious community; policy of refusing funds that would undermine religious mission/identity	Intentional cultivation of support from religious community; often has policy of refusing funds that would undermine religious mission/identity	May cultivate volunteer and in-kind support from religious community	May or may not cultivate support from religious community	Significant cultivation of volunteer and in-kind support from faith partners	Little cultivation of support from religious community
8. Organized religious practices of personnel (such as prayer or devotions)	Religious practices play a significant role in the functioning of the organization; personnel are expected or required to participate	Religious practices often play a significant role in the organization; personnel may be expected to participate	Religious practices are optional and not extensive	Religious practices are rare and peripheral to the organization	Faith partners may sponsor voluntary religious practices; secular partners do not	No organized religious practices

On the other hand, Beaumont and Davelaar construct another detailed categorization for FBOs in their study based on the Netherlands: traditional churches, small scale local initiatives, highly professionalized charities and funds, web-based campaigns, advocacy organizations of non-western religious communities, organizations aimed at empowerment, participation and integration of non-western faith adherents and other FBOs (Beamount, Davelaar, 2008).

According to this study, traditional Church FBOs are the organizations which have direct connections with the Church. Council of Churches in Netherlands, organizations dependent on the Roman Catholic Church as well as Protestant Churches are examples of these organizations. It is known that Protestant churches spent 7 million Euros to mitigate poverty in 2006. Church in Action, Church Service in Industrial Society, Cura Migratorum/Pastoral Care for Catholic Immigrants are other examples of this category. The primary motivation for small scale local initiatives is performing both religious and social activities. International Network of Local Initiatives for Asylum Seekers (INLIA) can be considered as an example. Highly professionalized charities and funds focus on providing funds for some specific activities but they also carry a Christian image: Salvation Army, Vincentius (Catholical Voluntary Society and Fund), Haella Stichting (Protestant Charity Fund). Web-based organizations are post-modern ecumenical organizations. They are set up and funded by the church as well as individuals. They carry traces of these organizations and they struggle for social welfare: Time for Action or Al Nisa. Advocacy organizations of non-western religious communities generally defend the rights of their religious communities: Associations of Migrants Churches (SKIN) and Contact Group Islam (CGI). Participation and integration of non-western faith adherents work for the individual social and cultural integration of risk groups such as women, students and young people: Islamic Institute for Social Activation (ISHAN), Federation Diyanet Mosques, (DİTİB), Milli Görüş Movement, Alevi Organizations such as HakDer, and Hindustan Cultural Center “Mahatma Gandhi” (Beamount, Davelaar, 2008).

Ebaugh, Chafetz and Pipes try to measure “organizational religiosity” with data from a national survey which includes 656 faith based social service coalitions. They

determined three distinct measures related to religious practices: service religiosity, staff religiosity and organizational religiosity. These scales were constituted and items were built for the questionnaires.[14] The results were found with the quantitative OLS regression techniques. Briefly, this work showed that government funding (reliance on government funding) is significantly and negatively related to all three measures, and "evangelism[15] as a coalition[16] goal" is positively related to all three.

> Religiosity is a term that has historically been used to describe and measure variations in individuals' religious commitments with more than a single dimension. Glock and Stark developed a "5-D" approach for determining of religious commitment. It includes ritual activities, ideology or belief, experience, knowledge of religious matters and the consequential dimension. According to this conceptualization and surveys, these five dimensions can be used for measuring individual religiosity. However, the question of how to measure individual religiosity has generated continuous debates and studies. Beyond the individual level, what makes an organization "religious" or "faith-based" has not been clearly specified in the literature, especially in terms of empirical indicators. In the United States, religious nonprofit organizations are central to the social welfare system. In terms of total revenues, religious organizations are the third largest sector of U.S. nonprofit organizations after health and education. More than 50 percent of American adults contribute to their church, synagogue, mosque or temple Despite the lack of empirical measures on religiosity in faith-based organizations (FBOs), there are a number of conceptualizations. (Chafetz, Ebaugh, Pipes, 2006, p.2259-2260).

> According to the Jeavons, there are seven key areas in which faith manifests itself in the organizations: (a) organizational self-identity, (b) selection of organizational participants (staff, volunteers, funders, and clients), (c) sources of resources, (d) goals, products, and services (including "spiritual technologies"), (e) information processing and decision making (e.g., reliance on prayer and religious precepts for guidance), (f) the development and distribution of organizational power,

[14] These items included: "Distributing religious materials to clients, helping clients join congregations praying with individual clients , using religious beliefs to instruct clients , encouraging client religious conversion, praying at staff meetings, putting religious principles into action, demonstrating God's love to clients inspiring clients' faith via staff's actions etc.

[15] Evangelism goal is to provide evangelism opportunities for congregations.

[16] The term "coalition" is used to describe all kinds of alliances/collaborations. Nonetheless, faith based social service coalitions meet with four criteria: (1) the organization defines itself as faith-based; (2) it delivers at least one social service (from an extensive list of service types); (3) religious congregations are in some manner affiliated with the organization; and (4) it has its own board of directors.

> and (g) organizational fields (including program partners). For each dimension, an organization may be placed along a spectrum from least to most religious. These characteristics represent the degree of organizational religiosity, ranging from explicitly religious to completely secular. Smith and Sosin (2001) distinguish between faith-related agencies and faith-based agencies: faith related agencies are more encompassing and include organizations that have some link to religion at the institutional level, not simply at the level of personal belief systems. Religious coupling may be described using three main dimensions. Resource dependency indicates financing and recruitment of staff from religious background. Authority refers to the bureaucratic or normative control that religious agencies hold over an organization. Organizational culture describes interactions with religious influences in relation to secular influences such as professional associations; these shape the worldview assumptions governing service methodologies (Sider, Unruh, 2004, p.110).

The Working Group Report on Human Needs and Faith-Based and Community Initiatives, Finding Common Ground (2002), specifies structural indicators: mission statement; founding for a religious purpose, religiousness of board members, senior management and staff; affiliation with external religious agencies, financial support from religious sources, religious content of program, positive connections between religious content and program outcomes; and religious environment (name, building, religious symbols) (Chafetz, Ebaugh, Pipes, 2006, p.2259-2260).

> Monsma (2004) uses a list of religiously-rooted practices to differentiate between faith based/integrated and faith based/segmented welfare-to-work programs. The first type incorporates religious elements into welfare-related services, such as hiring only staff with a particular religious orientation. In the second type, religious elements or activities are largely separate from the services provided by the organization, such as placing religious symbols or pictures in the facility where programs are offered. Sider and Unruh (2004) insist that it is programs rather than organizations that are faith based because the religious content of different programs can very widely within a single organization can vary widely. (Chafetz, Ebaugh, Pipes, 2006, p.2261)

Unruh categorized the religious elements that may be present in a faith-based social service program. These elements serve to create a religious environment, convey religious values, communicate a religious message to clients, or engage clients in religious activities. Elements of religious programs fall into nine categories: self-descriptions, sacred objects, invitations to religious activities, prayer, use of sacred

texts, worship, sharing of personal testimonies, religious teachings, and invitations to a personal faith commitment (Sider, Unruh, 2004, p.111).

3.2 The Process Which Vitalizes FBOs in the World

The process which vitalizes FBOs in the world has been summarized in Figure 2. This table is based on an assumption: The FBOs fit into a gap created by the welfare state retrenchment. This state can be considered as a return to the charity system of pre modern times. On the other hand, this can be an indicator of a new welfare approach. In the US and UK, FBO type organizations have already had significant impact. However, this issue is still a comparatively open space for the continental European and Turkey[17]. This study tries to cover this open space in the example of Turkey. At this point, some factors have to be taken into account: the enduring significance of religion, the enduring significance of poverty, and the new trends of governance models.

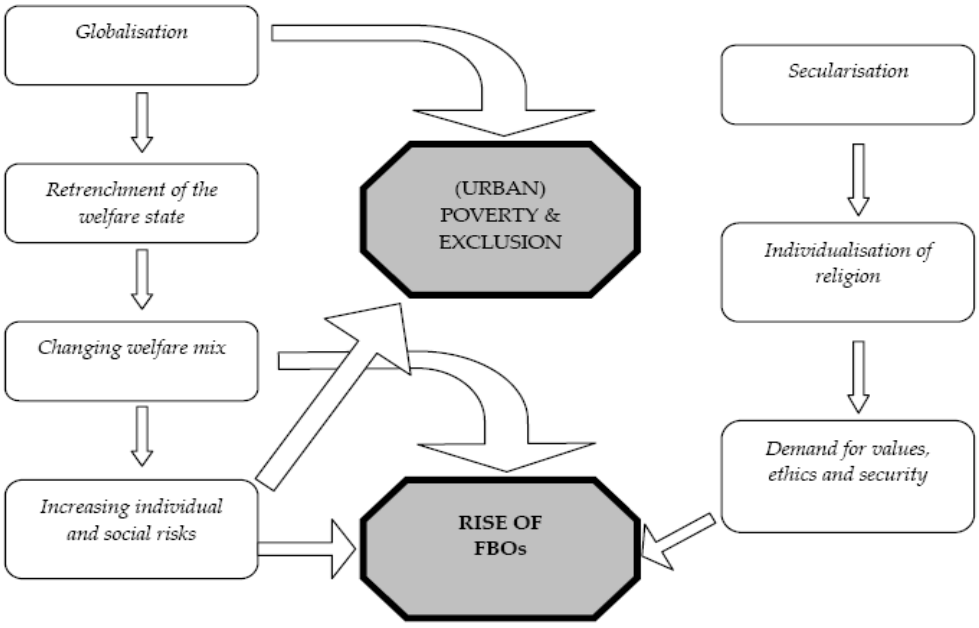

Figure 2: The Process Which Vitalizes FBOs in the World.

Source: Vranken, J., FACIT Project Proposal, 2007

[17] Faith in the City (1985) *Faith in the City: a call for action by church and nation*, the Report of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission on Urban Priority Areas, London: Church House Publishing quoted in FACIT Project Proposal (2007)

By increasing competitiveness, globalization forces nation states to regulate their markets. The increasing power of the capital flows causes the decrease in welfare provisions such as health and unemployment payments. However, not all nation states have been affected by this process in the same way (ibid.). These have diversified effects according to each countries welfare model.

Esping-Andersen has a three folded approach for welfare models: liberal, conservative and social democratic.

The liberal model incorporate the maximization of the free market with little to no state intervention and it assumes that individuals have the ability to take part in the market. However, freedom to compete in the market will contain elements of insecurity that may result in poverty. According to the liberal perspective the problem of poverty is not the fault of the system but a consequence of individual's lack of foresight and thrift. Besides, the liberal approach mentions that some welfare provisions such as minimum wage does not eliminate poverty but they increase it. Actually, the stratification that emerged due to the free market must not be interfered with. In liberal states such as the United States, Canada and Australia, a minimal assistance has been adopted to allow the temporarily unemployed worker to go back into the market (Hagberg, 1998).

However, several researches showed that such kinds of limited assistance have not reduced the number of people still claiming monetary assistance in these countries or decreased the percentage of the population still living in poverty. Besides, liberal welfare policies have not facilitated equal opportunity to compete in the market (ibid.).

The conservative model is based on the existence of social stratification and hierarchal society. The patronage and clientelism of feudal societies have been translated into the corporate world. The infrastructure of welfare is composed of the corporatist model which is based on Church. This model supports to the ruling class with a paternal perception. It stresses the protection of the whole society rather than

the protection of the individual. The state can intervene in a limited way to maintain the existence of social stratification. For example, 1890's Germany falls closely under the conservative model of welfare based on the system introduced by Bismarck with policies formulated by the political parties with traditional Catholic and Lutheran bases. During this period, the government ran a third of all day care centers and the rest was run by churches (ibid.).

The final model of Andersen is the social democratic model. This model assumes that a strong welfare will diminish social divisions. This model aims to achieve full employment and promotes equality including the provision of a safety net that no one should be allowed to fall through. As with liberalism, social democratic welfare considers the individual and strives to remove reliance upon family groups. However, in contrast to liberalism this model supports the individual. The primary concern is not to wait until the family is unable to provide further. This is a direct contrast with the conservative approach which assumes that the family is a constant variable.

This model is based on a protectionist national economy, effective monetary policy, mass demand and mass production and comparatively limited stability. [18] It must be mentioned that the strong welfare policies are experiencing a certain decline. This change has emerged not only within the trends of free market conditions but also the fall of sustainability due to the financial deficits, heavy tax models, rise of costs in the insurance sectors (aging of population). However, some countries such as Sweden and Norway are still the followers of this model (Hagberg, 1998).

Thus, citizens in liberal economies may live without heavy taxes but their accession to free competition is disputed. In conservative models, there is a minimum support which contributes to stratification rather than social equity. Social democratic models are open for competition while providing assistance to get maximum performance

[18] Cohen, J. and J. Rogers (1998) 'Can egalitarianism survive internationalization? In Streeck, W. (ed.) *Internationale Wirtschaft, nationale Demokratie: herausforderungen für die demokratietheorie,* Frankfurt/M/ New York: Campus, pp. 175-93. quoted in FACIT Project Proposal (2007)

from labor. This model is also criticized due to the requirement of a complex state mechanism (ibid.).

The three folded welfare typology of Esping-Andersen builds a clear way for the FBOs. In terms of FBOs, this three folded model has been detailed by Manow. Manow differentiated the traditional welfare models as Catholical, Lutheran and reformist. According to this model, in Lutheran countries (Germany-Sweden), the pioneers of state based welfare, FBOs are somewhat rare while in reformist ones such as UK they are more widespread. In some countries FBOs are more effective while they are secondary in countries with a strong centralist tradition. In these countries, FBOs are subsystems of the traditional welfare model. In Southern European countries such as Italy where the welfare model is less dependent on the state, local civil organizations, especially the Church has always been significant.[19]

3.3 FBOs and Religion

Studies in political sciences show that FBOs started to enter the political arena after the 1980s. Haynes, 1998, MC Gruie, 2001, Bruce, 2003) According to some claims, these organizations deal with poverty and welfare issues more efficiently than the state. (Karminck, Moore, 1997). Besides, religion is an important agent in the anti-poverty issue.

Some researches in Anglo-Saxon countries show that FBOs are reproaching the "secular world". (Beaumont, 2004 Clocke, 2004-2005) The organizations discover the main stream welfare regimes and they try to interfere within the welfare system using the institutional agents. On the other hand, this process goes hand in hand with neo liberalization and the rise of non-governmental organizations. (Peck, tickell, 2002) In Wales, churches have been active in facing the implications of socio-economic change and its effect on people and community in terms of justice and peace (Cardiff, 2004, p.44).

[19] Esping-Andersen, G. (1990) *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, Cambridge: Polity Press quoted in FACIT Project Proposal,2007

A research conducted in Rotterdam in Netherlands showed that mosques gained several functions other than being just basic worship centers: Education, consultancy, cultural activities, even sports and individual assistance. Besides, mosques are informal meeting areas and they can even be the informal market for labor. The mosques are also successful at providing for people who do not have any formal access to the formal welfare system (FACIT Project Proposal, 2007).

The discussion on faith based organizations is based on the concept of "Islamic social organizations" in The Middle Eastern countries like Egypt, Jordan and Yemen. In these countries, Islamic social aid organizations are generally NGOs. However, it must be noted that these are totally different political systems in comparison with western liberal systems. Islam dominates whole parts of the daily life. Under these conditions, if we look at Turkey, we see neither certain institutions like the Western Church nor an Islamic political atmosphere like in Middle Eastern countries. Nevertheless, all these western and Middle Eastern FBO activities are significant while determining the conditions of Turkey.

3.4 FBOs in Turkey

As it has been mentioned, a new generation social aid organizations spread in a wide area: Supra-national organizations such as World Bank, welfare branches of armed organization such as Hezbollah in the Middle East, the Church in the West and NGOs in Turkey. Thus, the concept of FBO is a little disputatious. This concept actually belongs to western literature. It can be adopted for a model in Turkey but some potential must not be overlooked. Firstly, the discussion on FBOs primarily refers to Church in the west, although the Church is not the only FBO, it has clear religious background. Especially, in countries like the US and the UK the Church had strong welfare functions. In Turkey, the mosque is not considered as an institution and is not compatible with Church in terms of welfare. Islam has always been an important agent for aid collection and distribution activity. However, religion after the republican period (1923) is not considered outside the scope of the state. It is a part of the general administration. Thus, the mosque could not acquire a free space to organize its social welfare systems. There are also some welfare

organizations in the non-governmental sphere. In some of these organizations we see that the concept of religion is a significant component. It is a mobilizing power, an important connective tool, a spiritual motivation factor. In this research, we are going to use the concept of FBO of an NGO in Turkey. Another factor separating Western and Turkish FBOs are their members. In the West, FBOs are generally composed of poor and socially excluded (FACIT Project Proposal, 2007). In contrast, an NGO in Turkey is generally established by professionals from the middle-class. Socially excluded or poor people are extremely rare in these organizations. Thus, the poor cannot be the organizer of the assistance but they will be the "object" of this process.

In Turkey, the primary basis of the FBO concept can be found in the Ottoman period. Religion played a very important role in the Ottoman Empire. Until the 19th century, the absolute power belonged to Sultan who was also the caliph. Religion was also important as a motivating factor for the *vakıf* system which was the basis of the welfare regime. Similarly, the guilds (*lonca*) had certain religious backgrounds. For instance, the *Ahi* unions were providing welfare services such as fiscal aid by combining Islamic and pre Islamic values. Thus, the first examples of FBOs can be found in the Ottoman institutions.

After the foundation of Turkish republic, welfare started to be covered by the modern state institutions. With the idea of nation state building, religious institutions were erased from the public space. However, religion never lost its influence.

With the establishment of Presidency of Religious Affairs (Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı) in 1924, the mosques, the basic institutions of Islam, fell under the scope of the prime ministry. Many small NGOs were established in order to build mosques, but their staff and their financial resources have generally been under the control of the state. All these have hindered the mosque's welfare role and functioning as an FBO like the Church. On the other hand, with the adoption of *Sunni* sect of Islam as the central religious approach, the Alevi sect stayed in an uncontrolled free area. This allowed to the Cemevi (Alevi worship centers) to be a potential FBO in Turkey.

In that sense, there are some organizations in Turkey which can be categorized under the title of FBOs. Besides Deniz Feneri, Kimse Yok mu Association, Cansuyu Association, IHH Humane Aid Foundation, Some Alevi organizations and Cemevi can be cited as examples of FBOs. This research examines the Deniz Feneri Association as an NGO and mainly their volunteers and professionals in Central Anatolia Logistical Headquarters.

3.5 FBO Samples in Turkey

3.5.1 Kimse Yok mu Welfare and Solidarity Association[20]

As a faith based organization, "Kimse Yok Mu" openly stresses that its scope covers Turkey and "all Muslim countries" like Bangladesh. Like Deniz Feneri, Kimse Yok Mu also started as a TV program in an Islamic TV channel called Samanyolu TV in 2002. For these organizations a "TV program to NGO" trend can be observed clearly. The association was launched in 2004. The association targets to access US, Canada and Austria to build branches in these countries where many Turks live. Kimse Yok Mu collects and distributes aid, the primary aim is identified as "becoming a bridge between rich and poor". Volunteers constitute the main part of the aid activity. Kimse Yok Mu focuses on the Islamic type of activities such as food aid in Ramadan, *sünnet* and *kurban* (Islamic sacrifices). However, it also operates several activities such as distributing school materials and repairing houses after floods. Kimse Yok Mu built a food bank for the distribution of extra food supplies. One of the leading projects carried by Kimse Yok Mu is "sister family" which is based on a constant support from one family to another. The association declares the spirit of this project as "building a brotherhood like during the time of "Messengership of Prophet Muhammad." The association uses the cash, online, bank account, SMS based aid collection methods and it uses TV, magazines and web site for promotion. Kimse Yok Mu Association acquired to the status of "Association of

[20] "Kimse yok mu" means "is there anybody to help" but this association does not use such kind of translated name.

Public Interest" by the decision of the Council of Ministers in 2006[21]. In the interview conducted with Cansuyu Association, the head of Cansuyu claimed that Kimse Yok mu is totally dependent on the Fethullah Gülen movement.

3.5.2 Cansuyu Welfare and Solidarity Association

Cansuyu was founded in 2005. The Association was based in Ankara but also it opened a branch in Istanbul. It has offices in six major cities but it covers all the country. The core staff of Cansuyu consists of old bureaucrats, mayors and activists of a political party "Saadet Partisi" which has a certain Islamic background. The target area is also Islamic territory: Pakistan, Afghanistan and Bangladesh. The association's discourse is clearly Islamic. The association has strong links with some Islamic newspapers. It aims to launch a project for the rehabilitation of street children. Cansuyu uses more primitive aid collection and promotion method, which mainly consists of bank accounts. Cansuyu has specific religious motivations such as aid during the *kurban bayramı* and medicine aid to Palestine. However, it also has a wheelchair project for the disabled school children. Cansuyu does not have a TV channel but it is supported by radios and firms which generally claim an Islamic identity. In comparison to Deniz Feneri and Kimse Yok Mu, Cansuyu has a smaller share of anti-poverty activity with stronger religious components and less professionalization.

3.5.3 İHH Humane Aid Foundation

İHH was founded in 2001. Unlike other FBOs, İHH is not an association but a foundation. İHH draws attention to spreading goodness and justice all over the world. The primary aim of İHH is presented as providing human assistance to the destitute people in need. Besides, İHH adopts a more macro discourse in comparison with other FBOs: preventing any kind of activities and policies that lead to deprivation. Also, İHH determined its primary goal as preventing violation of basic rights and freedoms. Like other NGOs, İHH collects aid and distributes aid, by organizing fairs for instance. İHH stresses the concept of "brotherhood" instead of

[21] Bkz: http://www.kimseyokmu.org.tr

religion. So it can be said that İHH is more inclusionary. Some generic concepts have been adopted such as promoting "goodness" instead of struggle against "poverty". Actually, poverty is a subtitle of İHH's activity. Besides, many religious icons can be seen in the web site of İHH. The most prominent activity is providng aid for Palestine. Briefly, it will be suitable to consider the İHH as an FBO[22]

3.5.4 Cemevleri (Alevi Organizations)

The specific conditions of the Alevi sect contributed to the emergence of their own religious services and worship centers. Cemevi is the worship place of the Alevis. In larger towns in Turkey today, Cemevleri are multifunctional buildings where a broad range of cultural activities take place. However, Cemevi has not been considered by the state to be at the same status as mosque. However, today they are more known and open then before. Cemevi provides food, however educational and cultural services in addition to its worship center function. One other function of the Cemevi is the conflict solution within the community. On the other hand, due to its distance to the Sunni Islamic perception and the mosque, the Alevi institutions gained a relative freedom. So, in the Cemevi there is a significant potential for FBO activity.

Considering these organization as FBOs or not is completely disputable. They have several original aspects. This study will discuss all these aspects of Deniz Feneri.

[22] http://wwww.ihh.org.tr

CHAPTER 4

FIELD RESEARCH: METHODOLOGY AND METHOD

This study adopts a Weberian perspective. Thus, the thoughts of organization and volunteers are analyzed with an interpretative approach. In this manner, attention will be drawn to identification of groups. The major axis of this study is based on "religious references" as cultural variables. However, the phenomenon of religion has not been considered as a sterile concept or as independent from the economic and political conditions. Some typologies of FBOs have been established. Turkish case has been analyzed in terms of these typologies.

This study is based on indepth interviews with professional-volunteers and a-3-month-participant observations in Deniz Feneri Association Central Anatolia Logistical Headquarters in Pursaklar, Ankara. Hence, several activities of Association have been followed. A continuous communication has been set with the volunteers, professional staff and consultants. All the publications including the Association's official serials have been analyzed. The letters of applicants have been read and some relations have been established with the applicants. The scientific activity of Deniz Feneri, DEYAM's final poverty symposium has been joined in İstanbul.

There also is an aid organization titled as Deniz Feneri e.V. in Germany. There is a lawsuit due to illegal usage of donations. Some members have been under arrest. Under these circumstances, it was difficult to do interviews with its members, However 6 people including 3 donors and 1 volunteer of Deniz Feneri e.V. have been interviewed.

