

INDIVIDUAL GIVING AND PHILANTHROPY IN TURKEY

ALİ ÇARKOĞLU KOÇ UNIVERSITY

S. ERDEM AYTAÇ KOÇ UNIVERSITY

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PROJECT SUPPORTERS



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Project Team (In alphabetical order) **Birce Altay, Hazal İnce, Liana Varon, Tevfik Başak Ersen**

Authors (In alphabetical order) **Ali Çarkođlu, S. Erdem Aytaç**

Translator **Seda Yılmaz**

Editing Assistance **Victoria Taylor**

Production **Myra**

Coordination **Damla Ezer**

Publication Design **Tuba Mücella Kiper**

Page Design and Application **Serhan Baykara**

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Atatürk Cad. Göl Sok. (İtfaiye Karşısı) No: 1

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Tel: 0212 656 49 97 Fax: 0212 656 29 26

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TÜSEV

Bankalar Cad. No. 2 Minerva Han, 34420 Karaköy – İstanbul

T 0212 243 83 07 F 0212 243 83 05 info@tusev.org.tr • www.tusev.org.tr

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ABOUT US

Third Sector Foundation of Turkey (TUSEV) was established in 1993 by Turkey's leading civil society organizations and has now grown to a supporting network of 112 associations and foundations that share a vision of strengthening the legal, fiscal and operational infrastructure of the third (non-profit) sector in Turkey.

TUSEV's programme areas are designed to;

- promote a legally and fiscally enabling environment for non-profit organizations,
 - encourage strategic and effective giving,
 - generate research about the sector,
 - facilitate partnerships across the public, private and third sectors and support and engage the international community in learning about and collaborating with the third sector in Turkey.
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ABBREVIATIONS

ADNKS	Address Based Population Registration System
CAF	Charities Aid Foundation
CBRT	Central Bank of the Republic of Turkey
CSO	Civil society organization
ÇYDD	Association for Supporting Contemporary Life
Kızılay	Turkish Red Crescent Association
LÖSEV	Foundation for Children with Leukemia
DK/ NR	Do not know/No response
NUTS	Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics
TEGV	Educational Volunteers Foundation of Turkey
TEMA	Turkish Foundation for Combating Soil Erosion, for Reforestation and the Protection of Natural Habitats
TEV	Turkish Education Foundation
TGNA	Turkish Grand National Assembly
THK	Turkish Aeronautical Association
TL	Turkish Lira
TURKSTAT	Turkish Statistical Institute
TUSEV	Third Sector Foundation of Turkey
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
USD	United States Dollar

FOREWORD

As the Third Sector Foundation of Turkey (TUSEV), we have been working to improve the legal, financial and operational infrastructure of the not-for-profit sector in Turkey since 1993. The importance we give to information generation and our desire to share the knowledge we have gathered with both our partners and the civil society have increased over the past 23 years. With our vision for a “stronger civil society,” we continue to work hard to provide solutions to common problems experienced by the civil society organizations in Turkey.

Under our Research and Publications program, we have been conducting research and publishing reports to shed light on important questions about civil society in Turkey in areas such as the enabling environment, philanthropy, and social entrepreneurship. Keeping in mind the vital role of donations and philanthropy in the financial sustainability of the not-for-profit sector; we have been working for sharing up-to-date data and generating information on philanthropy in Turkey. In this respect, we published our first comprehensive report titled “Philanthropy in Turkey: Citizens, Foundations, and Pursuit of Social Justice”

in 2006. The research on “Individual Giving and Philanthropy in Turkey” updates and expands the information on individual giving while clarifying many aspects of the concept such as the giving trends, perceptions on civil society and philanthropy. We firmly believe that the most efficient way for increasing the level of knowledge about philanthropy in Turkey will be achieved through dedicated research. We sincerely hope that this report will trigger other organizations to start new research initiatives on this matter.

Along with the new socio-economic dynamics of the country, changes in the civil society and forms of support for civil society organizations over the last ten years have brought forward the requirement to conduct new research in this area. In this respect, with this research carried out by the Koç University Center for Survey Research under the leadership of Prof. Ali Çarkoğlu and Assist. Prof. Selim Erdem Aytaç and supported by the Anadolu Foundation, the Aydın Doğan Foundation, the ENKA Foundation, the Sabancı Foundation, the Hüsni M. Özyeğin Foundation and the Vehbi Koç Foundation, we aim to reveal changes that have happened in individual giving over the past ten years. “Individual Giving and Philanthropy in Turkey” report presents a comparative analysis of the situation of individual giving and presents unique opportunities to both donors and civil society organizations to better understand the culture of giving in Turkey.

This Report, which presents the most up-to-date data in the field of individual giving, will also be a contributing resource to TUSEV’s ongoing efforts to encourage the culture of giving and promote strategic giving in Turkey under “Philanthropy Infrastructure Development in Turkey Project.”

I wholeheartedly believe that “Individual Giving and Philanthropy in Turkey” will be a valuable resource for individuals and organizations working in civil society and philanthropy, for those who would like to read into giving and philanthropy in Turkey from a broader perspective with more concrete data, and for those who aim to disseminate the culture of individual giving and strengthen the presence of civil society in Turkey.

This research is an excellent example of the pioneering role Turkish foundations has been playing in promoting giving and philanthropy in the country. For this reason, I would like to extend my gratitude to the Anadolu Foundation, the Aydın Doğan Foundation, the ENKA Foundation, the Sabancı Foundation, the Hüsni M. Özyeğin Foundation and the Vehbi Koç Foundation for their support. I also would like to thank Prof. Dr. Ali Çarkoğlu, Assist. Prof. Dr. Selim Erdem Aytaç and the Koç University Center for Survey Research team for their dedicated work and contribution to civil society.

Prof. Dr. Üstün Ergüder

Chairman of Board of Trustees and Executive Board, TUSEV



PREFACE

Civil society organizations (CSOs) are at the heart of Turkey's democratization process. Today there are more than 109,000 associations and 5,075 new foundations (established after the Republic) operating along with many informal organizations such as platforms, initiatives, and groups. Their areas of work are mostly concentrated in social solidarity, delivering social services, education, health and various rights-based issues. Over the past years, the not-for-profit sector in Turkey has grown both in size and the level of participation, and played a significant role in providing services and contributing to the democratization of the country. Despite all of these developments, legal constraints and financial sustainability continue to pose a challenge for the future of the sector. It is of critical importance for CSOs to ensure their financial viability to make a difference in society and contribute to social change through their activities and work. Research shows that the main income sources of CSOs in Turkey include membership fees, grants from national and international organizations, individual and corporate donations, public funds and revenues generated from the sales of products or services. According to the information received from the General Directorate of Foundations and the Department of Associations in 2014 the

income from donations made up approximately 40% of the total revenues of associations and 39% of the new foundations. In other words, donations are the highest income item both for foundations and associations. Despite the importance of donations for the financial sustainability of CSOs, results of the "Individual Giving and Philanthropy in Turkey" (Report) conducted in 2015 in 68 of Turkey's 81 provinces with the participation of 2,495 respondents, show that giving through CSOs in Turkey is low. Also, compared to an earlier study conducted in 2004 and published by TUSEV in 2006, "Philanthropy in Turkey: Citizens, Foundations, and Pursuit of Social Justice" there has been a marked decrease in donations made to CSOs (from 18.4% in 2004 to 12.9% in 2015) in the past decade.