Indepth interviews have been conducted with a total of 31 people. The composition of interviews is as below:

Table 6: Composition of Interviews

Respondent	Count
Deniz Feneri Administrative and Professional Staff	4 (Head of Ankara Branch, public relations officer, volunteer relations officer, social investigation expert)
Deniz Feneri Volunteer	20 (administrative, logistics, social investigation, aid distribution…)
Deniz Feneri in Germany - Frankfurt	6 (volunteer, donor & other)
Other Association Administrator	1 (Head of Cansuyu Association Ankara Branch)
TOTAL	31

The questionnaire for administrative-professional staff includes 63 questions. The questionnaire for volunteer staff includes 28 questions. Germany questionnaire includes 17 questions.[23] The data acquired from these questionnaires has entered into the SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) Software (version 15.0) and the data has been summarized in descriptive statistics. Categorizations have been built and the relations among these categories have been exposed by cross-tabulation (cross-tab) techniques. The interviews with the administrative staff have each lasted for 1-1.5 hours. The interviews with volunteers lasted for half an hour each. Some of them lasted up to 2-3 hours. Tape recording was only used in two interviews due to the side effects of recording (It has been observed that tape recording negatively affects the comfort of the respondent). Four interviews of volunteers were conducted via internet. One of these was done in spoken form while the others have been conducted in written form. In other words, none of the questionnaires were left to be filled by those interviewed and all interviews have been conducted in a

[23] For the conducted questionnaire sets, see Appendix H: Questionnaire Sets

communicative-interactive format. Thus, indepth and high quality data have been collected continuously. Many answers have been received before the questions. The interview conducted with Cansuyu association included 27 questions. Although this work is not based on a comparison among associations, this interview contributed to seeing the place of Deniz Feneri more clearly. [24]

[24] The questionnaire set of this interview has been developed by 7 partners of "Faith Based Organizations and Social Exclusion in the European City" (FACIT) Project.

CHAPTER 5

DENİZ FENERİ ASSOCIATION AS A FAITH BASED ORGANIZATION IN STRUGGLE AGAINST POVERTY

5.1 Organization Structure

5.1.1 Establishment: Historical Background

The idea of Deniz Feneri Association project started with "Şehir ve Ramazan", which was a TV program broadcast on Channel 7 during Ramadan of 1996, and it attracted a lot of interest. This program was organizing social aid and solidarity relations between small traders and the poor within some particular districts. Later, the activities of the program continued after Ramadan throughout the year and it was, transformed into a weekly program called Deniz Feneri (Lighthouse). The name "Deniz Feneri" was found appropriate as "it is a system which prevents people and ships, from hitting the coast and getting damaged or hurt, with its light on the seas and oceans".[25] As the interest in the program increased, the aid to be granted to the poor started to get to the television channel so a need for institutionalization appeared. Institutionalization was launched due to the fact that gathering and delivering aid attracted much interest. It was thought that the activities should be based on a more organized, legal process. Thus, Deniz Feneri Association became the organized form of the television program with the name "Deniz Feneri Welfare and Solidarity Association".

[25] Cited from the interview conducted with the head of Deniz Feneri Ankara Branch.

Deniz Feneri Association was founded in İstanbul, in 1998, where the headquarters is also located. It was not the product of professional effort, "The start-up was amateurish. We learned a lot of things by trial and error. Good faith was the core of our development and we struggled to be the best. We understood that what we did had a holy and moral benefit".[26] At the start, Deniz Feneri headquarters rented a small depository below a block of flats to execute its aid activities. Standing expenses like renting this depository were paid by donations made to the association. Deniz Feneri became part of the social agenda after the Marmara Earthquake on August 17th, 1999. "At that time, the association began to be at the limelight because planned and voluntary aid activities were displayed, deliveries of aid goods were successfully handled and all these were made public through the media".[27] Deniz Feneri Association set up nearly 500 prefabricated houses in Bolu-Gölcük region and helped the earthquake survivors. The actual institutionalization of the association was achieved at that time. The association, thus, leapt forward to an unexpected status. "We were not a well-known association until 2000."[28] Then the association experienced a rapid development and set up an organization web dealing with activities in Turkey and across the world.

Donations have been the only resources of Deniz Feneri Association since its foundation. No project has been sponsored up till now. Regarding the support from municipalities, the head of Ankara Branch states that, "only giving priority to the association in terms of land can be regarded as a kind of public support. We rented an open space of the municipality in Zeytinburnu, İstanbul. We did the same in Pursaklar, Ankara but later we bought the land."[29] The head of the Ankara Branch emphasizes that there is no non-governmental organization in the world or in Turkey that Deniz Feneri follows as an example, which is quite surprising when you consider that, although Deniz Feneri is the first of its kind in Turkey, there are

[26] Cited from the interview conducted with the head of Ankara Branch.

[27] Cited from the interview conducted with the head of Ankara Branch.

[28] Cited from the interview conducted with the head of Deniz Feneri Ankara Branch.

[29] See Appendix A. Photos: İstanbul Headquarters and Ankara Branch.

examples in the world like Oxfam. The association only examined some logistics firms for their existing logistic system.

5.1.2 Organization

Deniz Feneri Association has completed its regional structuring with 3 branches and 3 representative offices. There are branches in Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir, and representative offices in Thrace, Black Sea Region and Eastern Anatolia (Erzurum). It has 350 professional employees and more than 50.000 enrolled volunteers.[30] The association states that it reaches each and every part of Turkey. It reaches Mediterranean Region and South-Eastern Anatolia, although there are no branches, via Thrace branch. It has more than 500.000 enrolled families and the number goes up to 2.000.000 recipients of relief when the members of the families are taken into consideration.[31] The association also reaches countries like Indonesia, Cambodia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Palestine, Iraq, Syria, Yemen, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Madagascar, Sudan, Lesotho, Malawi, Zimbabwe, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Tatarstan, Daghestan, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Kosovo, Albania, Hungary, Slovenia and Moldavia.

5.1.3 Administrative Structure: Central Anatolia Logistic Headquarters

Ankara Branch of Deniz Feneri Association, where this study was carried out, was set up in 2000 with the name "Central Anatolia Logistic Headquarters", which consists of 16 provinces. The headquarters has an administrative building and a logistic one and, with its garden, occupies a large area. This branch has two modern buildings next to one another. The administrative building consists of the branch presidency, training lounge, blue desk (first application spot and telephone system), data entry departments, departments of letter reading and document assortment, a

[30] The number of volunteers is indicated as 58.039 by the August 2008 in the Deniz Feneri web site. It is increasing continuously.

[31] The number of enrolled families is indicated as 2.175.363 by the August 2008 in the Deniz Feneri web site. It is increasing continuously.

small open bazaar[32], dining hall and a small mosque. In the logistic building[33], which looks like a giant depository, there are categorized departments of food, clothes, cleaning agents and furniture making. Though the logistic centre was, in general, set up to pack and store the gathered goods to be delivered, it also has a slaughterhouse[34], a workroom to mend furniture and a textile shop.[35] Apart from these departments, the association has a public soup-kitchen and a guesthouse in Çinçin, Ankara to accommodate short term guests and patient's relatives and an open bazaar in Ulus.[36] The association first of all shows everyone who comes to the logistic headquarters (no matter what the purpose is) around and advertises the association in detail. A similar structure is found in the branches outside Ankara. The İstanbul branch, which is the head office, has two logistic headquarters, which are smaller in comparison to the one in Ankara. It also consists of an administrative headquarter, which is bigger in comparison to the one in Ankara, and DEYAM, which is an academic centre for studies on poverty.

5.1.4 Human Capital

5.1.4.1 Professionals

The Ankara Branch, where interviews were conducted with the professionals was constituted in accordance wit the pertinent law for organizations. Members of the general assembly elect the executive board in 3 yearly congresses. The executive board elects a chairman. The general assembly comprises 43 people in Ankara. There are examples of coexistence of volunteering and professionalism. For instance, the

[32] Open bazaar is a clothe store opened only for important periods such as religious holidays. This activity is generally operated in the open bazaar in Ulus district and it provides the opportunity of free clothing for people.

[33] See Appendix A. Photos.

[34] See Appendix A. Photos.

[35] Deniz Feneri does not collect second hand clothes as donations and it does not distribute used clothes to the applicants. However, there is process of repair and renewal for the second hand furniture.

[36] See Appendix A. Photos: Open bazaar in Ulus.

chairman in Ankara works in the association 6.5 days a week like a professional but he does not get any payment.

Deniz Feneri Association Ankara Branch is composed of 70 professional workers. The executive board and administrative staff perform several activities: Aid evaluation, education and placement of volunteers, blue desk (call center), classification of documents and data entry. The logistics staff also performs several activities: placement of donations into the depots, aid delivery, small workshop activities, slaughterhouse, and preparation of meals. Even though the volunteers have been promoted to administrative and logistical jobs, some work is done only by the professionals: Software development in information technologies, slaughtering, and furniture repair. Volunteers' promotion to these jobs is very limited. [37] "We want to let the volunteer see our system, we want him to contribute to the society, otherwise we can do all these by employing more professionals. Thus, you are controlling us. To whom Deniz Feneri distributes aid? Does it help the relatives of someone? Or the people who are not in need? You are controlling all these."

In this study, 3 out of 4 professionals are bachelors. One of them is a lawyer, one is a teacher and two people had worked in private sector before this job. All professionals started after year 2000.

5.1.4.2 Volunteers

Volunteer applications can be done by directly to the association or via internet. Even though the volunteering procedure includes application, first meeting, education and training period, the training period has not been observed. A form is filled and the information of the volunteer is registered into the computer database. [38] The volunteer clarifies what kind of jobs s/he can handle and how frequent s/he can work in the organization. However, this information can be altered in the future. Deniz Feneri has efficient information system for its volunteers. In the near future,

[37] Çakır determines a similar thing in his study adopted in Deniz Feneri İstanbul in 2003: "Generally we see that the volunteers are assembled into work processess determined before. (Çakır, 2003:101)

[38] See Appendix B. Volunteering Form

the volunteer applications are going to be taken via internet. A volunteer, who found Deniz Feneri via internet, said he applied to several associations but only Deniz Feneri responded.

There is no general classification for the volunteers in Deniz Feneri. However, the volunteers can be classified according to their working frequency or the kind of work they do. Neverthless all these categories will be malleable. Most of the volunteers and even some of the professionals began to work in Deniz Feneri vith their knowledge of the Deniz Feneri TV program.

Volunteers are taken into training periodically. “We do not know about our volunteers in a very detailed way, but our doors are open to anyone who wants to be a part of these processes. We care about preventing the exploitation of our name and opportunities. We choose not to authorize people to work in field activities.” [39] Nevertheless, volunteers go to the field and they perform social investigation which is one of the most important activities of Deniz Feneri.

Ankara Branch has nearly 13.000 volunteers and most of them work actively. The ratio of women is higher in both volunteers and professionals. 7/10 of the volunteers are women. Deniz Feneri Ankara Branch, arranges a minibus service everyday except Sundays from Ulus (close to the city center) at 10.00 o’clock in the morning and to Ulus at 16.00 o’clock in the afternoon. Thus, volunteers have access to free transport. Excluding travel time and meals breaks, daily working hours is five hours for a volunteer.[40]

5.1.4.2.1 Volunteers in Ankara Branch

20 indepth interviews have been conducted with volunteers for this study. All these volunteers are registered in Ankara Branch and nearly all of them work in the association actively.

[39] Cited from the interview conducted with the head of Deniz Feneri Ankara Branch.

[40] This free service was removed after the certain decline in the donations due to the Deniz Feneri e.V. lawsuit in Germany and the programs of media in September 2008.

Volunteers are between the ages of 20 and 63. The mean of the group is 30,3. There are 11 men and 9 women; 7 are university students. 6 are bachelors, 5 are high school graduates, 1 is military school graduate and 1 is primary school graduate. Thus, the people who are university graduates have the largest share. In the interview conducted with the volunteer relations officer, the officer said that Gazi University has a big share in the number of university student volunteers.

If we look at the jobs of volunteers, 8 are still students, 5 are workers, 2 of them are public officers, 2 are small scale retailers, 2 are retired and one is a housewife. This category is primarily composed of university students. 15 people from this group live in Ankara. The rest live in Kocaeli, İzmir, Kahramanmaraş, Malatya and Niğde but they are in Ankara mostly for their education. All people living in Ankara are staying with their families. 2 people coming from other cities stay in dorms, 2 of them live with friends and one is staying with his relatives.

The working period differentiates from 0 year (new volunteer) to 8 years (since the opening year of Ankara Branch). The mean is 2.75 years. 7 people found out about Deniz Feneri via the TV program, 5 people via his/her friends, 2 people via internet, one people via the aid activity, one person in a fair, one person in his "own work", one met via Uğur Aslan. [41] The working frequency differs from 1 to 24 days monthly. The mean is nearly 5.5 days. 17 out of 20 volunteers are also donors of the association. 40% donate in cash, 30% donate *Kurban*, 20% donate clothing (new clothes) 15% give furniture, 10% try to fill coin boxes. Other donations are composed of food (5%) and medicine (5%).

13 volunteers worked in the food department, 10 worked in letter reading, 10 worked in the archive (document classification), 5 worked in food delivery, 4 worked in data entrance, 4 worked in blue desk, 3 worked in social investigation, 3 worked in education at least once. Also, at least one volunteer worked in demonstration stand, meat packing and cleaning material packing departments.

[41] Uğur Aslan is the speaker of Deniz Feneri TV program in Kanal 7 (Channel 7). Besides, he has a certain popularity due to his poetry cassette record serials named as Deniz Feneri and his poetry books. This volunteer states that she met him on his signature day.

12 people from the group say that they found new volunteers for Deniz Feneri. 4 people found 1, 2 found 2, the other 2 found nearly 100 people, the other 3 people found nearly 15, 20 and 50 new volunteers. The men are more successful than the women at bringing in new members.

5.1.4.3 Activities of Volunteers and Logistic Staff

5.1.4.3.1 Internal Activities

After the volunteers come to Deniz Feneri they are given to a job by the voluntary relations officer according to their demands. S/he does the job as long as s/he wants (generally until the end of the day). The volunteer relations officer generally knows everybody who comes continuously and she asks where they want to work for the day and addresses the volunteers by their names. She also indicates where there is a big need at that moment. The working places that the volunteers indicate in their volunteer forms are taken into account. After the placement of volunteers, if there is a new volunteer candidate coming in that day, he is taken to the volunteer relations room where they are given a presentation about the association. After the person is taken for a tour in the association s/he is asked if s/he wants to stay and work there for that day.

As we mentioned before, volunteers are added to the logistical and administrative jobs. These activities are packaging of food, meat and cleaning materials, preparation of education sets, documentation, data entrance to the computers (usually some parts of social investigation), letter reading and education. For instance, in the data entrance process, the completed social investigation form about the poor is entered into the computer software. At this point the voluntary relations officer says that the number of documents is not important, but correct entrance is vital (30-35 forms can be entered in a day under normal conditions). Some information about the applicants is already in the software. The volunteer generally enter the routine information. For instance, the volunteers do not enter the social investigation dates and decisions on whether to give aid. Besides, volunteers do not have full control on the data entrance

system: a professional switches the system on with a password and if there is an interruption from Istanbul, a professional has to reestablish it. In another activity of administrative department, the receipts for the donors are categorized and they are made ready for posting. Another activity is control of donors' communication numbers from another list (These numbers are used for feedback to these donors). This activity is done by a group consisting of women and men from all ages seated around a table: a speaker reads the list and others control and validate. Errors are very rare. It means that the information which is already right is rechecked. Similarly, in the letter reading process, 8-10 people around a table open the letters for the first time, they classify the first documents coming from applicants and they underline the "important" parts (conditions-demands-urgencies) of the letters. So the volunteers do not perform vital jobs in general. They do secondary jobs such as data entrance without having an impact on aid decisions. They do not have total control over the work. So, they are actually assigned to these tasks. [42]

Even though there are both women and men in both administrative and logistic jobs, in the logistics generally one part of the task is done by women while the other part is handled by men. Thus, there is a division of labor in the logistical processes. For instance in the food packaging, bringing, ordering and loading packages are tasks done by men who stay on one side of the "assembly line", while placement of the food into the packages is done by the women. However, such kind of division of labor cannot be observed in the administrative process. Activities such as documentation, letter reading, and data entrance are completed by mixed working groups. There are trainings twice a week in order to explain the key points of these jobs.

5.1.4.3.2 External Activities

External activities are composed of aid delivery (via a vehicle), fairs, stand demonstrations, social investigations, working in small restaurants and in small bazaars.

[42] For a view of letter reading activity see Appendix A. Photos: Letter Reading Activity

Aid delivery is done by the volunteers who have a car and it involves collecting the prepared packages and their delivery to the address (the aid is generally composed of two packages) "There are people who ask for oil for their cars, we do not provide it, we look for assistance without any expectation but in the rural areas we sometimes provide oil." [43]

Demonstration stands are set in the city center and in some shopping malls[44] to take *kurban* donations and to provide information. There is rapid increase in the stand activities throughout the *Kurban bayramı*. The fairs (*kermes)* are set in different cities with the support of volunteers. Food, clothing materials are sold in these fairs and aid is provided for the poor. For instance, in 2007 the clothes (hand works, head scarves, bags, towels...) made by the volunteers in the workshop named "Hope Workshop" were presented in a fair in the city of Çorum. Open bazaar is composed of a small bazaar, in the administrative building of Deniz Feneri which is only opened at special times such as *bayram*s, and a bigger one in Ulus which is continuously open (there are also mobile bazaars other than the fixed bazaars in İstanbul, Ankara and Erzurum). With an appointment, clothes can be obtained from these bazaars for free. These bazaars are also operated by volunteers. Social investigation, which is also an external activity will be covered in the part of aid delivery (Deniz Feneri Dergisi, Aralık 2007).

5.2 Social Aid Activity: Collection, Classification, Distribution

5.2.1 Aid Collection System

5.2.1.1 Donations and Donors

Deniz Feneri collects fiscal and non-fiscal aid, It is possible to donate by credit card via internet or transfer money into bank accounts (without indicating account

[43] Cited from the interview conducted with the head of Deniz Feneri Ankara Branch.

[44] Most of the Makromarket and Adese malls and also in Optimum, Beğendik Kocatepe, Ankara Metro, Balıkçıoğlu İş Hanı, Sincan Lale Meydanı, OSTİM and important centers of near cities. Also see Appendix A. Photos

numbers). However, aid is generally given in face to face relations by coming into the association. The administrative staff think that there are still problems in trusting the banks. However, an effective demonstration is also provided to the donors. Thus, a trust relation is set and the aid becomes more continuous. Until 2004, the permission for collecting aid had to be granted every year. By the "public benefit status" adopted in 2004 aid can be collected without permission. In the past, there was a tax exemption for the aid given to an association with public benefit status, however this status does not allow similar advantage for now.

Deniz Feneri receives aid in the form of cash, food, clothing, furniture, education, medicine, coal-wood, cleaning and construction materials. However, Deniz Feneri tries to buy some of these materials from the market. Thus, standardization will be achieved among the packages. It is not possible to keep some donations such as food for long periods. Besides, second hand clothes cannot be accepted. Deniz Feneri explains that as "they are known to give only good materials to the poor". Old furniture cannot be given before it repaired. If it is too old then that material is used in another field (such as wood aid for heating). However, repairing old clothes is not possible, so raw-materials for clothing are expected. Besides, some materials which are not given as donations such as gland for old people are very often purchased from the stores. These kinds of activities constitute the seldom commercial activity of Deniz Feneri.

According to the chairman of the Ankara Branch, there are no big firms that provide periodic aid to Deniz Feneri. The general donor profile (including cash and other) are from middle class. "The big firms already have their own foundations and projects." However, there are some firms who give us periodic aid every year. They are especially from the textile sector. The average aid in cash is about 50-80YTL (25-40 Euro). The aid for Indonesia which was about 250.000 YTL (~125.000 Euro) was the biggest aid in Deniz Feneri history.

5.2.1.2 TV Programs and Advertisements

Advertisements are the most important tools used for the promotion of Deniz Feneri. Newspapers, billboards, the own periodical of association titled as "Deniz Feneri"

and radio programs are used. However, Deniz Feneri has mostly become popular with the TV program broadcasted on Kanal 7 (Channel 7). Chairman of the Ankara Branch talks about the issue of the effect of such a conservative TV channel: "There are other channels on which we advertise. However, our relation with Channel 7 is fundamental. The father and mother of Deniz Feneri is Channel 7. Can other channels be our allies? This is not a very fair approach. These relations have lasted for ten years and Channel 7 has not expected anything. A TV program is prepared on our account and we give this program to Channel 7 to be broadcasted. We do not give aid only to a few families as it is shown in the program. There is also an institutional structure separate from the program at the moment." On the other hand, Deniz Feneri program has also provided a high level of rating for the Channel. Besides the right of usage of the name Deniz Feneri belongs to Channel 7 at the moment. The chairman presents an example: "I have made a program in the same format on Channel A in 2003-2004. This was not a problem since the program's name was Kardelen. But we cannot use the name of Deniz Feneri in any other channel." According to another executive staff member, "this program tries to provide awareness for consumers. This is a motivation. The organization must say where it is, it must show itself. But these are the visible sides of a huge iceberg". Deniz Feneri has not neglected to acknowledge the media other than Channel 7 who contributed to the demonstration of the association: Tatlıses TV, Kral FM, Marmara FM, Mavi Karadeniz TV, Bizim Radyo, Radyo Fresh, Medya FM, Lalegül FM (Deniz Feneri, Ocak 2008). All of these are other proofs of association's popularity in the media.

5.3 Aid Classification System: Quality Management

5.3.1 Integrated Computer System and SİS.NET

The aid organization software named as "Yardım Organizasyon Programı-YOP" provides an efficient basis for classification of aid. YOP is an original computer software which has 50 versions developed by research and development and information technologies departments. YOP is an integrated system which gathers all the aid information including the data of incoming donations, donors, given aid, volunteers, and applicant families. The center of the system is in İstanbul but it

functions all over the country. It can be reached online and everything can be updated at national level. “We save everything digitally registered, there is no other example of this!” Periodic counts are held and these data is compared with the numbers in the depots.

On the other hand, with the online system named SİS.NET, Deniz Feneri makes it possible to send social investigation forms to the responsible people via internet and the system can be accessed via internet when posting the form. Thus, a responsible can perform social investigation without coming to the branch.

5.3.2 Storage and ISO Standards

Deniz Feneri acquired some certificates of quality standards in collection and distribution of aid. For this reason, all aid received by the association is categorized using a barcode system. This process gives the possibility to provide feedback for donors at any time. According to one executive, even a couple of trousers can be located months after the donations. “Which family has taken it or in which depot it is… all these can be seen with this system” Usage of these standards brought International Quality standards of ISO 9001 and Q 9001 (2000) in 2004. Furthermore, due to these standards, the association gives feedbacks to donors not only on demand but also on a regular basis. All these are important for the transparency of the association. Such kind of integrated model is important for trust building. “You cannot randomly take aid for someone randomly in here. It must pass from different processes. Everything is registered here, everything has a receipt. They can be found and they can be controlled any time[45]. Besides, it has been observed that this efficient registration system impresses people very much.

5.4 Aid Distribution System

The application process in order to get aid starts with an individual demand or a denunciation. This happens via a letter or reaching to the blue desk by phone call. In

[45] Cited from the interview conducted with the head of Deniz Feneri Ankara Branch.

the second step, the applicant is asked for some documents. These standard documents include a simple form (not always required), a copy of an identity card, the family notification document taken from *muhtar*[46] (this document is a proof of the condition of poverty which is also titled as form 5), the photocopy of health report (if there is a demand for health assistance), a general letter written by the family which contain the general condition and demands (named as "the letter from the head of family").

If applicants know about which documents are compulsory for an application, they can also send these documents with the first letter. Many people send other kinds of documents as well: Documents showing that one of the relatives is in jail, court decisions, pictures drawn by the applicant's children, family photos, newspaper stories on their conditions. [47] All these documents are screened in the letter reading process, most of them cannot be included in the application file. Tricky applications, false declarations are often observed. The number of women are quite higher than men. Because, the ones who experience the most violent aspects of poverty are generally women. Most of them are abandoned women who do not have any kind of support. Usually, men are more reluctant to apply for such kind of aid. Besides, sometimes men know the principles of such kinds of aid organizations and they force women to ask for the aid. [48]

Credit Card debts, electricity and bankruptcy debts compose the largest part of cash demands. Many people ask for a job for himself/herself or his/her relative. However, finding a job is not a part of the services provided by the association.[49] Before beginning of the academic year and during *bayrams*, there seems a rapid increase in the applications. After the mass distributions in a region, there are generally mass applications in same place. Sometimes, the demands such as taking an ill person to

[46] *Muhtar:* The elected head of a district or a village.

[47] In one of these letters, an applicant shows a piece of newspaper as a proof of his condition: "He protested the prime minister with saying he is hungry".

[48] Basically, the primary factor of the denial of an application is existence of a healthy man in the family.

[49] In spite of this rule, sometimes Deniz Feneri find job for some people.

hospital are received. There is an extreme number of demands for gland for sick people (Deniz Feneri Sosyal İnceleme Rehberi, 2007).

5.4.1 Social Investigation

After the first demand is received by letter or phone, a file with an ID number in the digital system containing the information about the applicant and his/her household is created. The second step is the social investigation. This is probably the most original process in Deniz Feneri. According this process, the association authorizes some professionals and volunteers to gather information concerning applications and to interpret on this information.

The applicants are divided into groups according to their region and they are assigned to a responsible of social investigation. The social investigation form which includes the address of the applicant is given to a responsible (social investigator) directly from the association or via SİS.NET. The process of social investigation is fulfilled by a professional or a volunteer. However, in both these cases the potential social investigator receives 2-3 hours training program. The association especially needs volunteers in rural areas that are hard to reach because there is no other way to start the evaluation and aid the delivery processes.

If the social investigation is not conducted within 3 days, it is given to another responsible. The investigator who receives the investigation form and gets authorization, visits the home of applicant without appointment. Then, the actual investigation starts: The responsible fills in the investigation form by asking questions. Not only s/he collects all quantitative information but also s/he can write his/her own impressions on the back side of the form. [50] Furthermore, s/he is authorized to have a look different rooms of the house, to check the refrigerator or even to ask neighbors and retailers about the condition of applicant.

[50]See Appendix B. Forms: Social investigation form.

Once it is completed, the form is delivered to the association via post, SİS.NET or directly handed in at the center. If there emerges a need or there comes a denunciation, or the period of yearly aid over, the social investigation can be redone. The timing of the aid delivery process is totally dependent on the completion of social investigation stage. Thus, Deniz Feneri needs volunteers especially for this activity.

5.4.2 Aid Evaluation Committee (YDK)

The applicant's documents, the letter of "family head" and the social investigation form is brought to the aid evaluation committee (YDK). The YDK is composed of 5 people who have worked in the association for a long time. The chairman of Ankara Branch is the natural leader of the committee. These 5 people take their decisions independently. If there are hesitations, the members can get together. Although there is detailed information about applicants, the main criterion for the decision is the "state of need". If there is a healthy man at home who is able to work it affects the decision in a negative way. Having a job, making an excuse due to illnesses, luxury consumption, receiving aid from another source, being addicted to such kinds of aid, smoking and drinking alcohol or any false declaration about the condition (house ownership, income level, social security…) affect the decision negatively. [51] However, being unemployed, living without income, absence of a head of family, being old, disabilities, large numbers family members in the households, large numbers of students, debts, children doing military service, being a widow/widower, having responsibility to look after children affect the decision positively. Factors such as rent and physical condition of the home are always taken into account but they are not always very effective for the decisions. In this respect, we see a "relative poverty" approach in the Deniz Feneri aid evaluation process.

Besides, the personal impressions written on the form have a particular importance on the decision making of the YDK. Even if all the criteria for the aid fulfilled,

[51] The positive answer of question of "Are there people who smoke or drink in the house?" affects the aid decision negatively. This is argued by a professional in the social investigation responsible training program. Also see Deniz Feneri Sosyal İnceleme Rehberi p.59 "Yardıma Uygun Görülmeme Nedenleri"

impressions such as “does not seem credible to me” or “there are rumors about him/her in the district” have a potential to affect the decision.

YDK determines the the type of aid according to the type of demand. The aid can be granted for the 6 months or 1 year. After this period, the aid is automatically cancelled but it is possible to reapply. In that case, the social investigation must be renewed.

The aid in cash is granted through the banks or directly. This aid can be granted once or several times or periodically. The most detailed aid is health. It may contain categories medicine, medical operation, medical examinations, prosthesis, hearing equipments, consultancy and gland.

No aid is granted for credit debts in general. One volunteer mentions that some people sent their credit cards’ bills as a proof of debts. “However, there was even an LCD TV in the expenditures of 40.000 YTL” Deniz Feneri does not cover such kinds of credit card debts since they are considered as luxury. Thus, Deniz Feneri builds an objective criterion for not coverage. [52]

While considering both the letter and social investigation, it is possible to think that subjectivity can be effective in the process of aid evaluation. In this issue, an executive mentions “Our volunteers and some people (*muhtelif kesimler*) may wonder about whether we have certain priorities including religion, language, nationality, sect etc. But, Deniz Feneri cares only about two things: first, it is the human and second the need. Anything else, we are not interested in. Society knows this reality. People can slander but we can prove everything.

[52] In contrast, The Chairman of Cansuyu Association openly mentions that the association is totally out of issue of “interest rate” *(faiz)* “Cansuyu does not enter any issue including interest rate. We never provide assistance for the interest debts such as credit card debts.

5.4.3 Aid Delivery

If YDK decides to grant an aid, the decision is entered into the digital system and the aid will be ready in the depot with its receipt. Deniz Feneri vehicles will deliver the aid to the recipient's home. (if there are several aid in one particular district) or the volunteers make the delievers with their own cars. There are the ingredients of the boxes on the receipt. This receipt is signed by the aid receiver-applicant or one of his/her relatives at the time of delivery. This signed receipt is returned to the association via post or first hand within one week.

The time elapsed between application and aid delivery varies from 2 weeks to 2 months, for clothing, food, furniture, coal. [53] Local activities and projects are more flexible. By the end of 2007, Deniz Feneri distributed a total amount of aid worth 20 million Turkish Liras (~10 million Euros) (Deniz Feneri Ankara Şubesi Bülteni, Aralık, 2007, p.16).

5.4.4 General Characteristics of Families Receiving Aid

It is observed that the profile of applicants varied within time. At the beginning it was mainly absolute poor and now people with struggling to live. The TV program influences the demands addressed to the association. Deniz Feneri thinks that it reaches out to families that are really in need with 90% certainly. Most of the poor families migrated to the cities. There are many applicants who are couples that live together with no civil marriage or are divorced by agreement. The literacy rate within the families is extremely low. In many families most of the children do not have a national ID card. Most of the families particularly in rural areas are unable to send any kind of document. Most of the letters are written by the children. Most families are composed of workers who work in temporary jobs such in the agriculture or construction sectors (Deniz Feneri Sosyal İnceleme Rehberi, 2007).

[53] See Appendix A. Aid Delivery: A shot from a standard aid delivery process.

5.5 Supportive Activities and International Scale

5.5.1 Specific Projects

Other than the organized and continuous aid activities which constitute the major part of this study, Deniz Feneri also perform some specific projects which can be done once or continuously. The project "1001 Children, 1001 wishes" asks children to write and draw one of their wishes and Deniz Feneri tries to fulfill this wish by sending more than 1001 gifts to the children. [54] Such kind of children activities, food for breaking fast (*iftariyelik*), distribution of animals for farms, building houses and schools[55], fairs and workshops such as "Umut Atölyesi", trousseau projects such as "1000 Bohça Projesi", opening water wells such as "Su Medeniyettir Projesi", health screening, fountain construction are examples of specific projects. On the other hand, some activities are not direct programs of social assistance but supportive ones: Moral programs, meetings between the poor and donors at the *iftar*. Sometimes, famous political figures take part in these activities. [56]

5.5.2 Scientific Activities

Like Deniz Feneri, Deniz Feneri Center for Poverty Researches (DEYAM) was also established with the "process": Deniz Feneri published the proceedings of the poverty symposium held in 2003. After this symposium, Deniz Feneri Center for Poverty Researches, abbreviated as DEYAM, was established in order to build cooperation between civil society and academia. DEYAM conducts scientific studies. It organized international symposiums and conferences and it publishes the studies presented. DEYAM also has a library and a documentation center. DEYAM

[54] The children ask for house, chocolate and jobs for their fathers, for some parts of the "poverty from the Eye of Children" book, see Appendix G. DEYAM's "Poverty from the Eye of Children" Study

[55]Several primary schools have been constructed in Turkey and some of them are being constructed in Batman, Bitlis, Bolu, Kastamonu, Muğla, Samsun, Sinop, Trabzon, Bursa, Adana , Mardin, Sivas, Çanakkale, Düzce, Gaziantep, Kahramanmaraş, Siirt. Some of them are in Bosna Herzegovina, Macedonia, Endonesia, Pakistan, Ethiopia, Lebanan and Serbia (http://www.denizfeneri.org.tr).

[56] See Appendix A. Photos: An *iftar* that Minister Sait Yazıcıoğlu and Ankara Mayor Melih Gökçek participated.

conducts international projects and it provides academic consultancy for Deniz Feneri. It grants scholarships for studies on poverty. DEYAM has a consultancy committee which is composed of mostly professors. There are study groups such as education, health, women-children-family, rural development, globalization, NGOs, poverty-inequality-stratification, migration. All the activities and the library are accesible from the web site of DEYAM. [57]

DEYAM organized many events: Poverty Symposium-İstanbul 2003, which was later published (Book of "Yoksulluk"), Culture of Poverty Symposium-İstanbul 2005, Poverty from the Eye of Children Report, (Taken from "1001 Çocuk 1001 Dilek" Project), Children Poverty Workshop-2006, DEYAM Seminars-2006, Publication of DEYAM Periodicals-after 2007 July, International Poverty Symposium-2007, "Gelecek İçin Bir Işık" Project (EU Action.5), membership of network of EU NGOs.

DEYAM conducts indepth studies on poverty. Besides, it is obvious that DEYAM makes great expenditures for its organizational activities. High standard accommodation is provided for the participants from all over the world. DEYAM mentions that it covers all these expenditures from the Deniz Feneri donations. It must be considered that DEYAM becomes a meeting point for liberal, social democratic and conservative academics. Due to DEYAM, it seems that Deniz Feneri has more control on the issue of poverty. Thus, the qualitative information which is a natural output in the activities of Deniz Feneri can be transferred into the scientific area.

5.5.3 International Activities

The international activities of Deniz Feneri started 4 years ago. At the beginning, Deniz Feneri did not expect such an expansion. In 2003, a study was conducted in Ethiopia. However, the real expansion began after tsunami disaster in 2004. After that, the International Relations Department was established under the General

[57] DEYAM's Web Site: http://www.deyam.org

Headquarters and a new staff was recruited. Today Deniz Feneri has activities in more than 40 countries. It has several partnerships with the NGOs in different countries. It has dialogs and accreditations with UN and UNESCO. Moreover, Deniz Feneri conducts some studies in cooperation with the Islamic Conference.

If we have a look at the countries where Deniz Feneri has activities we can see Nigeria, Indonesia, Etiopia, Pakistan, Iran, Azerbaijan, Yemen, Lebanon, Bosnia Herzegovina and some Balkan. On the other hand, there is a parallelism between the activity area of Deniz Feneri and the past ruling area of the Ottoman Empire.

5.5.3.1 Germany Deniz Feneri e.V[58]

We must briefly mention Deniz Feneri e.V which was subject to a big corruption file in Germany. Actually, the association which was established in the same name is not a branch of the Turkish Deniz Feneri. It is a separate association established according to German law. Deniz Feneri claims that the only relation with this association is through Channel 7. Deniz Feneri e.V was established with the encouragement of Channel 7. Turkish Deniz Feneri has registered trademark in 33 fields but not at the European scale. "There is no organic relation between the structure in Germany and us, but we cannot say that we don't know those people. This is also an organization supported by Channel 7. They invited Uğur Aslan. This is an organization that uses our name for their own interest *(refers to Deniz Feneri in Turkey).* Actually, we cannot tell Channel 7 not to use this name because they are also supporting us. Finally, this is something for charity. They do not do something else, but there is a legal problem there at the moment. However, the media has presented that association as our branch which is not true." [59] Deniz Feneri published a public declaration which briefly states that they do not have any organic connection with the association in Germany. "We are people who believe in moral values, we are people who are always accountable for our acts. But believing or not believing…this is a choice." On the other hand, Deniz Feneri accepts that it has

[58] *Eingetragener Verein* or e.V. ("registered association") is a legal status for a registered voluntary association in Germany and Austria.

[59] Cited from the interview conducted with the head of Deniz Feneri Ankara Branch.

received cash donations from Deniz Feneri e.V. “These kinds of transfers are under the control of the Domestic Advisory and, no illegality has been found on this donation after our final public benefit examinations was finished.” However, there are unclear issues in terms of relations with Deniz Feneri e.V. On the one hand, a malversation is claimed in the issue of Deniz Feneri title, on the other hand, it is believed that Deniz Feneri e.V has done “good” things. It is unclear if the process is adopted or denied.

6 indepth interviews were conducted in the Frankfurt Turkish community. These people have been living Germany for more than 25 years. The interviews were held in two different places, everyone who had been interviewed was religious to a certain extent and all of them have participated in the Islamic political community organizations (mainly Milli Görüş).

All of the Frankfurters know Deniz Feneri e.V., 3 of them have donated several times and one of them was a volunteer. Their aid was relatively small like *kurban* sacrifices (~€100) and several SMS based contributions (~€20). Some of them know of Deniz Feneri Turkey. Most of them believe in the corruption news presented in the media about Deniz Feneri e.V. “They got 16 millions Euro and 19 of them still under arrest”. People say various things about Deniz Feneri e.V.: The aid collection methods are based on a known story: “They come and ask us to become the pioneers to collect money for the organization, and they promise to give us a commission.” “They promised us jobs”. Besides, imposing ceremonies and huge meetings in several European cities were the means to promote activities.[60] According to one, they asked for money by just going to doors of Turks who have been known from mosques, and they also used the pay-per-phone services. Most of the aid has been collected by the bank accounts as a result of the effects of TV program in Channel 7 INT. Uğur Aslan was an important figure. Most of them do believe that people who need such kinds of aid do not exist in Germany: “Even if you do not work, the state takes care of you here!”

[60] This claim was also supported in Deniz Feneri e.V. law indictment, September 2008.

Deniz Feneri e.V. has not used a proper feedback mechanism in Germany. “They were collecting money but they were probably distributing only a some of it as a window dressing.” We supported Deniz Feneri for the earthquakes in Pakistan and Africa. They got money and never called again.” Also, Deniz Feneri e.V. has not cared for transparency: “I know that the building did not belong to the association, it was registered as the personal property of one person.” On the other hand, access to Deniz Feneri headquarters was nearly impossible. Although it is formally known that the building was shut a visit has been possible. The building was protected by video cameras and security doors. A Channel 7 officer came but the information service was denied saying that: “They were a tenant in this building, they left after that issue, I don’t know anything… even if I knew, I would not speak”.

None of the participants of interviews trust Deniz Feneri e.V. anymore. However, one of them asks for acquittal to re-support. Three of them still trust Deniz Feneri in Turkey, while the other half does not have any hope or believe. People do not consider the activity as a religious. “They cheated, how can it be religious, how can it be *zekat*?!” Similarly, most of them believe that the TV based activity was a contradictory activity in terms of religion. “They are just using people, hurting the poor by showing them on TV”.

Deniz Feneri e.V. is known as dishonest organization like the former Islamic based firms of Yimpaş and Kombassan in Germany: “This is the final stage of robbery”. Furthermore, most people distrust the Turkish organizations in Germany. “They are colonizing people”, “There are mosques only include full sermons against republic.” “We only trust and support our mosque which is established by DİTİP (*Turkish Diyanet*). After all, it is our state.” For the future of Deniz Feneri, people believe the story will not end here: “Deniz Feneri goes, Kara Feneri comes.”

The main motivation behind this aid activity is religion and spirituality. “We believed in that.” “It is our religion that orders to do it” “Germans are people who have “straight heads”, they are rational but also in terms of humanity they are cool, in contrast Turks have “circular” heads which means we are close to people and we are the people who care about solidarity abroad” However, there are other motives for

the aid that goes to the Islamic firms: “In Germany, we saw what a working factory means. We believed in that we can set up one in Turkey… “Nobody can get used to this country; we only wanted a guaranty when we return.”

Briefly, according to the small number of Turks living in Frankfurt, two approaches emerged. The first group has lost all their trust in Turkish organizations after their experiences. “I don’t even believe in humanity anymore”. In the second approach, Deniz Feneri e.V. is seen as corrupted but Turkish Deniz Feneri is considered as a reliable organization. The primary factor in this second approach is the efficient demonstration and feedback mechanisms of Turkish Deniz Feneri. “I saw the Turkish Deniz Feneri, I had a tour in the center. I trust them. Their activities must be appreciated.”[61]

[61] Although this thesis interested in the social basis of the Deniz Feneri model, it must be mentioned that by September 2008 the lawsuit in Germany was concluded. 3 people from Deniz Feneri e.V were jailed. And the lawsuit declared that at least 9 million Euros was used in illegal ways. This file is accepted as the biggest corruption file in Germany and according to prosecutor the real criminals was in Turkey. (Hürriyet, 17 Eylül 2008)

CHAPTER 6

ASSESSING THE SAMPLE OF DENİZ FENERİ

6.1 Deniz Feneri as an Experience

Deniz Feneri is an important study field as it goes beyond a social aid organization. Although only 2 of the volunteers state that the primary reason for joining the association's activities is socialization, it is clear that socialization plays a role for most volunteers. We may state that one of the functions of the Deniz Feneri Association is the one of an essential socialization instrument: one of the volunteers in Deniz Feneri association denotes that she works jointly with her 8-9 friends who know each other from their district and school, thus they have a friendship group in the association.

It seems that professionals' performance in Deniz Feneri is quite positive: 13 people from the voluntary group identify the atmosphere in Deniz Feneri with quite genuine / warm / sincere adjectives; 2 people acknowledge mostly physical aspects of the association and they find the center professional-comfortable / clean-modern. One person in the group finds it "honorable"; one of them says "Deniz Feneri can be identified with its *Spirit of Deniz Feneri*", and finally one of them finds the association to be a "sympathetic place". Besides the identifications above; statements like "excellent, soothing, unexpectedly beautiful, systematic, natural, well-settled, objective, groups of men and women" are used. Perceptions of the atmosphere in Deniz Feneri are quite positive and they mostly emphasize sincerity.

Although volunteers assert that they do not expect any financial gain from the association, they acquire a social capital of that consists of a sense of responsibility. Moreover, they declare that they carry it on to their daily life and indirectly become more extroward. It is necessary to declare that Deniz Feneri breaks the patterns in that sense. For example, Deniz Feneri is not perceived as "dangerous" place by conservative families. Thus, the association can be seen as a means to communicate with other people for the daughters of conservative families. Hence, FBOs constitute the last centers of social capital in urban society (FACIT Project Proposal, 2007)

People who work in certain departments of the Deniz Feneri association (especially blue desk and social search division which directly interact with the poor) have psychological problems due to the difficulty of the work. "I thought too much, I had dreams every night for some period, I took anti-depressants but when you are compassionate, you cannot perform your duty. And you feel weak." "Some of our friends seek professional help. However, we know that you can get used to this situation." "We feel so alive after we help these families." "Moreover, some programs have been organized to get the workers and receivers together". "We do not want to empty our emotional world." Generally, it is confirmed that the work that is performed has its difficulties but the moral pleasure erases almost all the negative effects. "Then you see how you should be thankful to God, that spiritual effect makes everything better." Moreover, there are people who interpret the possibility of negative effects reversely: "This place is like a psychiatrist." The association does not provide professional psychological aid services.

When the volunteers are asked about the role of Deniz Feneri in their lives and its contribution, they answer: "I have a new social environment, I have used my free time to help these activities." "It is quite satisfactory, I believe that I am useful and I feel happy." "I met aunt Bedriye, who is now like my grandmother, I feel more peaceful *(huzurlu)* when I join those activities." "Deniz Feneri is my second family." Volunteers have the chance to communicate with the poor and meet people with whom they can develop close ties.

Feedbacks of the volunteers with regard to recipients are generally positive but there are negative ones as well: “there are people who say that they will not give anything to such kinds of organizations, not even their sins”. He mentions: “those people do not know what Deniz Feneri is.” “I do not appreciate people who attribute Deniz Feneri to specific groups”*(He refers to Islamic labels).*

It seems that motivation of volunteers is based on a spiritual drive that is defined as the “Spirit of Deniz Feneri”. The statement “the spirit of Deniz Feneri is also promoted by professionals and also, mentioned by volunteers. These identifications are striking according to the environmental perception of the professionals: “We try to construct a family, a brotherhood and friendship relation in here, one of our children falls ill, we visit her.” “Deniz Feneri covers our lives.” “This is a matter of will.” “We have a good team and this is the most relaxing institution that I have ever worked for, everybody respects each other. It provides excitement and motivation….” It is possible to observe similar patterns in the volunteers: “Atmosphere is more beautiful than I could have ever predicted.” “There is a system and they respect you” “I cannot meet people such well-qualified in any other place.” “I feel satisfied morally and I feel relaxed when I leave to go home” “It offers me a broader perspective in life.” “I have learned to be grateful to God after reading a letter from a poor person.” “I learned to praise and to be patient here.” “I made new friends here” “Deniz Feneri is a breaking point in my life.” One of the volunteers who has spent 6 days a week there for the last three years declares: “It is a turning point in my life; I have found somewhere to relax and feel peaceful. I do my worship as well. You cannot explain Deniz Feneri, you can experience it.”

It is crucial that Deniz Feneri can be a turning point in a person’s life. It is easily seen that Deniz Feneri affects extremely personal lives. One’s expectation from Deniz Feneri is not one-sided. He says that he has spare time and goes to his friend’s cafe where it is full of smoke (he also talked about negative effects of cigarette during the interview) and he states that he does not like these kinds of places. Deniz Feneri always makes him feel that he is a “beneficial man”. At the Ankara Logistical Headquarters, everybody respects him due to his old age and working rhythm and that motivates him. Thus, the association is an ongoing place socializing. When a

poor volunteer sees a poorer one's situation he becomes grateful to God. "I am innately poor but I do not rebel." Besides, the religious aspects of the activity are important factor for the old man. The volunteer says: "I have lived as much as I can"[62] and he get religious satisfaction from these activities as he sees them.

Moreover, some kind of events affected both professionals and volunteers not only their moral life but also their approach to Deniz Feneri association: "A 22-23 year old woman whose right arm was cut off came and we helped her get an artificial arm. She wished that God be pleased with us." "I came to work for holiday celebrations someone prepared breakfast for me, those 4 days passed by very nicely, I got very tired but I had never felt this way before." "Content of the letters affected me very much. One of the families sent their family photo, their faces look different, they need 500 billion for operations, and their relatives also behave badly." "Volunteer meetings are very pleasant; on 24th July 2006, we had superb work day and then I asked myself why I have not joined to this society before, 17 students came from Pursaklar and we worked together." "I feel deep emotions when I read the letter: A 9-year old child named Samet wrote a week before *Kurban Bayramı* and wanted solely meat not for himself but for his mother." "It affected me that the staff worked late hours in Ramadan" "Working to provide help to Palestine affected me." "I have prepared 1500 food packages with 2-3 people." "Transparency of governance and dynamism, and implicit aid is acceptable for God." "When we deliver food aid in Aydınlıkevler, we met an aunt who lives in a coalbunker, she entertained us in her house". "We brought eggs to one family (there is no egg in standard aid package), the child looked and said "We have eggs my mom!" "'Everything's registration including even a pair of stockings affects me." "Everybody finds something spiritual and not based on interest".

It can easily be observed that different people find different things in the association. Some people like the cosmopolitan aspects of the association, some of them see the association as a tool for socializing and meeting different people. Some of them feel productive. Some of them are affected by the professionalism of the association.

[62] *"Yaşayacağım kadar yaşadım"*

Some of them are affected by a care[63]. However, Deniz Feneri provides an amusing experience for people who have not experienced such a thing before.

6.2 Deniz Feneri as an Organizational Structure

6.2.1 Deniz Feneri: Modern or Post-modern Organization?

An organization is a group of people that is structured independently from the individuals. Weber's ideal type organization is the bureaucratic structure: It has hierarchy and there are rules that identify the staffs' duty. There are full time officials and staffs. There is a seniority system and business has a particular place. Members of the organizations are not owners of the material opportunities (Giddens, 2000, p.304-306). According to Weber, improvement of the organization depends on written rules and existence of files in which memories are stocked. Moreover, there is an essential connection between democracy and contemporary organizations according to Weber.