According to the findings of the Report, the sum of all donations made in one year is approximately 228 Turkish Liras (approx. 77.5 USD and 69 Euros) per capita. This amount equals to 0.8% of Turkey's GDP in 2014. However, in the case of giving through CSOs which is approximately 16.7 TL (approx. 5.6 USD and 5 Euros), this rate drops to 0.06%. According to the report "An Overview of Philanthropy in Europe" prepared in partnership with Observatoire de la Fondation de France

and Centre d'Etude et de Recherche sur la Philanthropie, the ratio of donations to countries' GDPs is 0.2% in Europe and 1.5% in the USA.

A comparison of these results with data from Turkey suggests that individuals in Turkey do make donations at internationally comparative levels, but they do not prefer giving to CSOs. Even though the overall donation amounts are not necessarily lower than the ones in European countries and the USA, the fact that individuals prefer direct giving and do not make their donations through a CSO is a significant finding.

What does philanthropy mean to Turkish people? If donations are not made to CSOs, then how is it made and to whom? According to the results of the Report, philanthropy is mostly understood as helping the poor and those in need. Activities such as supporting a student's education, giving scholarships, building schools and dorms, giving sadaqa (charity) to the poor and building mosques are also described as acts of philanthropy and are highly preferred by Turkish people. These responses are similar to the findings of TUSEV's 2006 Report, and even though a decade has passed, they show that the perception of philanthropy in Turkey has not changed and that a more traditional approach prevails. The Report also indicates that individuals in Turkey prefer performing what they describe as acts of philanthropy mostly for their family members, neighbors or fellow townspeople. On the other hand, we observe an increase in the percentage of respondents who prefer to give to someone in need and who shares the same language, culture or religion. In other words, similar to the findings of the first report, Turkish people continued to prioritize relatives and fellow townspeople in their philanthropic giving. The fact that the recipient shares the same culture, language and religion to the donor also had a positive influence on the decision to give. Underlying reasons for individuals' giving behavior are quite similar to the findings of the 2006 Report. Fulfilling religious obligations is number one with 32.5%, among motivations for individual

giving. Social norms and traditions, individuals' feeling indebted to their communities and self-fulfillment are also other reasons that motivate Turkish people to give.

When individuals were asked whether they preferred to give directly to those in need or through an organization, 88% said directly while 12% stated that they preferred to give through an organization. Similar to the results of the 2006 Report, the majority of individuals in Turkey chose to give directly to those in need, rather than giving through CSOs. Within the 12% who preferred to give through an organization, 34% opted for a public organization while only 18% chose CSOs. These percentages show that CSOs are not necessarily preferred among the small group of people who chose to give through organizations.

When asked for reasons why the donors did not prefer to give through CSOs, the responses were similar to the results of the 2006 Report: donation amounts are low (52%), donations are made irregularly (26%), organizations are not trusted (13%) or the organizations are not recognized (5%). These responses show that donors perceive the low amount and irregularity of donations as the main reasons for not donating to CSOs. Despite this perception, as CSO representatives, we do know that even the smallest amount of donations become very significant for an organization especially if it is made regularly. Thus, it would be right to argue that CSOs need to emphasize the value and importance of small donations in their communication efforts. Report also highlights the problem of the lack of trust in Turkey which results in low level of social capital. Only 10% of the respondents said they can trust most of the people, while 90% said one can never be too careful while dealing with other people. In other words, only one out of ten people in Turkey trust others, and Turkish people tend mostly to trust their family members and fellow townspeople. This situation points to lack of social capital in the country and results in the tendency to give to individuals with parochial ties, rather than giving through organizations. An interesting contradiction to this finding is

the fact that the highest amount of donations (53.2 TL, approx. 18 USD and 16 Euros) made by Turkish people is given to street beggars.

In addition to the persistent lack of trust between individuals and towards organizations, the percentage of individuals who believe that CSOs can be influential in the solution of existing societal problems and in their areas of activity has decreased compared to 2004. In 2004, the percentage of respondents who believed CSOs could be effective in solving existing problems for a better society was 54%. However, in 2015 it went down to 41%. While in 2004, only 9% of the individuals believed that CSOs could not have an influence, in 2015 this figure increased to 14%. Additionally, individuals think that CSOs have limited influence both over their activity areas and over state policies. Thus, it can be argued that the low level of trust between individuals and towards other organizations as well as the negative perception of the impact of CSOs does not provide an enabling environment for giving through CSOs. Furthermore, a certain lack of knowledge on the notion and role of civil society is another factor contributing to the mistrust and negative perceptions on civil society in Turkey.