Production processes were the first patterns that differentiate modernity and post modernity. When we think production industrial and the post industrial period, the industrial era was worked by the national state power. It was the era of national economies, customs, mass bazaars, standardization and welfare regimes. Technology consisted of Taylorism and Fordism, there was hierarchy, specialization based on social structure and vertical communication and a control focused approach was adopted. Organizational worth, growth and efficiency were essential. So, it was necessary to observe that people should concentrate in industrial cities in physical structure. Routine nature of the work permitted functional specialization but, it also demanded unskilled labor force. Nevertheless, global competition took place in post industrial era. Mobility characterization of capital makes national state's borders inefficient. The production process is separated and does not concentrate more on central countries. Consumer preferences distinguish. Similarly, new social trends arise on specific issues and political movements depend on pluralism and localization. Sectoral intensity shifts from the industrial to the services sector.

[63] "*yapılan sıcak bir teklif*"

Flexible production processes are both input and output of the process. With the widespread of computer technologies, information based society and automation has gained noticeable acceleration. Velocity and innovation has become important. New organization regularities in social structure, networks, strategic communities and imaginary organizations have emerged. Hierarchies have become slacker, horizontal communication and presenting governance responsibilities to workers have become essential issues. External source usage, subcontracting, importance of informal mechanisms like culture have caused disappearance of certain units, departments and borders. Thus, this was an integration period. Fashion, quality, innovation, customer pleasure have become more important. Communication and technology have improved, transportation costs have decreased, services sector has enlarged and huge mass have become unnecessary for production in central countries (Time-space compression). Thus, complex structures have emerged in business organization, systems like information based capabilities, team works and continuing learning, external source usage, subcontracting, working only out of self interest, tele-work have become more popular (Hatch J.M, 2006, p.93). These discussions also bring to mind Manual Castell's network society. Are FBOs the output or promoter of the new network society?

Postmodernism does not idealize a direct relationship between the representative (word-picture) and the aim. As it is known postmodernist approach suggests firstly subjectivity. Another emphasis of postmodernism is the importance of culture. Post modernism is based on different cultures while modernism stresses powerful objectivity and logic. According to Clegg modernism depends on structural differences. Specialization and division of labor are the most central concepts of modernist political economy (Boje, Gephard, 1996, p.46-49). According to Cooper and Burell, postmodernism should concentrate on production of organization instead of organization of production. Thus, the structural relationship of organization will gain importance. Weberian modernism that highlights efficiency and administrative control depends on the alienating role of bureaucracy.

According to these approaches, Deniz Feneri still draws an organization profile that has modern aspects. Aims, means for this aim, methods, organization structure are

clear. For example, there is an "ideal" Deniz Feneri voluntary model.[64] Categorization systems, modernist tools are used and methods (emblem, advertisement etc.) have important role.

There are explicit rules for both professionals and volunteers. Lunch time and working hours are organized. Deniz Feneri has adopted a smoking prohibition in the building (including whole garden) before the pertinent law in Turkey, in the spirit of its duty.[65] The free bus services provide regularity for volunteers. Even tough volunteers are allowed to choose tasks; there is a proper division of labor. Though voluntaries have freedom, there are boundaries and a certain division of labor. It is possible to state that Deniz Feneri carries these aspects entirely and represents Weberian typology of bureaucracy and modern organization structure.

When the working areas of Deniz Feneri are examined, a high level of division of labor can easily be seen. Division of labor is a distinguishing aspect of modern society systems (Giddens, 2000, p.328). Work is organized by small parts of systems on which people have specialized thus high output increase can be obtained. Division of labor in small parts in Deniz Feneri association reminds us of Taylor's production models: the most crystallized version of the association is the food preparing department. Food preparing activity done in the changing corridor of the logistics center presents a Taylorist and also a Fordist model: different packages of food are combined and collected in one package in this operation.[66] The process can be defined as: arranging open and ready to fold cartons are settled on two combined bench, making boxes from these cartoons, and distribution of the food boxes by vehicle used by the logistics staff, taking away food boxes from the vehicle and distributing the boxes, arraying them, moving away boxes slowly, cementation of boxes, and loading boxes to the vehicles. Different kinds of division of labor among

[64] This model is schematized in charts those can be found on the walls of Deniz Feneri Volunteers Department.

[65] Despite this statement, it is observed that directors of another FBO type organization may smoke easily in their office.

[66] Context of food package consists of 2 kinds: One of them is 16 kg; flour, sugar, oil, cheese, rarely fruit juice. Other one is wider 8 kg breakfast box. These packages are existed once or more than one in 6 months according to YDK decision and voluntary distribution action is always reached 2 packages.

women and men are observed. The band is unique difference from Fordism is manual sliding. Women are on one side of the band; men are on the other side of the band. Men are employed in relatively more physical force requiring department like charging and distribution. Women are employed in settling into box department. Music is sometimes prepared in food preparing section like in industrial factories.[67] Food department has the hardest conditions of Deniz Feneri since it is the most demanded product and cannot be stored for a long time. Most of the volunteers are employed in this department. Approximately up to 15-20 people work daily in this department, with this Taylorist model thousands of food packages can be prepared.[68] It is also possible to observe aspects of scientific firm models of Deniz Feneri other than sociological aspects.

"Scientific management" that emerged in 20th century which is actually Taylorist and aimed to maximizing firm profit and clear targets (McKinlay, Starkey, 1998, p.11) is valid for Deniz Feneri. Are FBOs establishing a decentered welfare system? Answer to this question within Turkey and Deniz Feneri example is "no" because FBOs experience a modernist period in Turkey at the moment. They are now at the establishment and settlement stage. However, these organizations have a tendency to increase. Deniz Feneri has already had a few of national and international scaled followers (Cansuyu, Kimse Yok mu, İHH). It is known that most of them follow it on a provincial basis.

On the other hand, the organization is extremely open to the flexible relations. This informal relationship is yet another side of the organization. This part can be especially in voluntary relationships that have the administrative responsibility. We should state that this flexibility allows an increase in productivity. Thus, it will be false to claim that the structure of the organization is totally close to post modern methods. For example, ethical-cultural issues are commonly considered in poverty definitions. Moreover, a free space is provided for voluntary actions. Volunteers have initiative in social investigation. However, Deniz Feneri carries an objective responsibility in doing this duty. On the other hand, these subjective aspects are the

[67] This music is carefully interrupted in *Ezan* times.

[68] See Appendix A. Photos: Packaging food boxes in Fordist model.

problematic and criticized. Combining the modern approach and rationality or post-modern approach and irrationality may be valid in this subject.

Therefore, it can be said that modern and postmodern organizational structures are combined with each other in Deniz Feneri association. Besides, according to Foucault, there is not any linear relation between the pre-modern, modern and post-modern. In post-modern organizations, power is a director rather than a disciplinary motivation. There is concept of responsibility instead of hierarchy. There is inclusion rather than semi-sharing of information. Power-information regimes forced individuals to seek only their interest subjects. With post-modernism, individualism that is accepted as "progressive" in administration leaves its place to subjectivity. Ethnical rules occur in local rather than public (Linstead, 2003, p.17).

Is it possible to present Deniz Feneri's services as flexible as in a post-modernist model? It seems impossible. When we consider Deniz Feneri and the mass of participants, this mass is still part of absolute poverty. Therefore, poverty still means "absence". For example, families mostly need food aid. This kind of assistance needs a central organization and logistic system. If economic indicators can make changes in the definition of poverty in Turkey (increasing GDP per capita, recovering income distribution, reducing unemployment), associations like Deniz Feneri should have shifted their activities into relative poverty, moral support and education. These may require a more flexible organization structure. Instead of delivering aid packages, voluntary based or services based activities could take place in provinces. Even though, these organizations are not powerful enough to struggle with poverty. The state's central (SYDGM) and local authorities (municipalities) are important actors in this area. However, when the political atmosphere is considered, reducing the welfare function of state should be considered. By the time, such kind of FBO type organizations can be frontiers of the welfare regime they may be aware of the others and share more information and experiences. This may lead to an open basis for a network society for the FBOs.

Deniz Feneri association carries mostly modern organization aspects rather than post-modern. Aid is organized, prepared and audited centrally. In the Deniz Feneri

example, the organization still depends on "place". However, it should be accepted that there are post-modern issues in the process. For example, the organization is not extremely bureaucratic. Flexible study styles and using volunteers in local will be highly probable.

6.3 Deniz Feneri as a Faith Based Organization

We have identified faith based organization (FBOs) as the organizations that refer directly or indirectly to a religion or religious values, and that function as welfare providers or as political actors (Clarke, G & Jennings, M., 2008, p.25). [69] While Deniz Feneri does not recognize itself directly as a "faith based institution" both the establishment and the organization of structure carry elements of this FBO definition. One of the questions that was asked to the professionals in order to see whether the association is faith based or not was "Does the religious aspect of the Deniz Feneri create a positive effect or not?" The director of the association replied: "there is positive effect on donations". It is accepted that Deniz Feneri is an institution that collects *zekat* (an Islamic charity) and distributes it.

6.3.1 Faith Based Organization: Beginning

Since its foundation, Deniz Feneri makes references to Ramadan, the holy month according to the Islam. Moreover, 6 people remember that they started working for association during Ramadan. It is also known that Kanal 7 in which Deniz Feneri program was born, is a conservative Turkish TV channel.

6.3.1.1 Channel 7 as an Islamic TV Channel

At this point, it is necessary to give information on Channel 7. At the 1989 local elections, Social Democrat People's Party (Sosyal Demokrat Halkçı Parti-SHP) had an important success and administered Istanbul Municipality. Coinciding, private television broadcasting influenced politicians' interest at the beginning of 1990s.

[69] This definition is taken from Faith Based Organizations and Exclusion in the European City (FACIT-2007) Project.

RP's chairman Erbakan's staff established a company titled Yeni Dünya A.Ş that is proper to "Muslim rules and measures" in December 1992. The mayor of Istanbul, Nurettin Sözen from SHP wanted to found a TV channel would belong to the municipality and Municipality Radio Television (Belediye Radyo Televizyon-BRT) was established. However, local elections March 27th 1994 Welfare Party (RP) that had Islamic tendencies has a significant political success. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan became the mayor of Istanbul. Erdoğan reasoned the prohibition of municipality broadcasting and rented BRT for Yeni Dünya A.Ş. for 99 years in the years of its election. Yeni Dünya A.Ş. was established in 1993 by RP's leaders Recai Kutan, İsmail Karahan and Azmi Ateş and Haşim Bayram (president of administrative board of an Islamic firm, Kombassan). The channel's name was changed to Channel 7 and continued broadcasting from the same frequency. However, Channel 7 was broadcasting in a very limited region due to territorial broadcast in that time.

Several issues emerged such as the rental price, the support granted to the channel by the municipality and the fact that the boards' aid collection activities in the Milli Görüş controlled mosques in Cologne, Germany[70] Furthermore, Necmettin Erbakan has given speeches that address Channel 7 as a channel to be supported.

Channel 7 was a channel that emphasizes on religious themes. It broadcasted reading of the Qoran and its meaning continuously. It had Turkey's first news speaker wearing *türban*, censorship of obscenities, dominantly religious programs. The channel screened Indian and Persian movies and it was characterized as a channel of high quality at the beginning. Channel 7 diverged from its starting by experiencing a transforming process. This change was triggered by the February 28th process, the new popular trends in other TV channels and the divergence in the traditions of Milli Görüş which constitutes the basis of the channel's political approach. Today, Channel 7 pursues conservative and close to the government activities despite its flexible position in comparison with the beginning.

[70] One of the claims comes from a journalist who works in the newspaper Hürriyet: Gazette mention that Municipality bus advertisement has been screened on Channel and he has asks: How can it be? It is ridiculous. Who decide to travel somewhere by bus due to these kinds of advertisements?

Recep Tayyip Erdağan who was the mayor of İstanbul at that time is now the prime minister of Turkish Republic. Azmi Ateş who was the partner of Yeni Dünya A.Ş. is now an MP and the president of Corruption Investigation Commission of The Turkish Grand National Assembly (TBMM). Zekeriya Karaman who was a member of RP Central Executive Board when Yeni Dünya A.Ş. was established is now the president of the Executive Board of Channel 7. Zahid Akman[71] who presented a TV program at that channel was appointed as president of Radio and Television Supreme Council (Radyo ve Televizyon Üst Kurulu) during the rule of AK Party period. Today, Channel 7 has a stronger effect due to the establishment of a series of media organs such as Channel 7 INT, Ülke TV, TVT and haber7.com.

6.3.1.2 Deniz Feneri Television Program

Deniz Feneri program which was born from "City and Ramadan" Program addressed a religious based sense of solidarity. Besides, the founders of the association stress the significance of moral values. From the beginning, "a religious motivating factor" can be observed.

6.3.1.3 Media and Religion: "The left hand does not see what the right hand gives"

Clear religious references can be found in the television program which is the association's most effective promotion. For example, as Çamur cites; one of the donors says "they are not mine, they belong to God" while donating in the program of 5th November, 2003 (Çamur, 2003, p. 59). Similarly, it is possible to find a lot of religious references both in the discourse of the presenter and the donors. On the other hand, it is necessary to focus on whether common usage of media creates a contradiction or not. These media activities have been criticized and sometimes they have been seen as "show business": "packing poverty in a sterile form and broadcasting it high ratings." In this respect the issue of poverty becomes something "attractive" and it gains "commercial value". *İnfak* is a fundamental issue in Islam namely that all categories of aid (alms and voluntary aid) should be done secretly. *İnfak is held modest and it is held only for God* (el-Bakara 2/273). *People who want*

[71] There are claims of that Zahid Akman was one of the founder partners of the Euro 7 in Germany.

to help should look and find poor and they should help them unpretentiously (el-Bakara 2/267). *It is crucial to aid implicitly* (el-Bakara 2/267), (Yaşaroğlu, 2003, p.375-376). According to the Qoran, even though *zekat* can be operated explicitly, it is quite important that voluntary aid must be implicit. Moreover, in one of the hadiths, Muhammed emphasizes implicity by stating that "The left hand does not see what the right hand gives". In spite of this statement, Deniz Feneri Association operates aid activity explicitly with television this program.

This issue was dealt with by Deniz Feneri in two respects. Firstly, the association's structure does not allow meeting of donors and poor thus prevent to where the aid comes from." Moreover, the association volunteers believe that Deniz shyness and pressure. "We do not let them see the donor… and the poor do not know Feneri operates in conformity with religious rules. "Thus you follow one of the Islamic rules; no one knows where the aid comes from." It is also stressed that only a small part of the 500.000 applicants are shown in the television program and this creates an incentive mechanism. One of the professional workers states that: "what can we do without doing this? Our aim is not to make a show, it does not matter but its dosage is important." "We show people who live in the street behind and are deeply affected by poverty, I think this is effective. Besides, it is mentioned that the poor who do not want to be screened on TV are not broadcasted. Even if the family is given to option, it is a disputable how the family can reject given the pressure due to their demand. However, Deniz Feneri is also suspicious about television activity: "We wish not to screen anybody especially children and the young, this will be best in terms of Islamic rules, but people need incentives according to Islam and *fitri*."[72] That's to say, Deniz Feneri aims to attract the public's attention by empathy.

6.3.2 Religious Factors of Poverty Definitions

First of all, Deniz Feneri as an organization that struggles against poverty basically sets its own definition. According to the identification that is usually used in publishings, television programs and publicities; "poor is a person who cannot satisfy

[72] Cited from the interview conducted with the head of Ankara Branch.

his/her own needs" Poverty is lacking the economic power to meet basic needs. As it can be observed this is a very simplistic approach. This identification is quite objective but restricted and does not present the causes and results of the poverty or its identification tools. The poverty identification of Deniz Feneri does not offer determinative factors as relative poverty, inequalities or externalities and identifies poverty as "a result". Attention drawn to the basic need and economic power makes the Deniz Feneri poverty identification close to the definition of "absolute poverty".

6.3.2.1 Poverty According to Professionals and Volunteers

Association's chairman states the association's poverty definition:[73] "poverty is having nothing and its becoming of a continuous issue." Yet again, it is observed that identifications of poverty are the situations of "not being able to meet the needs" in the director-professional group. Absolute poverty definition has been recognized by stressing the low level of minimum wage in Turkey, but it is seen that Deniz Feneri's main target is "people who have nothing". These people cannot meet their daily needs: elderly people, disabled people, widows and small children. Secondly, relative poverty definitions can be obtained professional level: "When we perceive the life standards of some people as that of the middle class, we cannot sleep at nights." Some directors draw attention to the culture of poverty.[74] It is clear that poverty is an accepted and accustomed manner of being in some places.

It is observed that elements of the general definition and sometimes the definition of the association can be traced in the volunteers' identifications: "poverty is the lack of power to purchase basic for oneself or family", "absence of money", "need of help of person's economies properly or semi-properly.", "lack of bread in the evening", "person in need". Definition of poverty is "absolute poverty" for the research group.

[73] The tape recording method was used in the first interview of the association manager. However, when this method was used, answers those reflect only formal approach of the association were taken. Thus, this method has been left and has been used rarely.

[74] Even though the association does not use the "culture of poverty" in its definitions it is open that this concept had gained a certain attention. The scientific department for poverty studies had organized a symposium under this title. The culture of poverty is a situation of unawareness. The culture of poverty refers the gaining of cultural aspects and its transfer to generations chronically.

9 people defined poverty as absolute poverty, 5 people defined poverty as relative poverty and 4 people make a poverty definition in religious and moral terms. Analyzing these definitions according to age, it is seen that absolute poverty definition is adopted commonly between the age of 20-25 (the youngest of the group). It is also a crucial issue that Deniz Feneri's definition has been accepted immediately. It can be said that although poverty definition is less religious, both director-professionals' and volunteers' poverty definitions have religious and moral elements in reality. It is observed that the level of stress on moral and religious values is different. For some people, the effect of these values are high, while for others thet are low.

Deniz Feneri's definition is usually observed in absolute poverty definitions. The starting point is the absence of meeting personal needs by personal opportunities. For relative poverty, altering life standards definitions are emphasized. Moral deficiency and God's commendation are usually present in the religious definitions.

Students within the voluntary group mostly define poverty on absolute basis. While small employers and the retired see laziness and personal choice as the reason for poverty, officers draw attention to macroeconomic and objective conditions. Workers and students find the solution in education and social effort. Workers and students think that the fundamental responsible for finding solutions for poverty should be society.

It is common for poverty to be defined at an absolute level by people who have been working for maximum 3 years. Relative poverty is usually adopted by people with 3-5 years work experience, religious and moral based poverty definitions are commonly stated by people having more than 5 year work experience but really emphasized. People with 3-5 years work experience think that state intervention and education are essential tools against poverty.

Religious dimension of the definition manifests itself in the questions about causes of and solutions to the poverty problem. 7 people link poverty with "laziness and personal choices"; 5 people refer to "macroeconomic and external factors like

unemployment and objective conditions"; 2 people refer to "God's will", 2 people attribute it to "the moral-ethics causes", 2 people attribute it to "education and flaws of education policies" and 1 person attributes it to "family reasons". In defining poverty; laziness, personal choices, God's will and moral-ethical causes are attributed as the main factors, 11 people (55%) from the group. Thus represents the conservative approach to poverty.

Regarding the solution for poverty; 5 people think that the state's intervention is the first method, 5 people prone a different kind of education, 4 people emphasize on social effort. 2 people think that both education and the state's intervention are the most important; 2 people care about individual/family effort and 2 people think that there is no "real" solution to poverty because it is determined by God and it is an "examination". It is clear that while the causes of poverty are searched within moral-individual norms, the solution is searched within education system and state. Yet, at this point it is crucial to notice certain categories. It should not be forgotten that there is a divergence in their approach towards the state and their definition of education. For instance, education is defined as both common education that is held by the state and "moral education that stresses on religious sensitivities." Furthermore, when asked who is responsible of solving the poverty problem, 5 people said individual-family; 5 people said all the society; only 3 people said state; 3 people said both state and NGOs and 2 people said God. It is also possible to mention that 55% of the group wants to see the state in this process.

The people who are in the opinion that poverty is caused by individual matters and family, argue that: "the causes of poverty…this is a question like why were you born…this is an examination, this is your destiny.", "poverty is a choice, the poor do not make any personnel effort, they have not got a reason to solve it, they are lazy", "I have visited over 100 places and I have not seen any people who have not got bread", " they always wait for everything to come from other people", "there is one who is born poor, there is one who is rich but does not bless and God makes him poor, God gives richness to whom it wants, and gives science to whoever demands.", " the reason for the poverty is the collapse of the general morality", I do not believe that it is economic. It was wrong to adjust modern West as Tayyip Erdoğan has

said."[75] In spite of these opinions, material data about poverty in Turkey show us that poverty depends on economic fundamentals, it follows a similar path to crises cycle and recent macroeconomic policies do not achieve on observable poverty reduction. When we compare absolute poverty in 2002 and 2004 in Turkey, we observe that while poverty diminishes little in urban areas, it increases in rural areas. On the whole, it diminishes in very low rates (nearly level of 1%) [76](Bilen & Şan, 2006, p. 172).

It is surprising that there is a consensus among professionals/directors: education is necessary for the solution. However, there is disagreement as to what the "appropriate" education is. "Education should necessarily create incentive to study" "We do not have an autarchic education system; a religious education that comprises all the ethical rules is necessary." Secondly, according to the professional/director group, individual effort is necessary for the solution of poverty. "We find job for some of them, but if they do not have their own effort it does not work." "Everything should not be demanded from the state." Thirdly, economic reasons, opportunity inequalities are defined as reasons for the issue of poverty. Solutions suggested by volunteers diverge and there is basically a conservative approach: "Private sector should create some opportunities", "The reason for poverty should be asked to the poor, if they do not make an effort, what can the state do?" "What God wills, happens" "It depends on destiny, fate, if God does not want something, it will not happen." Overall, more than half of respondents want to see state interfere; they also want to see collaboration with civil society organizations. However, it is obvious that the idea of individual effort based approach is dominant. It is obvious that there is a state-NGO-individual based triple structure. "State has a wonderful project; disabled people are helped in their homes and they get money. Thus family unity is preserved." On the other hand, there is aspiration to the foundations (*vakıf*) of Ottoman Empire. "Ottoman Empire has struggled poverty with *fitre* (an Islamic charity) and alms. As a society, we have all become selfish. However if everybody protects their neighbor, there will be no problem."

[75] The person mentioned that these ideas are personal, they do not represent association's view.

[76] See Table 2: Poverty Lines in Turkey in 2002

While individual effort and education is essential according to Deniz Feneri volunteers who are under the age of 25, volunteers who are between the age of 30 and 40 think that the state intervention approach (minimum wage and investment policy) is more important. According to volunteers who are under the age of 25, firstly the individual, then the family and then the state is responsible for reducing poverty; the 30 to 40 age group thinks that state, civil society organizations (CSOs) or state, private sector based solutions are better. University students, bachelors and university graduates believe that education is the best solution. This category finds the solution in the society. Main motivation for working in Deniz Feneri are only religious in elementary and high school graduates; firstly religious and secondly humanitarian in university students and graduates. While absolute poverty is fundamental for men, relative and humanity poverty follow absolute poverty for women. There is big inclination amongst men to believe that the causes of poverty are sluggishness and personal choices. While state's economic intervention is the first solution according to men; education is the most important issue for women. Women think that poverty reduction mission should be accepted by society. It is observed that women are more relaxed in definitions and they are more creative than men. Women classify poverty as "requirement" based. However, the general framework of the definition does not change. Another determinant is that: more conservative style dressed women's poverty definitions are "less "conservative" and more based on "economic" conditions: "Country's reality is clear, there is unemployment." In that sense; conservative clothing *(türban)* does not lead a true clue about people's opinion about poverty or these respondents can reply to these kinds of questions more openly.

Religious references are commonly seen in volunteers' and professionals' definition. In Deniz Feneri, first of all poverty is legitimate and religious references have an essential impact on recognizing this religious definition. "God does not say to poor to perform the sacrifice of *kurban* (an Islamic sacrifice of animal slaughtering in the name of God), he says to poor not to rebel." Islam defines scarcity (fakirik) rather than poverty. The poor who are not able to give alms represent a wider category than needy people. Acceptance of "the poor" definition almost exclude "the needy" due to the fact that poor defined in absolute terms (Ağırman, 2003, p.327). According to

Çiğdem, the difference between the poor (*yoksul*) and the needy (*fakir*) is that while poor has a secular connotation the needy has a religious one. Behind the nuance between poverty and poorness, religion, especially Islam places poverty in a legitimate area. They recognize poverty counter policies, separate rich ones' property from the poor but they also allow stratification in the society. Poverty reduction aims to prevent middle class. While the religion stresses on powerful ethics to prevent poverty both in material and moral sense;-10% of Old Testament, 2.5% of Qoran except alms- they do not have continuing and efficient macroeconomic policies. Approach to poverty in Islam is "stationary" when it is not "individual" (Çiğdem, 2002, p.141). Poverty and poor are the objects of the aid both in these definitions and Qoran. In the Qoran, Tevbe 60. verse states that: *alms is only for poor, broke, servant that collects alms, the ones whose soul is near the Muslim-making free- debtor, ones who are at the war for God and passenger who are on the way. The God is the one who knows very well…"*[77] Moreover, one of the prophet's saying is that "the giving hand is better than the receiving hand".

The poverty definition that is seen usually in Deniz Feneri references religious material. According to this definition, the poor are responsible for their poverty. Firstly, the poverty definition is excluded from economic definition area and acquires a religious ethical dimension and this shows the importance of religion in people's views. Secondly, poverty definition under individual responsibility illustrates the main motivation depending on fulfilling the religious duty, to feel relief as it is God's wish to help the poor. Otherwise, the approach that makes people responsible for current poverty situation will contradict with the work of these people.

6.3.2.2 "Idealization" of Poverty

It is hard to say that poverty has been idealized as in the "Sufi" sense by Deniz Feneri. Most volunteers cite that they are afraid of "being poor one day" and they describe poverty as an unwanted issue.[78] When they are asked whether they think

[77]Taken from the Qoran that is published by Diyanet Foundation.

[78] Idealization of poverty and positive relationship statement between religion and poverty are debated subjects in Islam. The opinions are disagreed about way to God is defined only by poverty and this

that they will be poor one day; 8 people said "maybe", 5 people said "yes", 2 people said "no" and one person mentioned that "he is already poor". 3 people replied that "they do not know". On average, 80% of the group believes that they can be poor one day. For the ones who replied positively to the question of whether they believe that they will be poor one day, the fundamental motivation for working to Deniz Feneri is religion. On the other hand, mystic poverty definitions that give importance to "patience" (*sabır*) and "resignation" (*tevekkül*) of Islam and meaning being away from material life and world beneficiation, or "*zühd*" opinion which connects poverty to coming closer to God (Bilgin, 2003, p.223-228) cannot be observed in this case. Besides, the moral side of the poverty is rarely deliberated in the Qoran. It is seen as a matter of protecting and sheltering the needy people rather than a social matter to be solved. Although both poverty and wealth are considered with their pros and cons in different religious sources, according to Islam, wealth is an incentive institution if the responsibilities are done (Güner, 2003, p.253-254). Wealth is also the source of alms for the life of society (Ertürk, 2003). A similar legitimization approach is observed in the Deniz Feneri both richness and poverty. "Rich man should know his wealth; poor should know his poverty." "Why the poor is poor? Probably, he did not thank, and God made him poor." "Wealth is also rich man's examination." This Islamic approach is also mentioned by Weber:

> Patients, widow and disabled have special value in Islam. Poverty is the examination for the poor and God uses it to test the poor. Similarly, richness and wealth are tests and God will request how they used this wealth after life (*Ahiret*) (Çamur, 2004:55).

However, this approach that is quite explicit and makes many direct references to religious sources is only adopted by a small category of volunteers.

6.3.2.3 Poverty Definitions in the Family Selection Process

One indirect indicator of poverty conceptualization in Deniz Feneri is the phenomenon of family selection process since this identification consists of poverty definition. Firstly, the object of the aid for Deniz Feneri is the family, not individual.

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poverty concept is implied only moral poverty. While the assertion does not cover this discussion, the material poverty definitions in religion are adopted.

While the registration consists of all the family members, the fundamental registration relies on the "head of family"[79] Aid cannot be granted to the people from the same family. Neo conservative approach that deals with the family as primary protection mechanism can be observed clearly. Neo conservative approach theorized by Hayek, induces the state's role into a limited plane and gives the role of social policy making to the civil society organizations and private sector. Similarly, as interpreted in Turkey, "conservative democracy"[80] demands the protection of family against state.[81] According to conservative democracy; "fathers of families leave their responsibilities their wives and children thanks to welfare state". At this point Giddens also mentions that state's wealth organizations created a dependency by playing the family's roles (Akdoğan, 2006, p.13,51). It is observed that emphasis on such concepts like "family" and "head of family" is an explicitly conservative approach for defining poverty. However, it is seen that individuals are fundamental in volunteers' definition. Thus, volunteers perceive poverty as an individual problem in general. However, due to the perception of family as a wealth unit, the aid is granted to the family instead of the individual.

The poor are defined as needy people while determining the family that may be granted an aid. Both the material and moral definition is adopted. Both the economic information that is gathered from the individual and whether the family or individual needs aid is emphasized. For instance, "presence of a man who is able to work" is the effective in preventing the reception of aid. However, if the poor needs to be defined, the poor has a "depending on necessities" definition. It is important to notice that the definitions are not restricted to absolute poverty; indicators that measure the individuals reel capacity like education, status of family members, health situations, social guarantees and accessing to clean water are present. Moreover, social

[79] The person who is responsible for family is also contact person (man or woman).

[80] The concept of "conservative democracy" which had a direct political meaning in Turkey is reconstructed in the conditions of Turkey by referring to the conservative philosophers such as Maistre, Hume and Burke. This political idea is basically opposes of upward to downward modernization, socialism, revolution and any kinds of radical movements such as ethnical nationalism.

[81] The main source of state-family contradiction emerges by the assumption of that modern institutions of welfare state makes the indiviudal alone by destructing the traditional institutions such as family.

investigating responsible reports may determine more social facts like violence in family. However, share of individual in family budget or nutrition level are ignored.

The poverty definition is not different between young and elder people and among occupation groups. However, there is a clear difference among volunteers-professionals groups: Professional's definition is more religious and moral. On the other hand, as it is seen in the interviews this definition has been evaluated at the professional level. This has proper reasons. At the beginning, professionals believed in positive approach towards poor and effects of external factors. However they experienced "malversation" situations during the long relationships with poor. "We think that poverty definition has changed negatively. After 2000, people's approach to aid from the state and NGOs became more exploitative. The illiteracy of society is dangerous but lack of working desire is more dangerous." "It is hard to differentiate the real poor, this definition is degenerated." "We find jobs but they do not like it", "He lies", "He collects the things that we left in a room", "Some people wait for everything to come from you.","You see that they lose their thanks to God instead of standing on their feet by themselves", "They have migrated to Ankara to have access to these aids, aid has become the reason of migration." Due to this kind of experiences, importance of Deniz Feneri's social investigation and definition has increased as well. The definition entailing these aspects is a definition of "indolence" (*miskinlik*) rather than poverty. According to Qoran, poverty is the ability to sustain life with the shortage enough good and income. A lazy person, one has no income and reflects his need onto people. "Especially men who do not work guide their wives to solidarity foundations, Municipalities and this kind of associations." "Finding a job depends on you, you should not be lazy, let God does not allow." In the literature, poverty depends on traditional economic (income-consumption) and social factors. It is possible to see that Deniz Feneri's institutional definition of poverty and poor selection process are used restrictedly as "a result- output." Poverty is a current phenomenon both in world and in Turkey. Aid is the basic struggle tool and it should be used effectively. However, the individual definitions of professionals and volunteers who are independent from the association rely on mainly culture and religious motive.

It is possible to praise the simplicity and operational power of this restricted definition of association. Deniz Feneri is an institution that collects aid and distributes it. It is clear that Deniz Feneri does not aim to discuss the fundamentals of social and economic system, sources of inequality or the results of political choices. This definition is limited and Deniz Feneri desire to find the "poorest one" to help. The manager states that: "Associations like us are the "struggling water against fire"; we firstly try to help the ones worst off and we try to grant emergency aid." However, it is true that the definitions that are used or adopted carry a clear conservational approach. Although Deniz Feneri does not describe itself as the basic institution in struggling against poverty, it is clear that voluntary aid activities will be the main agent in this welfare area in this period where state intervention is in a certain decline. However, Deniz Feneri's poverty definition is not a "social welfare" approach; it is a kind of sustainability of the current situation and governance definition. It is also important how the definitions refer to the religious sources consciously with regard to its causes and results. Thus, poverty is a concept that is defined with its causes and results and it is also cultural definition according to the ones except for volunteers and professionals. The definition does not refer to religion directly but it generally has a conservative basis.

6.3.3 Religious References as the International Addressing Area

It is known that countries which Deniz Feneri provides assistance for are Islamic ones.[82] When they are asked why their service comprises Islam geography, "as a result of world conjecture." "Most of the Islamic countries are generally located in the most problematic areas. However, the countries which we reach like Ethiopia-Indonesia, where the population is not only Muslim, for example one of the village is Muslim, the other one is Christian in Balkans. We may not reach the non-Muslim societies in terms of countries but we reach non-Muslim areas. Moreover, we have been criticized due to serving to the people with religion other than Islam. Furthermore, if you investigate the aid organizations in the US, you will come across

[82] While it is known that Deniz Feneri accesses to Hungary and Serbia that are not Islamic countries, these service is aimed to Muslim minority in Ramadan.

the same countries. We are sorry that Islam countries are poor countries." It is obviously clear that as British originated FBO, Oxfam's aid geography coincidence with the Islam geography.[83] However, one of the professional in Deniz Feneri mentioned that there is a specific religious reason in choosing those geographies: "There are so poor villages in Balkans, those only Christian missionaries can enter. They help people with the expectation that they should have a cross. We try to serve these people. We have arranged circumcision feasts (*sünnet*) organizations.[84] All of these evoke missionary-anti missionary activities along with the social aid subject. Another important issue is that the foreign aid comes under the conditional aid category. The donor should want "the aid should be used in Palestine; sacrifice should be carried to Nigeria". Deniz Feneri obeys these kinds of demands. While Deniz Feneri is open to carrying aid to the non Islamic geographies, there are no examples of this. Deniz Feneri advocates objective defiance as "poverty is common in these countries" about aid to Muslim countries. Nevertheless, Cansuyu association mentions that it services to only Muslim countries and it justifies this behavior with this statement: "Muslim live under oppression".

6.3.4 Religious References in the Aid collecting Activities

Most of the donations have Islamic references.[85] These donations consist of *Sadaka*-fortieth share of the Muslim income- and *fitre* (25YTL~12,5EUR) and alms. Moreover, sacrifices especially in *Kurban bayramı* and in Ramadan as well as conditional aid are examples of religious referenced services. Especially alms and scarifies are important. "Helping is the main phenomena of the Islam. *Zekat* is one of the 5 rules of Islam. So, alms have an important share in the aid budget of these organizations". "Turkish people, Anatolian people like to share. If someone's house has burned, everybody comes together and helps in a collective way, this is our culture shaped by religion. This territory has a-thousands-years old Islamic history. Our faith incites to help people. You should not sleep when your neighbor is hungry.

[83] See Appendix E. Oxfam's Aid Area

[84] See Appendix A. Photos

[85] This statement relies on the interview conducted with two executives of Ankara Branch.

However, Deniz Feneri does not perform its work with religious figures.[86] According to one of the executives of Deniz Feneri it was founded to "create a foundation for civilization and solidarity spirit." As it is known, foundation was one of the major elements of the welfare in Ottoman era. Foundations are generally in the form of buildings that are dedicated to charity or land support institutions like schools or mosques. Charity *(sadaka)*, alms *(zekat)*, and foundations are the main institutions of Islam (Clarke, 2004,p.8). Traces of these Islamic institutions are observed explicitly in Deniz Feneri. Sometimes, donors can ask for more religious conditions as well: "Use my aid for the person who performs ritual worships *(namaz)*". However, Deniz Feneri openly states to the donor that there is not such criterion in selecting the poor.

6.3.5 Religious References in Determining Poor

Determining the poor is the main task of the association. In this respect, there has been a duality situation for the FBOs in US. This distinction occurs in using government resources. According to this distinction, FBOs were classified into two categories: "safely secular" and "sectarian". Secular safe degree FBOs were allowed to use public resources when distributing services. Nowadays, this distinction has been abandoned and the view that no application can be excluded from state support is adopted. So, the faith based character of these institutions is protected. This way, these organizations that have religious resource, symbol, name or motivation explicitly, can use state sources. Religious activities must be differentiated from state supported activities. Besides, there is an explicit rule for faith based organizations; this rule is the determining of the poor: Faith based organizations do not mind religious points in the applications (Carlson-Thies, Stanley,W., 2008,p.24-25). At this point, it is important whether Deniz Feneri minds religious factors in selecting the poor. It is mentioned that institutional methods are used in determining poor in the Association. Nevertheless, two factors can show the true results in selecting poor:

[86] This statement relies on the interview conducted with head of Ankara Branch.

6.3.5.1 Letter of "Family Head"

The document titled "letter of family head" is vital in the process of selecting the poor, because, this letter can provide personal information about the applicant except for quantitative data. This information should capture a person's or a family's general philosophy, political view, even religious belief. According to the association, the letter of family head is requested in order to access the family in urgent situations. [87]

The reason for the significance of these letters is that such letters are reflecting the poor's perception of life. In many times, they can involve religious introductions or religious conclusions. It is common to hear statements such as "For God" *(Allah rızası için)* or "How valuable Deniz Feneri's duty in the eyes of God". Thus, these letters are important in selecting the poor. However, these letters are generally read by a team that consists of volunteers. Important issues about the situation (such as urgent needs or demands) are underlined, and only a summary of letter is presented to YDK.[88] Secondly, the letter provides an idea about the social investigation logic. "When you read the letter, you see that there is an extremely bad situation but, after the social investigation you will see that the problem is not as big as the letter mentioned. The letter would make it seem like the world is over, but you can see families in a worse situation. Nevertheless the letter is not obligatory." However, it must not be overlooked that such kinds of letters have potential to effect the decision of YDK.

6.3.5.2 Social Investigation

In a social investigation, the responsible for examining the family's situation is allowed to state his opinion and that is quite essential. Thus, the social investigation responsible person has a subjective effect. At this point, volunteers or professionals'

[87] See Appendix C. "Letter of Family Head"

[88] Recently, the system of digital scanning and adding the letters to the files was adopted.

definition method of poor and moral norms have significant consequence.[89] It is known that the association perceives poverty definition as a moral-religious theme. Besides religious norms have significant role in choosing poor in the process of social investigation. For instance, in the notes-observations section of the form, the responsible for social investigation can note the gossips about the poor in the district. It will be fair to argue that these notes are filtered the religious and moral norms of investigator. Thus, the volunteers play the decision maker role here.

6.3.6 Faith Based Organization as Source of Motivation

It is clear that religion is the fundamental motivation that makes the volunteers join into the Deniz Feneri activities. Moreover, the membership process coincidences with Ramadan month. This motivation is based mainly on Islam and also moral, family rules. 12 people in the study group stated that Islam is their fundamental motivation for participating. 4 people said that their motivation is humanitarian; 2 people mentioned personal development and 2 people said that they had joined association activities to socialize. It is obvious that the first motivation is religion. What the motivation has religious face has been defined by these statements: "I have just learned how we are selfish as a nation here. I had not known what bad conditions Muslims were living in" (she refers to Palestine). "I help people for nothing in this world, only for God.", "I enjoy being here in that the alms *(zekat)*-charity institution works." "Most of the volunteers came here for the religious effect, but I cannot say that I earned God's merit *(sevap)* thanks to my help to the poor." "There is a sentence of Prophet Mohammed that emphasizes the poor…helping the poor is both religious and social duty." "Yes, this work has a religious effect on my personality. I think most people feel the same." Only two people mentioned that only the humanitarian side of this activity is at the frontier. 18 people in the group perceive helping the poor as a "religious duty". "I do not help people due to the religious orders; I do it but at the same time religion orders it." "A believer considers this duty as religious… The one who can sleep when his neighbor is hungry is not one of us." "I work in this association for God *(Allah rızası için).*" "The poor has a share of the riches' money,

[89] See Appendix D. for a written social investigation form.

if I had not thought about the world after death, I would not work here, and this duty is a service for the world after death (*ahiret*). " "Of course I planned to earn merit *(sevap)* when I came here; I will get them in the world after death." "Religion feeds morality, morality feeds the law. I would not help people if it was not for religion. Why do I have to help? My money diminishes. Humanism is not enough motivation to help people, when there is no religion. The income distribution is unequal. But you can solve this problem by 1/40 share of your wealth with alms *(zekat)*. God says to give half of your income, not 1/3. There are a thousand people who have 1 trillion Liras of income…if they give 1/40 share of their income…" "Our prophet Mohammed has lots of statements. I serve both humanity and religion, not only the money." When these examples are stated, Qoran is also referenced:

> Who is he that will loan to Allah a beautiful loan, which Allah will double unto his credit and multiply many times? It is Allah that gived (you) want or plenty, and to Him shall be your return (Al-Bakara, verse 245). Allah doth enlarge, or grant by (strict) measure, the sustenance (which He gived) to whom so He pleased. (The worldly) rejoice in the life of this world: But the life of this world is but little comfort in the Hereafter (Ra'd, verse 26). Say: "Verily my Lord enlarges and restricts the Provision to whom He pleases, but most men know not." (Sebe' verse 36.) They ask thee what they should spend (In charity). Say: Whatever wealth ye spend that is good, is for parents and kindred and orphans and those in want and for wayfarers. And whatever ye do that is good, -Allah knowed it well.(Al-Bakara verse 215)[90]

16 people in the group mentioned that they have experienced "religious satisfaction" thanks to their activities in the association. 3 people say that the humanitarian side of the work is dominant over the religious side. 1 person mentions that he does not feel any religious satisfaction. The impact of religious motivation is declared to the professionals explicitly. "Yes, they watch the program, but the most important thing is the moral link, the impact of religion on Turkish society."[91] The motivations of membership and working sake in the association are; majorly morality and secondly having a relaxed conscience, doing something in their spare time, and making their lives more valuable.

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[90] The volunteer cited from the Qoran translation of Suat Yıldırım, the English version is taken from the web site of http://www.kuran.gen.tr/

[91] Taken from the interwiev with one of the executive staff of association .

When the fundamental motivation source is examined according to age groups; it is apparent that religion has essential role in all the age groups. It is also observed that religious motivation has increased in the group under the 25.5 people out of 9 people from this group identify religion as the main motivation, 2 people said humanity, 1 person said personal development; and 1 person mentioned that his main motivation socialization. The religious motivation is stronger in the Deniz Feneri volunteers who work more than 5 days in a month. While the religious motivation sake takes the first place in all kind of job categories, the importance of religion and humanity are equal amongst students.

It is important to mention the existence of "religious approach" in the solution of poverty: some responses are controversial when the reasons and solutions of the poverty are examined. The ones who think that poverty occurs for objective reasons like unemployment can also think that this matter can be solved by individual/family effort. The people who think that poverty occurs due to sluggish /personal choice also think that the solution is the state's intervention. Moreover, there are people who believe that state and NGOs should be responsible for the solution. However, the data which are seen as controversial at the beginning, give us the impact of religion. If the person thinks that poverty is born due to sluggish and personal choices, why does s/he feel the necessity of working in such civil society organization? The answer of this question can be found in the motivation sources of being volunteers in association: Religion is the first motivation in the group that defines poverty with sluggish and personal choices. Only one person mentioned that he is in Deniz Feneri for primarily humanitarian reasons.

While religion is the primary motivation for working in Deniz Feneri among men, religion is the first reason but not as strongest as men in women's motivation. Humanitarianism takes second place.

Most people satisfy their belief by working in Deniz Feneri. And small group think that humanity satisfaction comes first.

As it is observed, the primary motivation in voluntary activities is religion. This motivation's religious aspect can be observed in the following statements: 17 people said that there is moral gain in the association. While the same situation is observed for professionals, it is hard to distinguish this effect since money is earned. High level of religiosity and morality coincides with the results of "poverty definition". This impact plays important role in joining the association, working and struggling against the negative outputs of poverty. It is necessary to see that while Deniz Feneri Association organizes social aid activity, it also creates Islamic activism. This Islamic activism soul has appeared especially in the Palestine case. It is observed that some of the volunteers and professionals get excited about Palestine aid activity. It is also seen that the activity becomes a kind of moral altruism and devotion. These experiences raise the question of whether social activism which is ended with military interventions, conflicts and neo-liberalism (weakening trade-unionism etc.) is about to be reborn with new generation FBOs.

6.3.7 Other Religious Factors

There are examples of religious references outside the categories mentioned above. They represent the image of the work rather than its reality. Icons that are used as advertising material, contents of article in journals, huge increase in Ramadan activities are the proof of this statement. Religious diagnostics are seen in some supplementary activities. For example, food (*iftariyelik*) is distributed in the city traffic in Ramadan as titled "5 minutes to *iftar*" activity. In another activity, one of the donors of Deniz Feneri and an applicant are introduced to one another and they have *iftar* dinner, the "guest for *iftar*" activity. Moreover, Deniz Feneri provides modernist techniques in order to meet, "if you wish, you choose the poor or if you wish, we will connect you (by the computerized techniques)." Food distributing activity to patients' relatives for *sahur* in Kartal Hospital is another example (Deniz Feneri Dergisi, Ocak 2008). The most apparent example is seen in one of the donor's article which was published in Deniz Feneri Journal: The article titled "We come from Kurban Festivals to the Digital *kurbans*" describes the happiness of taking the sms message of "your sacrifice is done" from Deniz Feneri (Deniz Feneri Dergisi, Ocak 2008, p.10).

CHAPTER 7

SAMPLE OF DENIZ FENERİ AND DISCUSSIONS

7.1 Deniz Feneri in FBO Typologies

We have adopted a series of typologies at the beginning of the study. It can be declared that Turkey is located somewhere in Esping-Andersen's liberal and conservative model of welfare typologies. Turkey chose a liberal economic model especially after 1980s. As a result of both the negative effects of liberal economy and the success of Islamic oriented parties, there emerged new means of social assistance in the issue of welfare. Moreover, it is quite clear that this model is not a social democratic model even though this aid is worked by "social municipality" and "social justice" discourses. The major approach to poverty does not focus on solution of the problem. The main approach is to achieve a sustainable path. It is necessary to state that "liberalization" and "conservatism" feed each other. The embedded structure of liberalism and conservatism can be seen together in the statement of "conservative democracy".

We have identified FBOs as organizations that refer directly or indirectly to religion or religious values, and they function as welfare providers or as political actors. Deniz Feneri entails this "Faith Based Organizations" definition clearly. There are religious themes in the roots, structuring, resource mobilization, discourses, motivations and activity area. It is possible to state that Deniz Feneri is near the charity based organization according to Clarke and Jenning's typology. Accordingly, Deniz Feneri constructs social duties that mobilize the believer for the problem of poverty and it builds resources and funds to grant aid. Besides, even if there is no

direct example of missionary activities, the anti-missionary campaigns place the association nearer to the missionary organizations.

According to the Sider and Unruh's social services and education organizations typology, Deniz Feneri can be placed under the category of "faith-background organizations" in terms of the "religious environment", "religious content of the program", "main form of integration of religious content with other program components", "selection of senior management and staff ", "financial support and non financial resources" and "organized religious practices of personnel". Besides, the association can be considered closer to "faith-affiliated" organizations in some titles such as "expected connections between religious content and desired outcome" and "organized religious practices of personnel".

7.2 Success of "Deniz Feneri System"

It is possible to state that Deniz Feneri has achieved a successful performance in most of the fields. Deniz Feneri Association is an important example in terms of its supporters and its general popularity. Deniz Feneri has earned a huge popularity by its nomination as "the most successful civil society organization from public view" in 2005 and 2006[92]; and has got the Grand National Assemble of Turkey's excellent service prize in 2007. Organizational structure using modern systems, professionalism, and efficient usage of media are essential factors in this success.

Additionally, as a coincidence in most of the interviews, the spiritual motivation called "Deniz Feneri Spirit" amongst workers had a vital role in this accomplishment.