When the respondents were asked why they did not choose to participate in CSO activities, 32% said they did not have enough money to spare time for such activities. The number of individuals who point to economic insufficiencies as the reason for their lack of participation in civil society activities has increased since 2004. Other reasons are as follows: 14% are not interested in such activities, 10% do not know anybody who participate in such activities, and 7% do not trust such organizations. In summary, economic reasons, lack of interest in CSO activities, and lack of confidence in the organizations are perceived to be major hindrances to participation in civil society activities.

How do Turkish people choose which CSOs to give? For 84.6% of the respondents, the most important criterion was their trust in the organization to use the donation in a way

that fits the cause, while for the 84% it was their trust in the sound management of the organization. 83.6% of the individuals said transparency of the organization they gave to be of importance, while 56.6% reported sharing a similar political and world view with the organization mattered while giving. In line with these responses, one can argue that in order to reach out to more donors and raise higher amounts of donations, CSOs need to increase their recognition and establish relationships of trust with the donors.

Strikingly, 66% of individuals who care about the trustworthiness and transparency of CSOs do not do any research on the organization prior to giving; 68% do not receive reports from the organizations regarding their activities. In other words, although respondents say they value transparency and accountability of CSOs, a majority do not do any prior research on the organizations before making a donation and do not receive information from the organizations as to how their donations were used. This points to a contradiction between individuals' expectations from CSOs and their behavior towards them.

Parallel to philanthropy and giving traditions in Turkey, 20.5% of the individuals choose CSOs that help the poor and needy, while 13.9% choose those that help the orphans. These two groups are followed by 11.8% education, 9.1% helping children and youth, 8.4% families of martyrs and veterans. The areas in which individuals in Turkey choose to give the least are art, culture and historic preservation, animal care and protection, and helping refugees.

The percentage of those who engaged in CSO activities and made donations other than paying membership fees have dropped significantly since 2004. In 2004, the rate of participation in CSO activities was 22.7%; however, this dropped to 15.8% in 2015. Percentage of those who donated to CSOs was 18.4% in 2004, dropping to 12.9% in 2015. It is observed that, over the past decade changes in the perception of civil society and low social capital made a negative influence on giving trends.

Findings of the Report point to an overall decrease in civil society participation (membership, volunteering, giving, etc.) over the last decade. Additionally, the role of civil society is not understood clearly, and CSOs are not necessarily perceived as influential actors. These results point to an important disconnectedness in the relationship between CSOs and Turkish society. Taking into consideration all of these results, we believe that in this environment, the most important step towards raising the amount and frequency of donations made to CSOs would be to increase the visibility of CSOs to raise awareness about their role and impact.

Because the majority of individuals in Turkey make small and irregular donations, CSOs need to develop and adopt new strategies for fundraising and increase their recognition by using various communication channels actively. It is believed that, if CSOs continue to preserve healthy relations with their existing donors and pay efforts to increase the number of regular donations, this would have a positive impact on individual giving in Turkey.

Since only a small number of individual donors receive reports and regular updates concerning the activities of organizations they support, it is of crucial importance for CSOs to make their reporting regular, widespread and accessible to ensure transparency and build trust. According to the Report, only 25% of the individuals express an opinion on how their donations should be used (conditional donation). Thus it will add to the sustainability of donations if CSOs listen to donors' requests and take their recommendations into consideration so that they can pursue a more participatory fundraising strategy. New giving tools such as online and mobile giving have not become widespread in Turkey yet. Findings of the Report show that 7.5% of individuals engage in mobile giving, while only 1.9% donates online. These tools are still new in Turkey, and they have a great potential for increasing the amount and frequency of individual donations in Turkey. Thus, it is going to be important for CSOs to invest in these tools and consider them as part of their fundraising strategy.

It is crucial for CSOs to build and strengthen trusting relationships with their donors and with society at large to improve the perception of civil society in Turkey. Confidence in civil society can be enhanced if CSOs better explain themselves and their objectives to the society. Showing they operate in line with their commitments and making this more visible could be one of the ways for them to build trust. Additionally, CSOs should show that they are managed in a democratic and transparent way, that they work with integrity both financially and ethically and that they are accountable for their actions. Civil society, assuming a uniting role among public and private sectors and international organizations as well as increasing intersectoral cooperations, will also play a major role in strengthening society's trust in civil society and CSOs' activities. A positive change in the perception of civil society and an increase in donations can be foreseen as the trust towards civil society is strengthened among individuals.

Donors can also have an active role in contributing to the development of philanthropy in Turkey. Donors should take into account the role of civil society organizations as building blocks of democratic life and crucial actors in terms of providing services and supporting struggles for human and civil rights. Similarly, it is important for donors to realize that their donations are crucial for CSOs' sustainability. Furthermore, they can search for different ways to engage in civil society (by volunteering, sharing of expertise, etc.). More importantly, donors need to work closely with the CSOs they support and be more involved by sharing their recommendations and following up on how their donations are used.

As TUSEV, we believe that development and strengthening of civil society is crucial to Turkey's democratization process. We think that it is of utmost importance to accumulate and share knowledge on philanthropy to make sure that effective strategies are adopted to promote culture of giving and to have a strong and viable civil society. We believe that using up to date information to identify the

perceptions of Turkish people on philanthropy, their motivations and giving behavior set the foundation to achieve these goals. In light of the information gained from this Report, TUSEV will continue its work to develop the culture of giving in Turkey and to diversify and increase the resources channeled to CSOs. We will also keep working to bring CSOs and philanthropists together more frequently to introduce different giving models and to disseminate information on both civil society and giving. We hope that this Report will contribute to developing the culture of giving in Turkey and would like to thank our project supporters who trusted us towards reaching our purpose.

Tevfik Başak Ersen

Secretary General, TUSEV



INTRODUCTION 1 AND SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

This research was conducted by the Third Sector Foundation of Turkey to identify the giving preferences of the individuals in Turkey, to understand how they perceive foundations, associations, and their activities, and to measure their engagement with civil society activities as of Fall 2015. For this purpose, a sample representative of Turkey's voting age population was selected. The current report is also a follow-up of another precursor project conducted by TUSEV in 2004, titled "Philanthropy in Turkey: Citizens, Foundations and Pursuit of Social Justice" that presents the results of a complementary public opinion survey.¹

With this research we aim to identify how the rapidly changing Turkish society perceives the country's problems from the perspective of civil society and giving. How do people view civil society initiatives that aim to address country's problems? Specifically, what do they think about the activities of organizations that are established by individuals who donate their personal savings? Of the activities carried out by these organizations, which ones do they value? How much money do they spare for what kind of activities? What are the factors that motivate such activities and attitudes? What are some of the influences on these activities, within the framework of the developing structure of Turkey and the country's current conditions? We tried to answer these questions in 2015. But at the same time, we were in an effort to update our knowledge based on the findings we gathered from the sample that was representative of the country's voting age population in 2004.