"Confidence" is stressed as a source of success by a series of professionals. Everything is based on people's confidence. Order is important for the organization in order to maintain this confidence. "You can collect and redistribute, you may

[92] Deniz Feneri became the leader of social responsibility research conducted by the Journal of Capital. This study has been conducted with 1305 people. Deniz Feneri got 36% of total votes and it was followed by TEMA, ANAÇEV, Kızılay and AKUT with the votes lower then 5%.

transfer all you get to the correct places with 100%... but people cannot ask for your accounts every time. All donors can follow their donations all the time in our association. Every account is open. My greatest scare is to lose confidence in this association. This would cause the poor to become worst off."

Sources are used efficiently in Deniz Feneri. The smallest piece of product that has become waste after logistic activities is reproduced and recycled. Paperwork-bureaucracy is prohibited as much possible as. Moral motivation factors play important role in reducing inefficient use of resources. "No staff member can use Deniz Feneri's smallest resources for his/her interest in the slightest. If you need to photocopy a document for yourself, you can, but look, there is a moneybox here; you should throw your money into this moneybox. There are moneyboxes on every desk here."

7.2.2 Openness to Different Views

When we have conducted interviews with people outside the association, a common statement was "only particular people go to Deniz Feneri". When the environment of the Deniz Feneri is observed, it can easily be seen that workers and volunteers, who have conservative clothes especially women, are mostly popular. However, women wearing *türban* work together with the others. Nevertheless, there exist volunteers who wear skirts which are above their knees. This shows that the association has professional approach towards people. One of the directors has said on this topic that: "Religions or sects are not something that you choose. Maybe some things seem different in here (referring to women wearing *türban*), but it is due to our humane approach. Maybe, I have more staff wearing *türban*, because some of them are people who have been dismissed from public jobs. A graduate, well-trained person stopped by the problems of this country. Then she applies to us, we examine the conditions without looking at her clothing. We have friends both in two groups. We suggest that the most important thing is doing the job well, beautifully and being helpful to other people."[93] Yet, it is important to state that interview has been done

[93] Cited from the interview conducted with the head of Deniz Feneri Ankara Branch.

with the group that consists of 4 women of 11 including staff and volunteers. Another executive states that they "have volunteers who think that Deniz Feneri has a particular political view or only certain groups come here. Moreover, sometimes they ask who we are (referring to possible connections with certain religious communities). Our answer to these questions is simple: Join and see for yourself, please control us…We behave carefully about this issue. One of the people from the directory board joined a political party and he resigned from the association. Eventually, this place is based on the confidence." Volunteers follow a similar approach on this issue.[94] "A teacher came and she criticized a person who begins his work by saying *Bismillahirrahmanirrahim*[95], but finally she is here, isn't she?" A volunteer who provides consultancy services to the association comments on the religious-political image in Deniz Feneri as "Why do religious people go to Deniz Feneri? People from CHP[96] may go…and people from İP[97] may go as well…but they do not go. They do not have the culture of social solidarity. They have the culture of pubs." A similar example coincides in Çakır's İstanbul centered Deniz Feneri study: In the association's general secretariat's view, people who are close to political Islam came to the association and left because of there were women not wearing *türban* and the reverse is also true. General secretariat emphasizes that they "try to perceive a human being as human and think that we contribute to teaching people this phenomenon" (Çakır,2003: 102).

7.3 Surveillance and the Space Shared with the State

Deniz Feneri should be examined on the surveillance issue with regard to its detailed organizational structure. The surveillance debate is not related to the inside of the

[94] This discussion is directly political debate in many times. For example, president of Cansuyu association said that their association was founded by bureaucrat of Refahyol administration and other faith based organizations named Kimse Yok Mu belongs to "Fethullah Gülen Hocaefendi". The same person used "close to AK Party" statement for the Deniz Feneri.

[95] *Bismillahirrahmanirrahim* is the opening phrase of all suras in the Qoran it is also used by religious people in the beginning of daily activities as a wish of positivity.

[96] CHP stands for Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (Republican People's Party) which is the major representative of central left in Turkey.

[97] İP stands for İşçi Partisi. (Workers Party) which is a small, socialist backgrounded political party.

organization. As a social aid activity organizer Deniz Feneri highlights that everything depends on confidence. Similarly, direct surveillance mechanisms have not been installed in the building of the organization. Thus, there are no "security" cameras in administrative center or logistic center. However, main surveillance debate related to Deniz Feneri is about the aid activity outside the association: Deniz Feneri collects the detailed information of more than two million people that includes identity numbers, insurance numbers, amounts of aid received, debt situations, even their shoe number. This recording is saved electronically and is open to access at all times. Besides this formal information, there is a qualitative information bank that relies on evaluations of social investigators which may even include the rumors in the districts. Collecting such information is enough to open a discussion on surveillance and legitimacy. When we take into account the poor's view to the association this discussion reaches more a critical argument: Deniz Feneri is perceived as "state" or nearly official institution by some of the poor and the association does not choose to restrict this role.[98] Achieving this kind of power regarding poverty creates a natural legitimacy field, and it may cause some problems. As İnsel states, implementing social policies by interference and institutions other than state institutions is perceived as suspicious in countries that have centralist Jacobin tradition like France and Turkey. Because, this political tradition considers the anxiety that these NGOs may create a field outside the scope state intervention by their social-political actions. It is also obvious that social policy is naturally a legitimacy gain-area. As aid is given, recognition and legitimacy relationship emerge between the poor and the organization. States draw attention to social policy not only to do a favor, but also to strengthen their legitimacy. Thus, when a social assistance activity is held, there is a discussion about sharing this legitimacy (İnsel, 2005, p.12). Secondly, social investigation constitutes a control system. This means pastoral care of community but in the authoritarian models. While adopting such kind of faith based public policy making there are some problems in terms of power. These methods come with a certain degree of authority. All these for the goodness of people, but finally in an authoritarian way (Taylor, 2004, p.212). Besides, such kinds

[98] According to one executive, some applicants send letters with an opening of "T.C. Deniz Feneri." Since TC stands for Turkish Republic it shows that the people consider Deniz Feneri as an official institution. In another research on poverty, a poor asked why he applied to Deniz Feneri instead of State and he answers as "is not it the state as well?" (Erdoğan, 2002, p.469)

of social investigation activities can be the roots of Foucaultian "pastoral power" since they seek to know the inside of people's mind, exploring their souls, making them reveal their secrets (Curry, 2007, p.24).

Deniz Feneri explains its relations with the state as well as other organizations: there is limited relation with the organizations such as Kızılay. "We cannot solve every problem. For example, if you do not solve the *gecekondu* problem in Altındağ, you cannot solve most of its problems. This is the responsibility of municipalities and state" "We are a bridge as a civil society and we give information to state. We also announce which city we are going to. We have not seen any negative response from state. We are appreciated by different governments." Deniz Feneri thinks that it fills a gap.

7.4 Non-governmental or Parallel?

Even though Deniz Feneri is partly a civil society organization, there are also disputes about this issue. Although Deniz Feneri mentions that it is careful not to be a means for politics, the view of political figures in the activities of Deniz Feneri may provide a power for its place in public. There are several reasons why these kinds of organizations are supported by the state due their role of reducing the burdens of state. However, Deniz Feneri has been criticized as being one step further in the relations with governments when compared to other civil society organizations such as Kızılay. These disputes go with the claim of "parallel state". According to Robert Paxton, the "parallel state" is a collection of organizations or institutions that are state-like in their organization, management and structure, but they are not officially part of the legitimate state or government. They serve primarily to promote the prevailing political and social ideology of the state. Fascist regimes such as Hitler's Germany and Franco's Spain, Islamic organizations such as Muslim Brotherhood as well as many Christian organizations are considered as the creators of the "parallel reality" due to their creating parallel institutions. These institutions can be composed of health clinics, hospitals, schools, universities as well as social aid organizations. Thus, these organizations provide a control over certain sections of

a society. Because, they can be the tools for social restructuring.[99] In this case, there is no possibility to see the institutions of modern state, such as citizenship and rights. The state is a continuous structure and norms. Such kind of model will prevent this continuity and it will carry the risk of making people dependent on the government. While the welfare state is in a certain decline, the rise of NGOs such as Deniz Feneri seems to be part of these arguments.

7.5 Reproduction of Poverty?

Many critiques mention that such kind of aid supports the survival strategies of the poor. However it does not increase their "capability". Deniz Feneri responds to the criticism of "reproducing of poverty" as "Healthy people are out of our target mass. We help people who had an accident and cannot survive alone. Moreover, we have education projects and vacation courses. We teach fishing, we give goats, and we provide to set up cherry gardens, we provide secretarial education. Of course these are small groups that consist of 30-40 people. However, directors are concerned about the risk that the aid may cause poverty: "This is the problem of humankind (refers to being lazy), we should not make people addicted, we must not give who do not work."

Further, Deniz Feneri seems to endorse this reality: "There is extremely few number of families whose economic position change or get rid of poverty and succeed in earning its life by our assists (Deniz Feneri Sosyal İnceleme Rehberi, 2007).

[99] http://atheism.about.com/b/2007/04/06/christian-nationalism-parallel-reality-parallel institutions.htm

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

8.1 A Successful Answer to Globalization: Social Protection and Social Risk Mitigation

There seems a strong parallelism between anti-poverty tools of neo-liberalism and its coverage by religion. Islam perceives poverty as a risk factor and evaluates alms as an issue that attracts people to religion. However, the World Bank offers micro credit projects that have restricted methods of struggling against poverty under the title of "mitigation of social risk". It can be seen that the aim is not erasing poverty which has emerged due to the structural adjustment programs but easing the bad conditions gradually and creating sustainability. In such samples, we can see that the poverty is considered as a problem of security. None of these two approaches have a certain authority to intervene in the problem of poverty. For all that; welfare role of the family, religious community and neighborhood has been emphasized. Hence, it is seen that a solidarity model like Deniz Feneri constitutes a response to the demands of economic globalization in both being out of state actors and proposing a new solidarity system.

8.2 A Modernist Return to the Faith Based Society?

Deniz Feneri represents the "faith based organization" model as a pioneer in Turkey. Interviews with voluntaries and professionals have proved this claim in the case of Ankara. However, it is observed that Deniz Feneri does not take into account a

religious criterion while choosing the poor to whom aid will be granted. Nevertheless, considering a religious criterion while choosing a receipt is not a necessary element for being an FBO. On the contrary, this can be the component of another legitimacy discussion.

Although a fieldwork has been performed by Cansuyu Association, it can be true that Cansuyu Association, Kimse Yok Mu and İHH Associations that act in the poverty and social aid field, follow a similar method with Deniz Feneri and some of them apply same models like TV programs and proceed religious activities.[100] Further, religious icons have been seen more explicitly in these organizations than Deniz Feneri. Deniz Feneri has set its organization more professionally both in terms of employees and structure. Aid decisions have never depended on religious reason. While Cansuyu Association does not deny an Islamic political party's (Welfare Party-RP) effect on its establishment, Deniz Feneri declares that "they behave carefully in order to be at a distance from political issues". This aid process reorganizes religious references and tries to build traditional welfare model but also, while doing this transformation this aid process uses modern institutions (computer systems, quality standards, transparency in organization and connectivity) successfully. Nevertheless, a study should be done with other associations in order to have a sound comparative result. At this point, our comparison with Cansuyu Association remains limited. When it is compared with Cansuyu, Deniz Feneri has more modernist patterns. It is important to notice this issue in quality rather than in quantity. All of these examples are the proof of Deniz Feneri being a relatively more modernized organization.

In conclusion, religious references are the most important factors in every step of the assistance activity from organization to distribution of social aid. Identifying poverty notion has changed its direction from economic basis to shortage of "moral" basis in association. The workers in the Turkey's most effective NGO, who are face to face with hundreds of poor people, identify poverty on ethical basis.

[100] Religious references are seen exactly at the web site of Cansuyu, Kimse Yok Mu and İHH. Symbols, discourses, the importance of religious references.
See http://www.ihh.org.tr/
http://www.cansuyu.org.tr
http://kimseyokmu.org.tr

Religious motivation affects the aid process positively but it triggers several discussions. For instance, the association follows extremely objective determination process in choosing the poor. However, interviews with the staff show that the social investigators' conservative norms may have certain effect on the selection process in a subjective way.

Legitimacy problem of FBOs creates discussions about these organizations' position across the state and their relationships with the state. Furthermore, the association has nearly 2 million people's formal and informal personal information within an electronical database; this is also enough to launch a legitimacy debate.

A total abandonment of poverty area to these kinds of associations is matter of political choice, and this conservative understanding takes part as "conservative democracy" in Turkish politics. From this view, the issue of faith based social aid will be an open area for political discussions. When considered with the rising conservative model (decline of state and caring welfare with the non-governmental organizations) if this welfare will be the primary approach of the state, it will carry several aspects: It provides for the mobilization of civil society, supports the efficient usage of resources and especially it answers the realities of globalization. However, such kind of model is far away from the solving of the problem of poverty. The first problem will be the risk of insufficiency. Secondly, this model will not be based on the citizenship and right. A non institutional model will be vulnerable for political and opportunist purposes.

Usage method of media is another phenomenon that should be discussed in the case of Deniz Feneri Association. The association earned more than 50.000 people's voluntary support and donations thanks to their efficiency in using the media. An assistance system titled "Deniz Feneri" has emerged as a TV program, and then this program gave birth to an institutional identity. In this study, it has also been discussed that whether there exist a contradiction in using the media explicitly in terms of religion and it has been observed that the open usage of the media is perceived as legitimate due to the disconnected relation among the receiver and the donor.

Deniz Feneri synthesizes the Islamic wealth activism driven by religious motivations, resources and modern tools; and it produces a new welfare model with its size, efficiency and methods. Islamic activism is an essential issue for the social services (Qassam, 2007, p.94). It is quite clear that this model finds a new application field in an actual political conjuncture that relies on merely liberalization and the state withdrawn from the social wealth area. This issue will reveal novel relationships in the area of state and faith based aid facilities (Carlson-Thies,W, Stanley, 2008, p.24). Despite the efficiency, civil society mobilization and harmony with the globalization, it leads to new discussions about sharing the legitimate area of the state and transformation from the citizenship based welfare.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A. Photos

General Headquarters - İstanbul	Central Anatolia Headq. - Ankara
Logistics (Depots)	Blue Desk (Call center)
Slaughter	Open bazaar in Ulus (clothing shop)

İftar in Ankara Branch	Education process in Ankara
Aid to abroad: Balkan and Banda Ace	
Aid delivery at home	Letter reading activity
Political figures can be seen in activities: Sait Yazıcıoğlu, Recep Akdağ, Melih Gökçek, Bülent Arınç.	Demonstration stands

A clear sample of Fordist production: packing

Appendix B. Forms

DİKKAT : FORMU KATLAMAYINIZ!
Formu büyük harf ve koyu renk tükenmez kalemle doldurunuz. Kelimeler arasına 1 kutu boşluk bırakınız. Seçmeli yanıtları taşırmadan (X) ile doldurunuz.

DENİZ FENERİ DERNEĞİ
GÖNÜLLÜ BAŞVURU FORMU

FOTOĞRAF

1 - KİŞİSEL BİLGİLER

TC Kimlik No
Ad
Soyad
Doğum Yeri İl
İlçe
Sağlık Durumu ☐ Sağlıklı ☐ Özürlü
Bilinen rahatsızlık
Kan grubu ☐ ☐ Rh ☐ Gerektiğinde kan verebilirim ☐ Evet ☐ Hayır
Medeni Durum ☐ Evli ☐ Bekar ☐ Dul Varsa Çocuk Sayısı ☐ ☐
Cinsiyet ☐ Kadın ☐ Erkek Sigara kullanıyor musunuz? ☐ Evet ☐ Hayır

2 - İLETİŞİM BİLGİLERİ

Ev Adresi
İş Adresi
İlçe İl
Ev Tel – İş Tel –
Cep Tel – Fax –
E-mail
Size ulaşılamadığında aranabilecek bir yakınınızın telefonu –

3 - ÖĞRENİM BİLGİLERİ

☐ Okur - yazar ☐ Yüksekokul ☐ Öğrenci
☐ İlkokul ☐ Üniversite ☐ Mezun
☐ Ortaokul ☐ Yüksek Lisans
☐ Lise ☐ Doktora

En son öğrenim gördüğünüz / görmekte olduğunuz son okulun:
Adı
Bölümü

Bildiğiniz yabancı diller ve seviyesi

	Az	Orta	İyi	Çok iyi
İngilizce	☐	☐	☐	☐
Almanca	☐	☐	☐	☐
Fransızca	☐	☐	☐	☐
İtalyanca	☐	☐	☐	☐
Arapça	☐	☐	☐	☐
Diğer	☐	☐	☐	☐

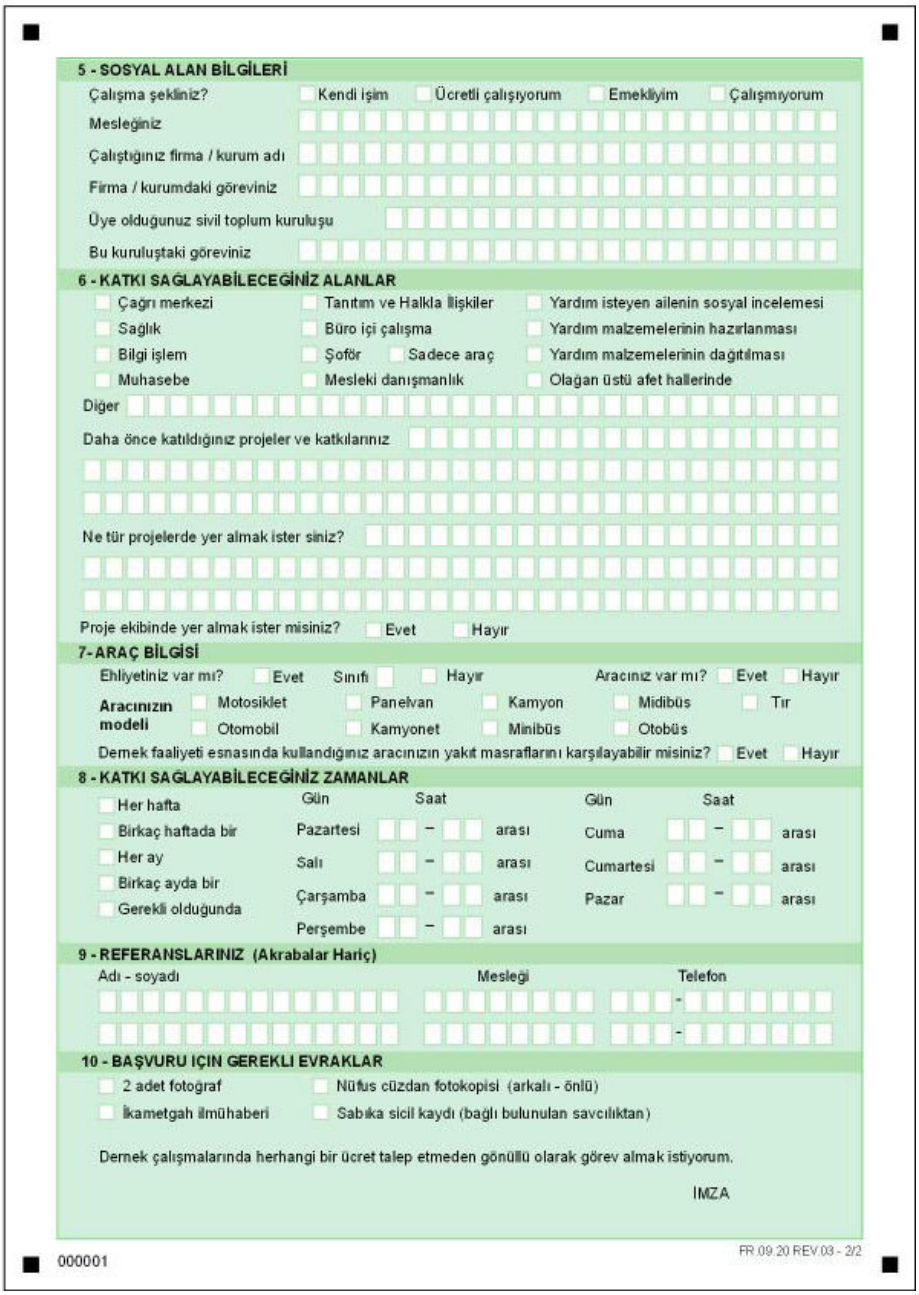
4 - KİŞİSEL BİLGİ VE İLGİLER

Hangi seviyede bilgisayar kullanıyorsunuz? ☐ Hiç ☐ Az ☐ Orta ☐ İyi ☐ Çok iyi

Katıldığınız kurs ve sertifika programları — Yılı — Süresi
1-
2-
İlgi alanlarınız

000001
FR.09.20 REV.03 - 1/2

Voluntary application form (front)



5 - SOSYAL ALAN BİLGİLERİ

Çalışma şekliniz? ☐ Kendi işim ☐ Ücretli çalışıyorum ☐ Emekliyim ☐ Çalışmıyorum

Mesleğiniz

Çalıştığınız firma / kurum adı

Firma / kurumdaki göreviniz

Üye olduğunuz sivil toplum kuruluşu

Bu kuruluştaki göreviniz

6 - KATKI SAĞLAYABİLECEĞİNİZ ALANLAR

☐ Çağrı merkezi ☐ Tanıtım ve Halkla İlişkiler ☐ Yardım isteyen ailenin sosyal incelemesi

☐ Sağlık ☐ Büro içi çalışma ☐ Yardım malzemelerinin hazırlanması

☐ Bilgi işlem ☐ Şoför ☐ Sadece araç ☐ Yardım malzemelerinin dağıtılması

☐ Muhasebe ☐ Mesleki danışmanlık ☐ Olağan üstü afet hallerinde

Diğer

Daha önce katıldığınız projeler ve katkılarınız

Ne tür projelerde yer almak ister siniz?

Proje ekibinde yer almak ister misiniz? ☐ Evet ☐ Hayır

7- ARAÇ BİLGİSİ

Ehliyetiniz var mı? ☐ Evet Sınıfı ☐ ☐ Hayır Aracınız var mı? ☐ Evet ☐ Hayır

Aracınızın modeli ☐ Motosiklet ☐ Panelvan ☐ Kamyon ☐ Midibüs ☐ Tır ☐ Otomobil ☐ Kamyonet ☐ Minibüs ☐ Otobüs

Dernek faaliyeti esnasında kullandığınız aracınızın yakıt masraflarını karşılayabilir misiniz? ☐ Evet ☐ Hayır

8 - KATKI SAĞLAYABİLECEĞİNİZ ZAMANLAR

☐ Her hafta
☐ Birkaç haftada bir
☐ Her ay
☐ Birkaç ayda bir
☐ Gerekli olduğunda

Gün	Saat		Gün	Saat	
Pazartesi	☐☐ – ☐☐	arası	Cuma	☐☐ – ☐☐	arası
Salı	☐☐ – ☐☐	arası	Cumartesi	☐☐ – ☐☐	arası
Çarşamba	☐☐ – ☐☐	arası	Pazar	☐☐ – ☐☐	arası
Perşembe	☐☐ – ☐☐	arası			

9 - REFERANSLARINIZ (Akrabalar Hariç)

Adı - soyadı	Mesleği	Telefon
		-
		-

10 - BAŞVURU İÇİN GEREKLİ EVRAKLAR

☐ 2 adet fotoğraf ☐ Nüfus cüzdan fotokopisi (arkalı - önlü)

☐ İkametgah ilmühaberi ☐ Sabıka sicil kaydı (bağlı bulunulan savcılıktan)

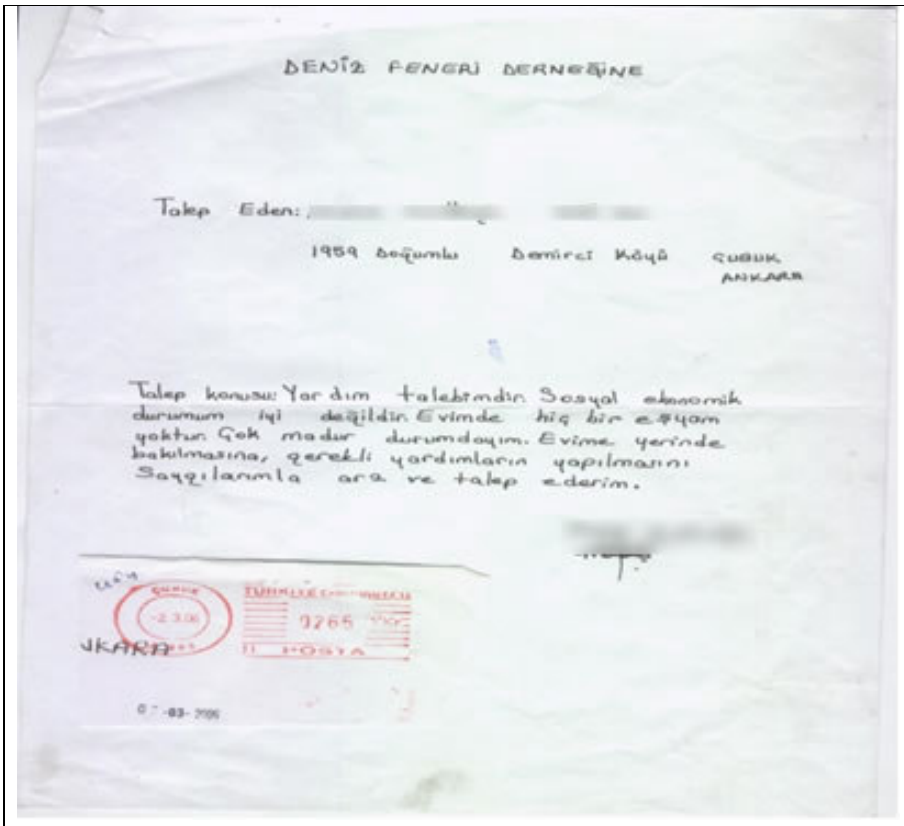
Dernek çalışmalarında herhangi bir ücret talep etmeden gönüllü olarak görev almak istiyorum.