1 Philanthropy in Turkey: Citizens, Foundations and Pursuit of Social Justice. Third Sector Foundation of Turkey. www.tusev.org.tr/en/research-publications/online-publications/philanthropy-in-turkey-citizens-foundations-and-the-pursuit-of-social-justice

This way, we tried to understand how giving behavior and the perception of civil society and philanthropic activities changed from 2004 to 2015 in Turkey with another household survey.²

It is also important to keep in mind the short and long-term factors while comparing the findings of both reports. One of the most important long-term factors that shape the perception of civil society activities and engagement in these activities is, without a doubt, individuals' relationship patterns in a social environment and the kind of social capital that ties them together. Whether individuals know one another or the extent to which they trust those other than family members, fellow townspeople, etc. seems to be the point of origin for discussions on social capital. A considerable amount of research conducted in Turkey in the last 30 years has highlighted that individuals show significantly low levels of trust in those they do not know or those outside of their immediate local circles. It should only be considered natural that not a lot of individuals initiate or engage in civil society activities, or even support them with donations, in a social structure where people do not trust those who are not their townspeople, local acquaintances or members of their extended families.

One should not expect significant changes in such inadequate social capital in the next couple of decades unless, for example,

2 In order to make the findings from the current study comparable to those obtained in 2004 study, and also to follow up on the changes through the years in a consistent manner, questions and evaluations used for the 2004 public opinion survey were preserved as much as possible. In addition, in order to shed light on some current issues and to develop the scope of the research and improve some measurements, some changes were made where necessary and new questions were used. Also, while the 2004 survey collected data from two target groups – the voting age population and foundation managers- this 2015 survey only focused on the voting age population. A survey that focuses on foundation managers will be conducted at a later stage.

there is special effort within the education system or support programs at a local level on civic life participation. In other words, it is normal to observe that no significant changes have occurred in the social capital level of the country which also results in limited participation in the civil society activities. Despite all of these shortcomings, there have been developments that led to an acceleration and rise in social capital accumulation. For instance, despite all the shortcomings, the general public education level in the country is increasing. The level of income is growing, and there has even been a relative improvement regarding income distribution. In the long term, along with the transition from rural to urban life, population groups with different characteristics have deepened their cohabitation practices. Obviously, it is difficult to identify the clear-cut effects of these long-term factors. Especially in rapidly-changing social environments, the adverse effects of sectarian and ethnic tensions and conflicts on the formation of social capital are inevitable. Such instances are being experienced during the politicization of the Kurdish ethnic identity as much as in between Alevi and Sunni groups. In a setting where such social tension is experienced, social capital accumulation is impeded, and at the same time, support for civil society activities, whether through direct participation or donations, decreases. Our findings are expected to reflect the growing impact of the problem of Syrian refugees and intensified combat against terrorism at the time of our field work, on the accumulation and use of social capital. The impact of economic conditions on giving behavior in the relative short-term is also inevitable. Giving behaviors are expected to be more frequent and at a higher level when economic growth is stronger, income increases and people can feel confident about their futures without worrying about losing their jobs.³ Thus, it would be helpful to consider Turkey's main economic parameters in 2004

3 See, List, John A. 2011. "The market for charitable giving." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 25(2): 157-180.

and 2015. In 2004, Turkey was a country that mostly healed from the damage of the economic crises of 1999 and 2001. During the economic crisis in 2001, Turkey's economy shrank by 5.7%. However, in 2004, the growth rate was 9.4%, the highest since 1987. In the three-year period between 2002 and 2004, the annual growth rate was 6.9%. Also, the 68.5% inflation rate in 2001 rapidly decreased to 9%, and the level of unemployment had a slightly downward trend at around 10%. However, in 2015, the country's economy remained relatively stagnant. The GDP growth in 2015 (first nine months) stayed at 3.4%. The average of the last three years (2013-2015) was also quite close to that level (3.5%). In addition to the relatively low level of growth, inflation kept rising from the trough it was in 2012 (6.2%) and reached 8.8% in 2015. During the same period, the unemployment rate had a similar rising trend from 8.4% to 10.5%. Therefore, Turkey's main economic indicators were in a more positive state immediately before and during 2004 than in 2015.

In addition to macroeconomic indicators, citizens' perception of the economy was quite different during these two periods.⁴ A particularly relevant indicator in this regard is the Consumer Confidence Index, issued by the Turkish Statistical Institute (TURKSTAT) and the Central Bank of the Republic of Turkey (CBRT). The index is derived from consumer confidence surveys conducted every month and measures the current situation assessments as well as future expectations of consumers on personal financials and general economic conditions.⁵ The index is evaluated between 0-200 and results above 100 qualify for an optimistic consumer confidence. During our 2004 research, the average index for Turkey was calculated 98.2 while in 2015, it was 66.1. Therefore, the Consumer Confidence Index

was 33% lower in 2015 than in 2004, showing a more negative perception of consumers on their personal financial standing and general economic conditions.

Some of the significant findings of our research, to be detailed in the following chapters, conducted in this general social and economic setting are as follows:

- Helping the poor is regarded primarily as the duty of the state. After the state, it is mostly regarded as the obligation of the "well-endowed citizens," followed by "all citizens." Those who think it is the duty of CSOs are significantly low in number. No significant changes have occurred in these results since 2004. However, in 2015, the proportion of people who believed that this duty belongs to state increased.
- A vast majority of citizens prefer giving to those in need personally (directly) rather than through any organization.
- The proportion of respondents who reported making direct material donations (cash, food, coal, clothing, etc.) to relatives, neighbors or others in need over the past year is 34%. It was 44% in 2004.
- The proportion of respondents who reported making donations related to religious obligations during the previous year [sadaqa (68%), zakat (28%), sacrificing practice (43%)] dropped by 7 to 12 points in 2015 compared to in 2004. Respondents who said they do not have the financial means to make these donations vary from 10% to 30%, reflecting a significant increase compared to 2004. We also took advantage of the fact that about half of our respondents were interviewed before Eid Al-Adha (Feast of Sacrifice), which coincided with the timing of our fieldwork. Based on the responses

⁴ The term "citizens" used throughout the report only refers to adults above the voting age.

⁵ Detailed information on Consumer Confidence Index can be found on TURKSTAT website at www.tuik.gov.tr

given before and after Eid Al-Adha in 2015 regarding sacrificing, results show that increasing financial difficulties over the past year impeded sacrificing practices.

- The proportion of respondents who said that they had made donations other than membership fees to voluntary organizations (association, foundation, charity, unions, sports clubs, etc.) was 13% in 2015. However, this figure was about 18% in 2004.
- The proportion of respondents who were obligated to make involuntary donations to any organization over the past year was 1%. This proportion was 7% in 2004.
- Considering the total financial value of all donations (direct giving and giving through an organization) made over the past year, the average per capita giving in Turkey is estimated to be about 228 TL (approx. 77.5 USD and 69 Euros).
- The concept of philanthropy is mostly understood as making material donations to those in need.
- Interpersonal trust in Turkey is quite low; only one person out of ten believes that most people can be trusted.

In short, it is difficult to have a positive outlook on the philanthropic activities in Turkey as of 2015. Obviously, low social capital plays a major role in this outcome. Individuals in Turkey mostly trust people like themselves, their fellow townspeople, and those they have local and familial ties with. Trust among ordinary citizens from different ethnicities, sects, and cultures are low and do not appear to have risen since 2004. It is also challenging to observe any positive effects of social capital if we consider the circumstances during the period in which the fieldwork of this research was conducted. In addition to such long-term factors, the

day-to-day economic challenges of individuals and households are considerable as well. It is worth noting that lack of financial means is a significant limitation even for fulfilling religious obligations such as sadaqa, zakat, and sacrifice. Thus, it is highly likely that the relatively negative economic outlook in 2015 played a major role in the unfavorable levels of civil society engagement and giving behavior presented in the findings of the Report. A detailed analysis of the results shows that many of the findings evidently support this interpretation.