İMZA

000001

FR.09.20 REV.03 - 2/2

Voluntary application form (back)



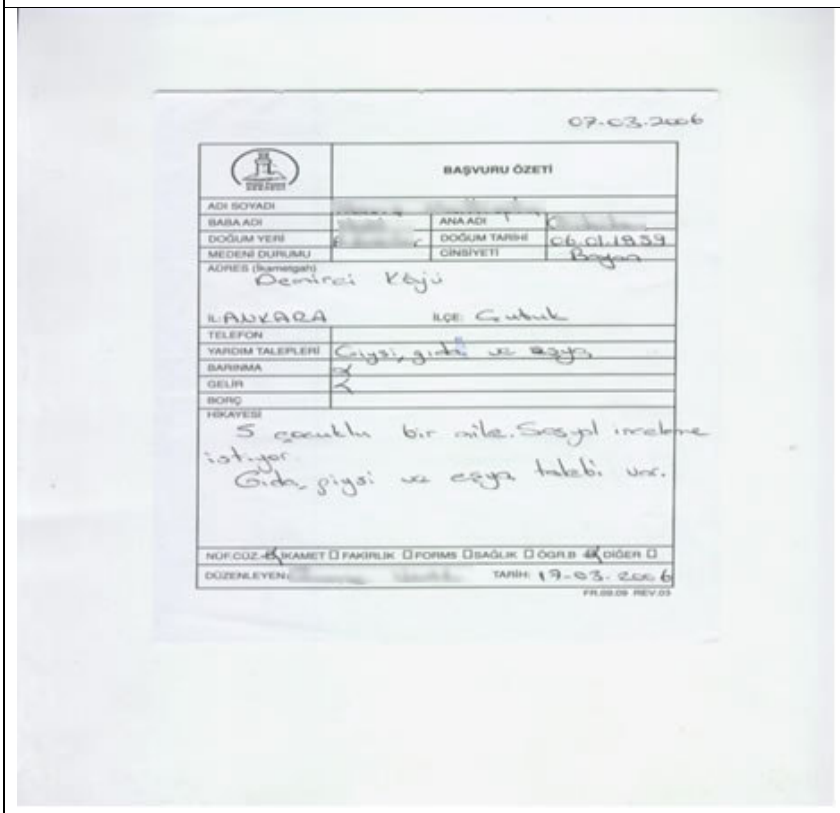
DENİZ FENERİ DERNEĞİNE

Talep Eden: [redacted]

1959 doğumlu Demirci Köyü ÇUBUK ANKARA

Talep konusu: Yardım talebimdir. Sosyal ekonomik durumum iyi değildir. Evimde hiç bir eşyam yoktur. Çok mağdur durumdayım. Evime yerinde bakılmasına, gerekli yardımların yapılmasını Saygılarımla arz ve talep ederim.

[redacted]



07.03.2006

BAŞVURU ÖZETİ

ADI SOYADI			
BABA ADI		ANA ADI	
DOĞUM YERİ		DOĞUM TARİHİ	06.01.1959
MEDENİ DURUMU		CİNSİYETİ	Bayan
ADRES (İkametgah)	Demirci Köyü		
İL: ANKARA	İLÇE: Çubuk		
TELEFON			
YARDIM TALEPLERİ	Giyşi, gıda ve eşya.		
BARINMA	X		
GELİR	X		
BORÇ			

HİKAYESİ

5 çocuklu bir aile. Sosyal inceleme istiyor. Gıda, giyşi ve eşya talebi var.

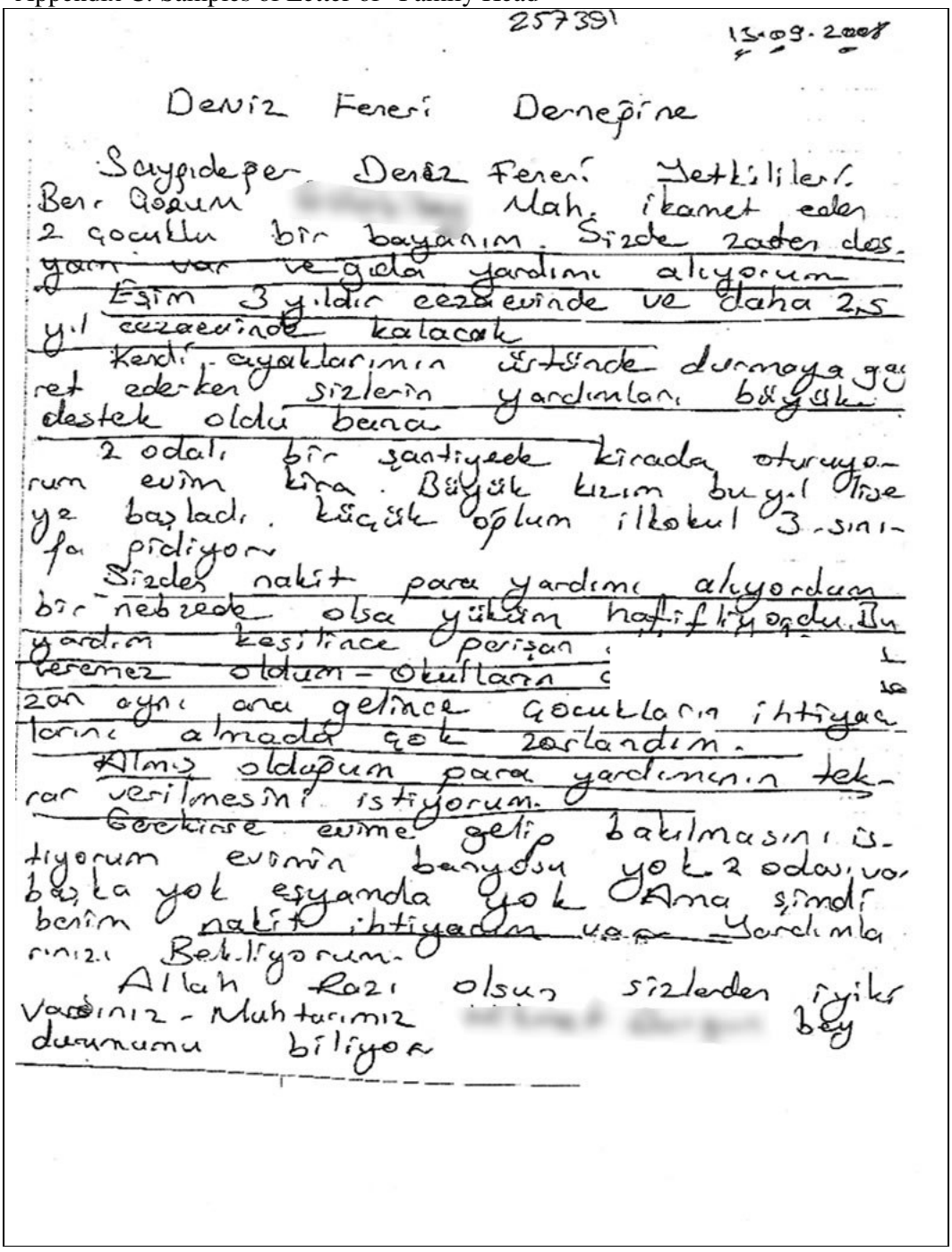
NÜF.CÜZ. ☐ İKAMET ☐ FAKİRLİK ☐ FORMS ☐ SAĞLIK ☐ ÖĞR.B ☐ DİĞER ☐

DÜZENLEYEN: [redacted] TARİH: 19-03-2006

FR.09.09 REV.03

Letter and the simple form for application

Appendix C. Samples of Letter of "Family Head"



257391

13.09.2008

Deniz Feneri Derneğine

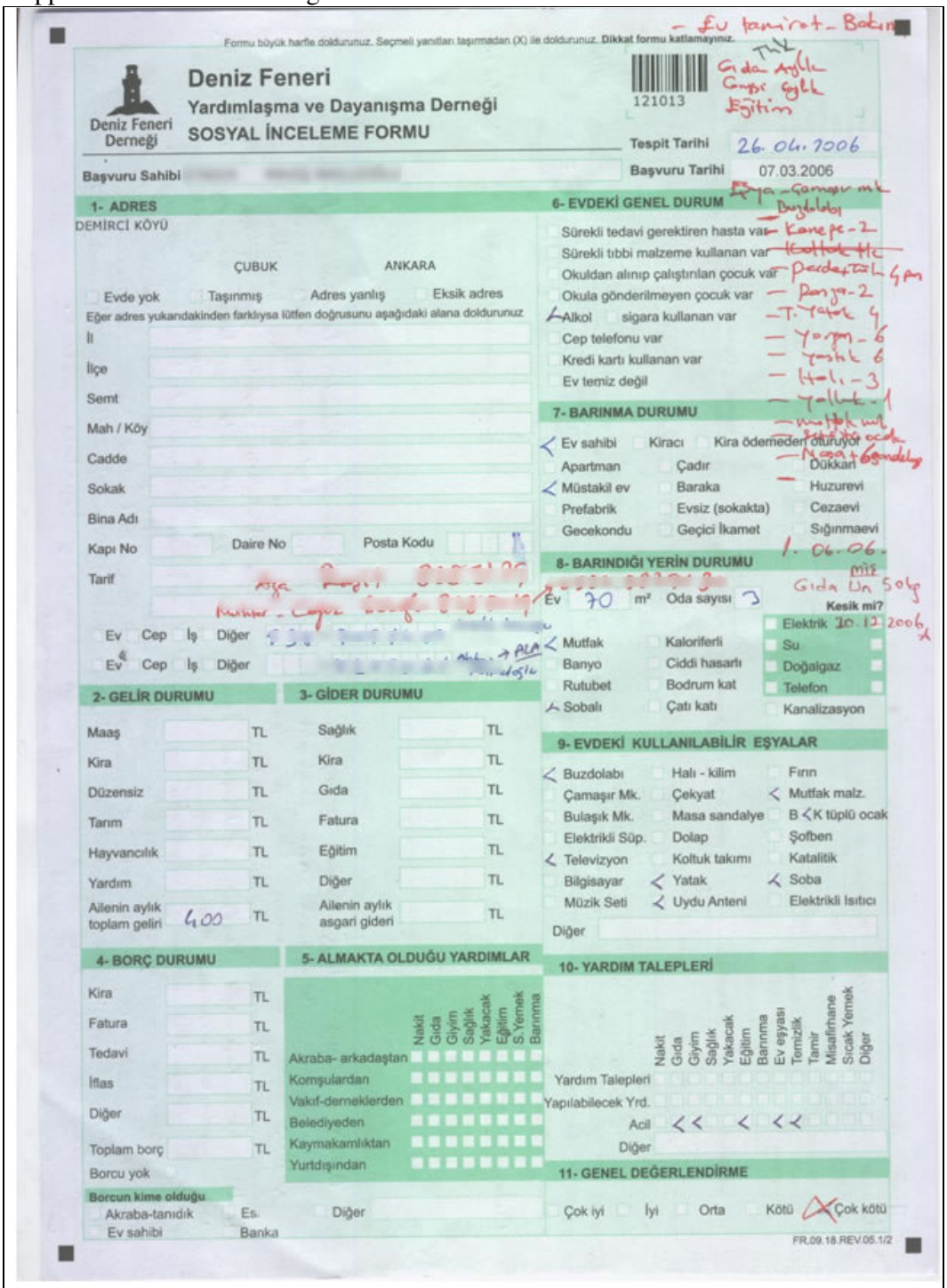
Saygıdeğer Deniz Feneri Yetkilileri.
Ben Çorum [illegible] Mah. ikamet eden
2 çocuklu bir bayanım. Sizde zaten dos-
yam var ve gıda yardımı alıyorum
Eşim 3 yıldır cezaevinde ve daha 2,5
yıl cezaevinde kalacak
Kendi ayaklarımın üstünde durmaya gay-
ret ederken sizlerin yardımları büyük
destek oldu bana
2 odalı bir şantiyede kirada oturuyo-
rum evim kira. Büyük kızım bu yıl lise
ye başladı. küçük oğlum ilkokul 3. sını-
fa gidiyor
Sizden nakit para yardımı alıyordum
bir nebzede olsa yüküm hafifliyordu. Bu
yardım kesilince perişan [illegible]
veremez oldum - Okulların [illegible]
zan aynı ana gelince çocukların ihtiyaç-
larını almada çok zorlandım.
Almış olduğum para yardımının tek-
rar verilmesini istiyorum.
Gerekirse evime gelip bakılmasını is-
tiyorum evimin banyosu yok. 2 odası var
başka yok eşyamda yok Ama şimdi
benim nakit ihtiyacım var Yardımla-
rınızı Bekliyorum.
Allah Razı olsun sizlerden iyiki
Varsınız - Muhtarımız [illegible] bey
durumumu biliyor

16.10.08 – 16.10.08

Sayın Deniz Feneri derneğine

ben [illegible] sizlerden yardım istiyorum
bana yardımcı olmanızı bekliyorum eşimden
ayrıyım iki senedir iki çocuğum var yanımda
çocuğumun birisi hasta sürekli tedavi görüyor
a yüzden Ankaraya taşındım bana yardım
edin ne olursunuz kimsem yok her şeye
ihtiyacım var giyecek giyecek eşya çocuğ
ma okul ihtiyaçları benim bu sesime cevap
verirseniz çok sevinirim yatmıyadahi yerim yok
komşunun birisi kanepe verdi iki çocuğumla
onda yatıyorum ne olursunuz en yakın
zamanda bana yardımcı olurmusunuz rica
ediyorum çok sevinirim çocuğum birisi
4 yaşında [illegible] 7 yaşında
[illegible] hasta olan kızım
ne olursunu yalavarıyorum beni dinlediğin
ziçin çok sevindim Allaha amanet
[illegible] bana ulaşa bileceğiniz telefon

Appendix D. Social Investigation Form



Formu büyük harfle doldurunuz. Seçmeli yanıtları taşırmadan (X) ile doldurunuz. **Dikkat formu katlamayınız.**

Deniz Feneri Derneği

Deniz Feneri
Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Derneği
SOSYAL İNCELEME FORMU

121013

Tespit Tarihi 26.04.2006

Başvuru Sahibi

Başvuru Tarihi 07.03.2006

1- ADRES

DEMİRCİ KÖYÜ

ÇUBUK ANKARA

Evde yok | Taşınmış | Adres yanlış | Eksik adres

Eğer adres yukarıdakinden farklıysa lütfen doğrusunu aşağıdaki alana doldurunuz

İl
İlçe
Semt
Mah / Köy
Cadde
Sokak
Bina Adı
Kapı No | Daire No | Posta Kodu
Tarif

Ev Cep İş Diğer
Ev Cep İş Diğer

2- GELİR DURUMU

Maaş		TL
Kira		TL
Düzensiz		TL
Tarım		TL
Hayvancılık		TL
Yardım		TL
Ailenin aylık toplam geliri	400	TL

3- GİDER DURUMU

Sağlık		TL
Kira		TL
Gıda		TL
Fatura		TL
Eğitim		TL
Diğer		TL
Ailenin aylık asgari gideri		TL

4- BORÇ DURUMU

Kira		TL
Fatura		TL
Tedavi		TL
İflas		TL
Diğer		TL
Toplam borç		TL

Borcu yok

Borcun kime olduğu

Akraba-tanıdık | Es. | Diğer
Ev sahibi | Banka

5- ALMAKTA OLDUĞU YARDIMLAR

	Nakit	Gıda	Giyim	Sağlık	Yakacak	Eğitim	S.Yemek	Barınma
Akraba- arkadaştan								
Komşulardan								
Vakıf-derneklerden								
Belediyeden								
Kaymakamlıktan								
Yurtdışından								

6- EVDEKİ GENEL DURUM

- Sürekli tedavi gerektiren hasta var
- Sürekli tıbbi malzeme kullanan var
- Okuldan alınıp çalıştırılan çocuk var
- Okula gönderilmeyen çocuk var
- Alkol | sigara kullanan var
- Cep telefonu var
- Kredi kartı kullanan var
- Ev temiz değil

7- BARINMA DURUMU

Ev sahibi	Kiracı	Kira ödemeden oturuyor
Apartman	Çadır	Dükkan
Müstakil ev	Baraka	Huzurevi
Prefabrik	Evsiz (sokakta)	Cezaevi
Gecekondu	Geçici İkamet	Sığınmaevi

8- BARINDIĞI YERİN DURUMU

Ev 70 m² Oda sayısı 3

Kesik mi?

Mutfak	Kaloriferli	Elektrik
Banyo	Ciddi hasarlı	Su
Rutubet	Bodrum kat	Doğalgaz
Sobalı	Çatı katı	Telefon
		Kanalizasyon

9- EVDEKİ KULLANILABİLİR EŞYALAR

Buzdolabı	Halı - kilim	Fırın
Çamaşır Mk.	Çekyat	Mutfak malz.
Bulaşık Mk.	Masa sandalye	B.K tüplü ocak
Elektrikli Süp.	Dolap	Şofben
Televizyon	Koltuk takımı	Katalitik
Bilgisayar	Yatak	Soba
Müzik Seti	Uydu Anteni	Elektrikli Isıtıcı

Diğer

10- YARDIM TALEPLERİ

	Nakit	Gıda	Giyim	Sağlık	Yakacak	Eğitim	Barınma	Ev eşyası	Temizlik	Tamir	Misafirhane	Sıcak Yemek	Diğer
Yardım Talepleri													
Yapılabilecek Yrd.													
Acil													

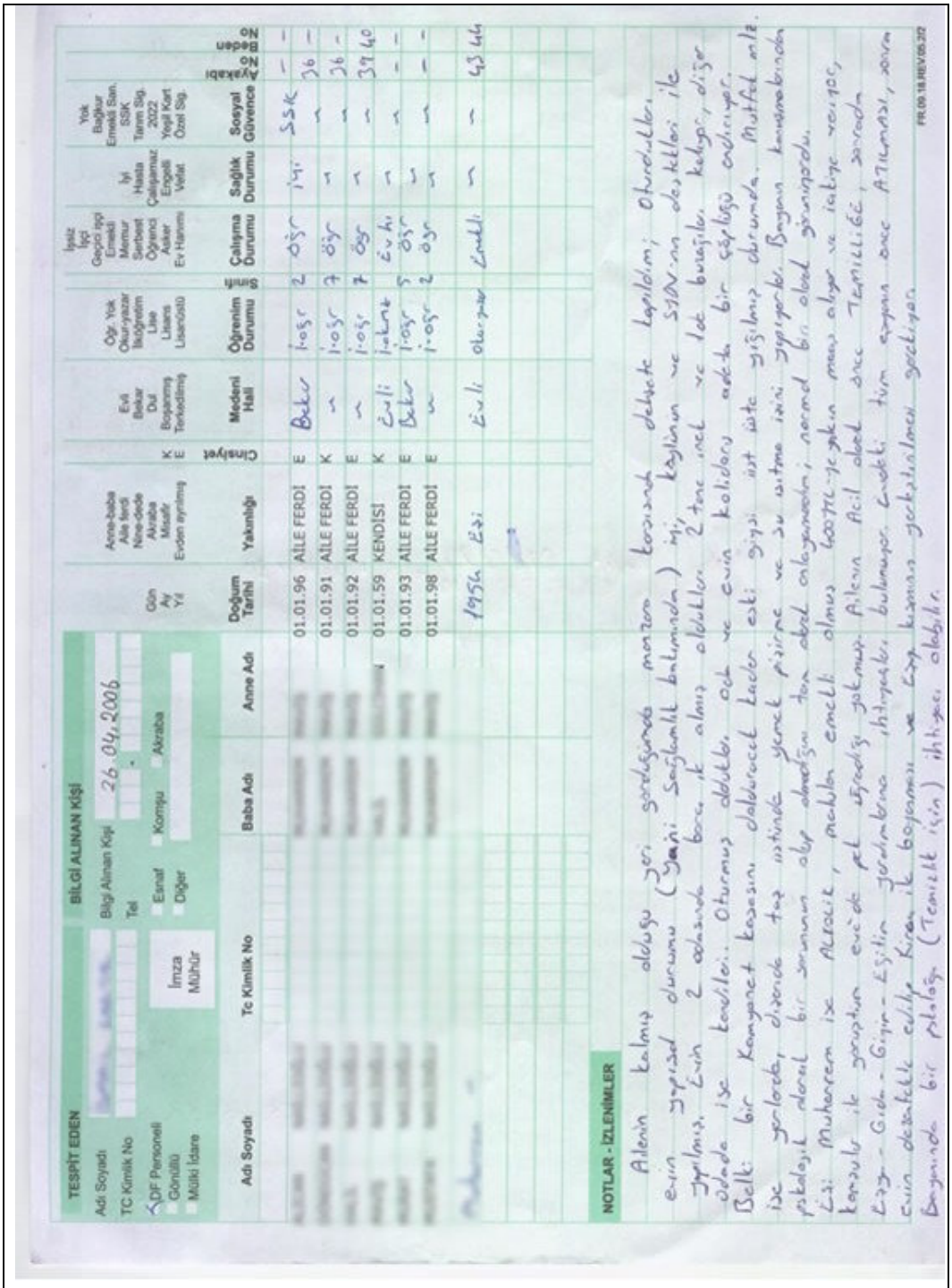
Diğer

11- GENEL DEĞERLENDİRME

Çok iyi | İyi | Orta | Kötü | Çok kötü

FR.09.18.REV.05.1/2

front side



TESPİT EDEN

Adı Soyadı
TC Kimlik No
DF Personeli
Gönüllü
Mülki İdare
İmza Mühür

BİLGİ ALINAN KİŞİ

Bilgi Alınan Kişi 26.04.2006
Tel
Esnaf Komşu Akraba
Diğer

Adı Soyadı	Tc Kimlik No	Baba Adı	Anne Adı	Doğum Tarihi (Gün Ay Yıl)	Anne-baba Ala beni Nine-dede Akraba Misafir Evden ayrılmış	Yakınlığı	Cinsiyet K E	Medeni Hali Evli Bekar Dul Boşanmış Terkedilmiş	Öğr. Yok Okur-yazar İlköğretim Lise Lisans Lisanüstü	Öğrenim Durumu	Sınıfı	İşsiz İşçi Geçici İşçi Emekli Memur Sertbest Öğrenci Asker Ev Hanımı	Çalışma Durumu	İyi Hasta Çalışamaz Engelli Vefat	Sağlık Durumu	Yok Bağkur Emekli San. SSK Tarım Sig. 2022 Yeşil Kart Özel Sig.	Sosyal Güvence	2 Yaşından Büyükten No
				01.01.96		AİLE FERDİ	E	Bekar		İ-OSK	2		ÖĞR		İYİ		SSK	- -
				01.01.91		AİLE FERDİ	K	"		İ-OSK	7		ÖĞR		"		"	36 -
				01.01.92		AİLE FERDİ	E	"		İ-OSK	7		ÖĞR		"		"	36 -
				01.01.59		KENDİSİ	K	Evli		İ-OKUMA			EV H.		"		"	39 40
				01.01.93		AİLE FERDİ	E	Bekar		İ-OSK	5		ÖĞR		"		"	- -
				01.01.98		AİLE FERDİ	E	"		İ-OSK	2		ÖĞR		"		"	- -
				1956		Eşi		Evli		Okuryazar			Emekli		"		"	43 44

NOTLAR - İZLENİMLER

Ailenin kalmış olduğu yer sokağında manzara konusunda detayda kapıların; Oturdukları evin yapısal durumu (Yani Sağlamlık bakımından) iyi, kapıların ve SİDVanın olup olmadığı, Evin 2 odasında bora ile alınış olduğu. 2 tane ocak ve 1 tane buzdolabı. kalorifer, diğer odada ise tandırları. Oturmuş oldukları ev ve evin koridoru adeta bir çöplüğü andırıyor. Belki bir komşunun dahi girmeyecek kadar eski giysi ve ayakkabı dolu olduğu görülmüştür. Mutfak alanı ise yerlerde taş üstünde yemek pişirme ve su ısıtma için kullanılan bir ocak bulunmaktadır. Banyonun kullanılmadığı, tuvaletin ise normal bir ocak şeklinde olduğu görülmüştür. Ailenin kalmış olduğu yer sokağında manzara konusunda detaylı (Yani Sağlamlık bakımından) iyi, kapıların ve SİDVanın olup olmadığı, Evin 2 odasında bora ile alınış olduğu. 2 tane ocak ve 1 tane buzdolabı. kalorifer, diğer odada ise tandırları. Oturmuş oldukları ev ve evin koridoru adeta bir çöplüğü andırıyor. Belki bir komşunun dahi girmeyecek kadar eski giysi ve ayakkabı dolu olduğu görülmüştür. Mutfak alanı ise yerlerde taş üstünde yemek pişirme ve su ısıtma için kullanılan bir ocak bulunmaktadır. Banyonun kullanılmadığı, tuvaletin ise normal bir ocak şeklinde olduğu görülmüştür. Eşi: Muhterem ise ALZHEIMIR, nedeni emekli olmuş 60 YAŞ-üzeri mavi alıgır ve ilaçlar veriliyor, kendisi ile görüşüldüğünde evinde pek düzeni yokmuş. Ailenin Acil olarak ara Temizliğe, sorunda Engel - Gıda - Giyim - Eşyalarının ihtiyaçları, bulunuyor. evdeki tüm eşyanın ara Atılmasız, sonra evin dezenfekte edilip Kiran ile boyanması ve Eng kaynaklanan gerektiğini. Banyonun bir problem (Temizlik için) ihtiyacı olduğu.

FR.09.18.REV.05.2/2

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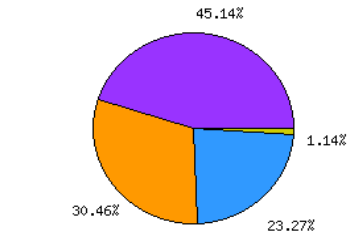
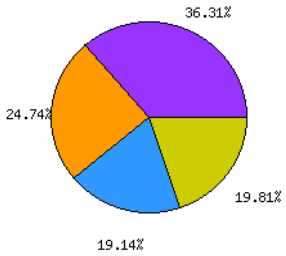
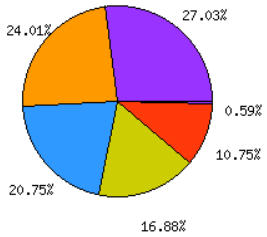
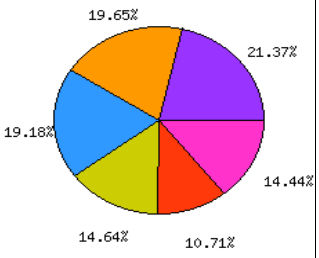
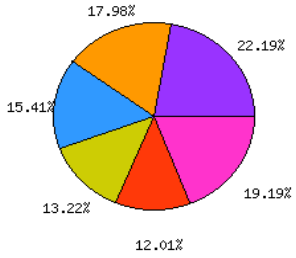
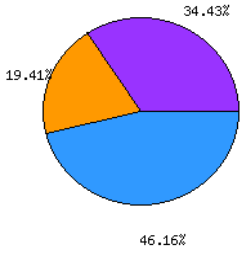
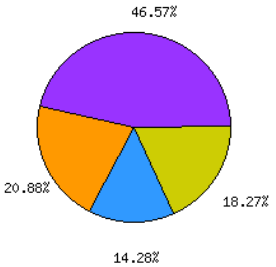
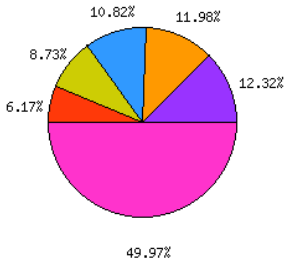
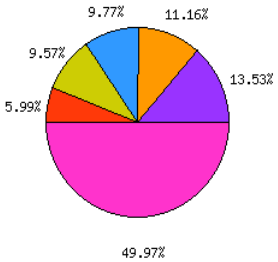
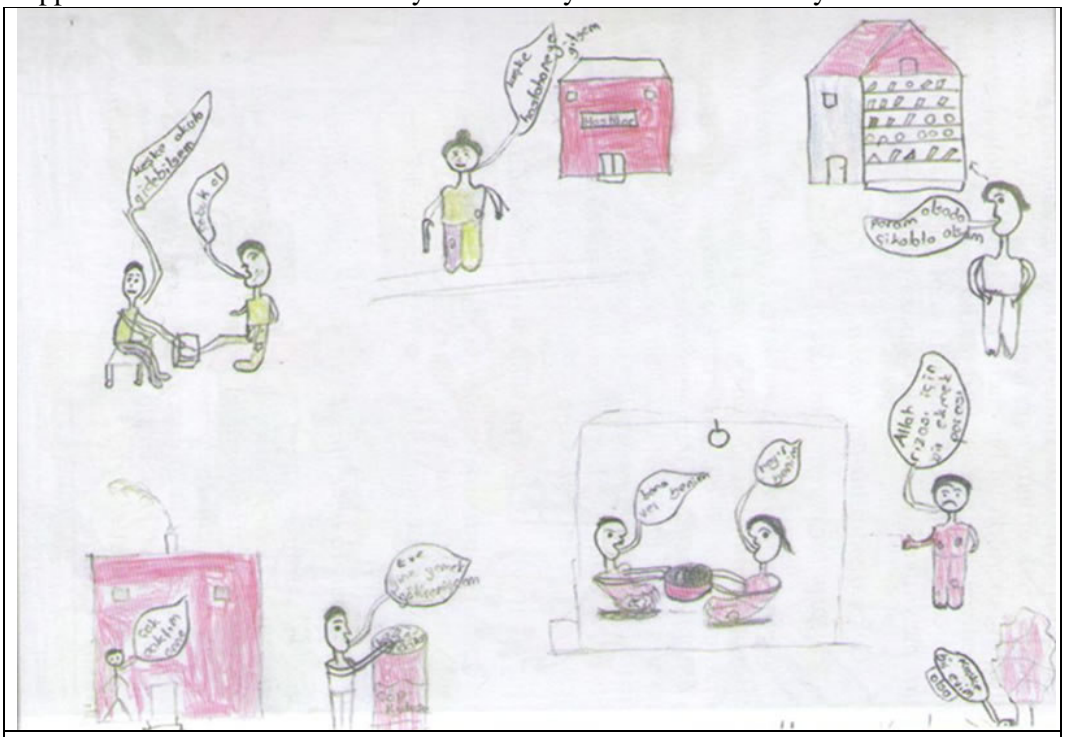
Appendix E. Some Countries that Oxfam Brings Aid

Appendix F. The Elections From 1980 to 2007 (Retrieved from http://belgenet.com)

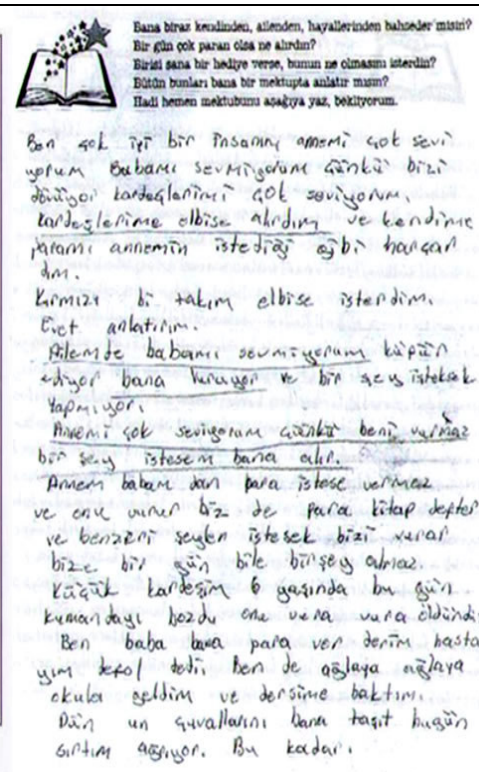
1983	1987	1991
		
ANAP HP MDP OTHER	ANAP SHP DYP OTHER	DYP ANAP SHP RP DSP OTHER
1995	1999	2002
		
RP ANAP DYP DSP CHP OTHER	DSP MHP FP ANAP DYP OTHER	AKP CHP DİĞER
2007	1994-Local elections	1999-Local elections
		
AKP CHP MHP OTHER	RP ANAP SHP OTHER	FP DSP ANAP OTHER

Appendix G. DEYAM's "Poverty from the Eye of Children" Study



Almost a telling of poverty in the social definitions. On the one side there are who wants to by a chocolate, on the other side there are the people saying "be quick" to the shoe shiner.

Hayallerdeki "sağlam ve güzel ev" daha güzel çizilebilir mi?



Bana biraz kendinden, ailenden, hayallerinden bahseder misin?
Bir gün çok paran olsa ne alırdın?
Birisi sana bir hediye verse, bunun ne olmasını isterdin?
Bütün bunları bana bir mektupta anlatır mısın?
Hadi hemen mektubunu aşağıya yaz, bekliyorum.

Ben çok iyi bir insanım annemi çok seviyorum Babamı sevmiyorum çünkü bizi dövüyor kardeşlerimi çok seviyorum. kardeşlerime elbise alırdım ve kendime paramı annemin istediği gibi harcardım.
Kırmızı bi takım elbise isterdim.
Evet anlatırım.
Ailemde babamı sevmiyorum küpür ediyor bana kuruyor ve bir şey isteksek yapmıyor.
Annemi çok seviyorum çünkü beni vurmaz bir şey istesem bana alır.
Annem babam dan para istese vermez ve onu vurur biz de para kitap defter ve benzeri şeyler istesek bizi vurar bize bir gün bile birşey almaz.
Küçük kardeşim 6 yaşında bu gün kumandayı bozdu onu vura vura öldürdü:
Ben baba bana para ver derim hastayım defol dedi. Ben de ağlaya ağlaya okula geldim ve dersime baktım.
Dün un çuvallarını bana taşıt bugün sırtım ağrıyor. Bu kadar.

A beautiful house in the imagination of a child.
A letter of other telling that he does not like his father.

Appendix H. Interview Sets

Deniz Feneri Professional's Questionnaire

Historical Background

1. Could you talk about the program of Şehir ve Ramazan as the starting of Deniz Feneri?

2. Did you have any organization to get inspiration in Turkey or in the global scale? What is source of your professionalism?

3. Are there architectures of Deniz Feneri? Have you experienced many things accidentally?

4. What is the primary reason of success in the Deniz Feneri system? Organization? Media? Resources? Motivation?

Organizational

5. How did you cover your fixed investments?

6. Do all your resources composed of donations? Do you receive any international resources such as projects?

7. What is the process of the election of your chairman?

8. What is the gender balance among professionals and volunteers in Deniz Feneri?

9. Do you get affected by this work? How do you manage? Does this organization receive professional assistance about this?

10. Do you have memberships for international organizations?

11. Do you have branches in abroad?

12. Have you expected to reach such kind of power and popularity?

Individual

13. What is your mission here?

14. How did you meet with Deniz Feneri? Why the did want to work here?

15. Which jobs have you done in Deniz Feneri?

16. What is the place of Deniz Feneri in your life?

17. What do you think about the social relations in Deniz Feneri?

18. What is your contribution to Deniz Feneri?

19. Could you talk about two events that affected you in Deniz Feneri ?

Poverty Definitions

20. How do you define poverty? Why the poor are poor?

21. Do you think that the activities of Deniz Feneri can provide solutions for poverty or are they just supportive?

22. What is the main solution of poverty?

23. What are the possible results of poverty? *(Does s/he describe as private or social?)*

Aid Collecting

24. In which ways do you collect the donations? (Mostly by the bank accounts?)

25. What is the profile of your donors (Which classes do they belong mostly?

26. What is the minimum and maximum of your cash donations?

27. Do you have continual donors?

The Aid

28. How could you measure the satisfaction of poor?

29. Have you ever thought that you had mistakes when selecting the poor?

30. Do you reject any applicant because of any reason other than material ones? (For instance, do you think that the aid may contribute the condition of poverty?)

31. What is the major criterion for your aid? (Material conditions, illnesses, being needy?)

32. Are there people asking for aid other than you can cover? (Such as employment) What do you do in such cases?

33. Do the donors generally want to keep their names close or do they ask for announcement of it openly?

34. Which people do the aid evaluation committee (YDK) composed of? When does it come together?

35. What is average period for application, social investigation, evaluation and aid delivery?

36. Have you received any cheated applications? (double application etc.)

37. Have you received profit based suggestions?

38. What is the gender balance among applicants?

38. Do you have a priority among these applicants?

39. There are some claims on that such kinds of assistance may contribute to reproduction of poverty. What do you think about these claims?

Religious Motivation

40. Why do you ask for the letter of "family head"?

41. It is thought that your activities have a religious aspect. Do you think that such kinds of religious aspects create a positive effect?

42. Do you provide assistance other than Islamic geography? (non Muslim countries, societies etc.) Why?

43. What is the primary motivation among your volunteers to participate in Deniz Feneri?

44. How many of the volunteers are working actively?

45. In the social investigation form, there are places asking the drinking-smoking habits of the poor. Do not you give the aid to the families which have drinking or smoking households?

46. There is a religious discourse in the application letters. How much of them include such kind of discourse?

47. Can Deniz Feneri be considered as an organization which collects and distributes *zekat*?

48. Do you think that the donors regard it as *zekat*?

49. How do you categorize your aid? *Zekat, sadaka* or *infak*?

50. The publicity is important. But there are several resources in Islam which indicates the secrecy of social aid. Does not it constitute a contradiction in terms of religion?

51. As far as I saw in Deniz Feneri, there are people coming from different conservative roots. (Women wearing *türban* etc.) What do you think about it?

52. There are several Church based organizations struggling against poverty in the world? In this respects, do Deniz Feneri have specific missions?

Civil Society and Politics

53. Some people claims that you have close relations with AK Party. What do you think about it?

54. How about your relations with the other organizations as well as with the state?

55. Do you have co-operated projects with local governments?

56. How the poor perceives you? An NGO, foundation or state?

57. Do you do something to limit your role?

Sample of Germany (Deniz Feneri e.V.)

58. When was Deniz Feneri e.V founded?

59. Does the idea come from here?

60. You have already declared that you do not have any organic relations with Deniz Feneri e.V. However, you use similar name, logo as well as the channels for your activities. What is the main framework of your relations?

61. Have Deniz Feneri e.V. used its donations in Germany or Turkey

62. What happened in Germany?

63. How much have you get damaged because of this issue? What have you done for recovery?

Any other ideas…

Deniz Feneri Volunteer's Questionnaire

Individual

1. What is your age?

2. What is your gender?

3. What is your education?

4. What is your job?

5. Where do you live? (city center, small town etc.)

6. Do you live with your family?

Institutional Affiliation

7. When did you met with Deniz Feneri?

8. How did you met with Deniz Feneri?

9. Are you a donor as well? If yes, what kinds of donations have you made?

10. How long have you worked in Deniz Feneri?

11. How often do you come to work in Deniz Feneri? (once a week, twice a week etc.)

12. In which departments have you worked in Deniz Feneri?

13. Why have you worked in these departments?

14. What is the place of Deniz Feneri in your life?

15. What do you think about the human relations in Deniz Feneri?

16. What have you given to Deniz Feneri?

17. Have you brought new volunteers?

18. Have you experienced effective situations during your volunteering?

19. Do you have any material or spiritual profits or expectation from Deniz Feneri?

Definition of Poverty

20. What is ”poor” for you?

21. Do you think that one day you will be a poor?

22. Why the poor are poor?

23. What is the solution of poverty?

24. Whose mission is to overcome to poverty?

Religious Motivation

25. Do you think that assisting to the poor is a religious mission?

26. What is your primary motivation to work in Deniz Feneri?

27. Does working here provide you a religious satisfaction?

Finalizing

28. What kinds of feedbacks have you had for your Deniz Feneri membership? (Have you been appreciated or criticized negatively?)

Any other ideas...

FACIT Project Questionnaire

Survey on FBOs

Name of the organization: ……

Address: …….

Telephone number:…….

Email Address: ……..

Website: ……..

This survey has been completed by:
- Name: …….
- Function in the organization: ……
- This person is:
  - □ professional (paid staff)
  - □ voluntary worker (non-paid staff)

INTRODUCTORY QUESTIONS

1. Which social problems are you facing? Who is tackling these problems? What is the role of your organization in this? What do you expect of future developments on this field (in problem and role of your organization)?

……
……
……
……
……

PART 1: GENERAL CHARACTERIZATION OF THE ORGANİZATİON

2. When was the organization founded?
Year, date: ……..

3a. Who were the initiators of the organization?
- □ professionals (= paid staff)
- □ volunteers (= non-paid staff)

3b. Where these
- □ people 'in need'
- □ people 'not in need'

3c. Where these

- □ individuals
- □ an organization
- □ a consortium of organizations

If possible, identify the initiator (name of the organization, individual: ……..

4a. Which territory does your organization cover?

- □ a particular city/town
- □ a local area (broader than one city/town)
- □ regional level
- □ national level
- □ international level

4b. Why do you (only) cover this area?

…….

5a. What is the statute of the organization?

- □ non- profit organization, with legal status
- □ non-profit organization, without legal status

5b. Did the statute change over time?

- □ no
- □ yes (Specify):…….

6a. How many people are involved in the organization (incl. professionals, voluntary workers, beneficiaries)?

6b. How did the number of involved professionals, volunteers and clientele changed during the last five years?

Number between	Professionals		Voluntary Workers		Beneficiaries (individuals, not families)	
	2003	2008	2003	2008	2003	2008
10-20						
20-30						
30-50						
50-100						
100-200						
More than 200						

⇨ If the exact number of people involved is available, please insert this data in the table

6c. How many of these have experienced poverty or some sort of social exclusion?

- □ professionals: ……%

□ voluntary workers: …….%

7a. How would you characterize the beneficiaries of your activities?

(Several answers possible)

□ people experiencing poverty
□ low educated people
□ long term unemployed
□ asylum seekers, refugees
□ migrants
□ homeless people
□ poor women
□ poor children and youngsters
□ allowance beneficiaries
□ other (Specify):……..

7b. How would you describe the changes in the beneficiaries during the last five years (in numbers, profile, or other remarkable changes)?

…….
…….

8a. What is the motivation of the professionals to serve and stay involved in your organization?

a)……..…
b)…….
c)…….

8b. What is the motivation of the voluntary staff to serve and stay involved in your organization?

a)……..…
b)…….
c)…….

8c. On what basis do you think so? (e.g. evaluation / study has been done,)

……
…….……..

9a. What is, approximately, the budget of your organization in 2008?

……...

9b. How did the budget change over the last five years?

……..….

10a Who is funding the organization and to which percentage?

Organization	Funding	Percent
European government		
National government		
Regional government		
Provincial government		
Local government		
Church		
Charitable Funds		
Other private organizations		
Private persons		
Members of the organization		
Other (Specify):……..		

10b. How does the main funding/funder influence the activities of the organization? (e.g., kind of supply of services, target groups)

……..……
……..

10c How do you inform your donors about your activities?

……..
……..

11. Does the organization participate in international organizations? (e.g. Organization of the Islamic Conference, UN)

……
…….

12. Does your organization have branches in other countries? If so, in which countries or regions?

……

PART 2: ON THE RELIGIOUS DIMENSION

13a. How would you identify the organization? It has …

- □ always been secular
- □ always been religious
- □ former religious, now secular
- □ former secular, now religious

13b. If the organization is religious, then which religion inspires your organization?

……..

……..
……..

14. What makes the organization 'faith-based'?
(Several answers possible)

- □ mission statement
- □ founding for a religious purpose
- □ religiousness of board, senior management, and/or staff
- □ affiliation with religious agencies
- □ financial support from religious sources
- □ religious content of program
- □ serving specific religious groups
- □ religious context (name of organization, building, religious symbols)
- □ Other (Specify): ……..…

PART 3: ORGANİZATİONAL GOALS AND ACTIVITIES

15. Please, indicate the three most important goals for your organization:

1. …….

2. …….

3. …….

16a. On which of the following domains did the organization develop activities during the last 12 months?

Domain	Activity	Example for activity
Health		
Housing		
Work, employment		
Education		
Culture, leisure time		
Income, debts		
Justice. Law		
Integration		
Public assistance		
Child care		
Other (Specify): ……		

17b. Could you give an examples for the domains you mentioned?
(Insert answers in table above "Examples for activity")

18. What is the primary determining factor in providing aid to an applicant?
……
……

PART 4: ON SERVICE DELIVERY, WITH REFERENCE TO THE WELFARE STATE

19. How do you deliver your services?

- □ personal visits (at home)
- □ individual consultation at the organization's offices
- □ support by organising group sessions (self-support, exchange of experiences
- □ other (Specify): ……:……

20a. Does the beneficiary have to pay for the services?

- □ yes
- □ no

20b. Is the help or service unconditional?

- □ yes
- □ no

20c. Is the beneficiary's identity registered?

- □ yes
- □ no

21. Why does your organization offer exactly this kind of services?

- □ no service/care was present for the specific problems of the target group
- □ some services are/were lacking
- □ some problems were detected in the way services are/were delivered by other actors
- □ other (Specify): ……..:……..

22. Should government take over the activities or services your organization offers now?

- □ yes
- □ no

PART 5: ON THE ORGANİZATİONAL NETWORK

23. How would you characterize the relation between your organization

a) and other faith-based organizations? (competition, cooperation, competitive cooperation? Why?)

……..
……..

b) and other NGOs?

…….
……..
c) and governmental actors on the local level (politicians, administration)?

……..
……..

PART 6: ON THE POLICY DIMENSION

24. Did your organization ever have influence on national policies?

- □ no
- □ yes, Specify: ……..
  ……..

25. Does the national government stimulate participation of your organization (and other NGOs) in (national) public policies? If so, then how?

- □ no
- □ yes, Specify: ……..
  ……...

25. Does the local national government stimulate participation of your organization (and other NGOs) in (local) public policies? If so, then how?

- □ no
- □ yes, Specify: ……...
  ……

PART 7: ON THE URBAN CONTEXT

26. In which areas of the city do you recruit your beneficiaries?

……..

FINAL QUESTION

27. Which indicators do you use to measure the success of your project?

…….
……..
……..

Questionnaire for Germany (Frankfurt) Sample

1. When did you come to Germany?
2. Which city did you come from?
3. Do you stay with your family here?
4. How often do you visit Turkey?
5. Which jobs have you had?
6. What is your current job?
7. What kinds of difficulties have you had in here?
8. Have you ever heard Deniz Feneri association? Have you ever donated?
9. Do you think that donating such kind of organization is important in Germany? Why?
10. If you have not donated, do you think that one day you will do it?
11. There is another association called ”Deniz Feneri” Do you know it?
12. What do you think about the TV news (corruption) on Deniz Feneri e.V.?
13. What kinds of methods have Deniz Feneri used in Germany?
14. Do you think that there are poor who need such kinds of assistance in Germany?
15. Do you think that the activities of Deniz Feneri is just collecting and distributing the *zekat* ?
16. Do you think that the media advertisements of Deniz Feneri contain contradictions?
17. What do you think about the future of Deniz Feneri e.V?