2. THE SAMPLE

Our sampling strategy starts with TURKSTAT's 26 NUTS-2 statistical regions.⁶ Since the contact rate was about 50% in similar household surveys, a sample with twice the target interview number was distributed according to each region's share of urban and rural population in accordance with current records of the Address Based Population Registration System (ADNKS). For instance, if a given NUTS-2 region has a population share of 10%, and if the targeted sample size is 5,000 people, we planned 500 interviews for that region. Next, TUIK's block data were used with block size set at 400 residents. Twenty voters were targeted to be reached from each block and no substitution was used. The probability proportionate to population size (PPPS) principle was used in distributing the blocks to NUTS-2 regions. For each of the

20 addresses up to three visits were carried out with the expectation that approximately 50% of the addresses will have a completed interview. In rural areas where there are no addresses registered to ADNKS, villages were chosen by attributing weight, proportionate to population size; 20 addresses were identified from every village by talking to muhtars (heads of villages). Thus the number of household addresses identified was twice the size of the sample that was initially planned in both urban and rural areas. If an interview could not be conducted after three visits to the same household, without making any replacements from the ADNKS, new households from the same address list were selected. When at a household, a list was made of every resident above 18 and, based on birthdates, one individual was randomly chosen for an interview. If the interview was not done at first contact, an appointment was made for a total of three tries. If the interview was still not done on the third visit, no one else from the same household was interviewed, another address was selected with the same method.

⁶ As a candidate country of the European Union, Turkey is included in the Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics defined in 2002 in agreement between Eurostat and Turkish authorities.

FIGURE 2.1

68 cities in the 26 NUTS-2 Region of the Research

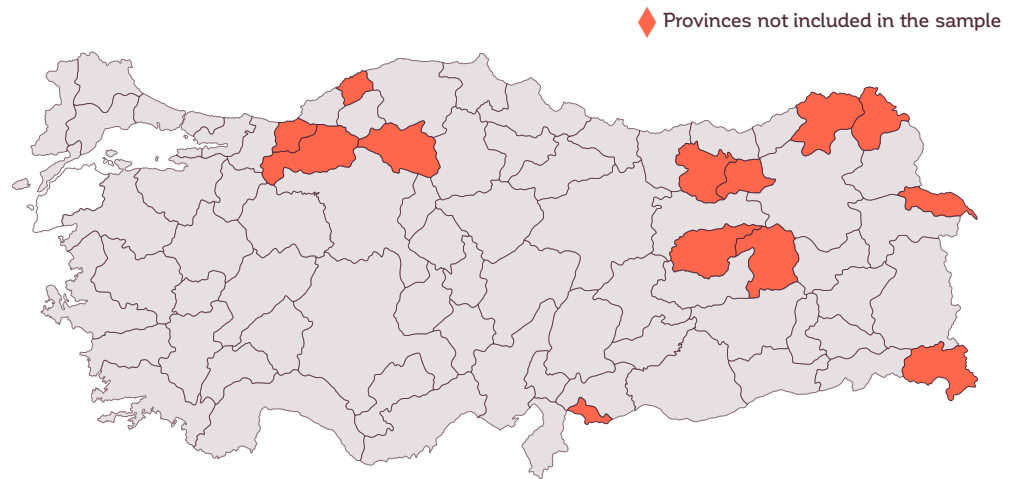


Figure 2.1 shows provinces in the 26 NUTS-2 regions, where the interviews were conducted. In total, 2,495 people in 68 provinces were interviewed in person, at their households. Field work was done in about three months between August 29-November 29, 2015 by Infakto Research Workshop and Birim Arastirma.

Fieldwork for our household survey started on August 29th, 2015. The first half of the field work was completed by the end of September which coincided with Eid Al-Adha (Feast of Sacrifice). This was a calculated timeline as we intended to compare the responses about the sacrifice practices before and after the Eid. Results of this natural experiment will be presented in the relevant sections of the Report.

The main characteristics of the samples representative of the voting age population in Turkey used in 2004 and 2015 household surveys are presented in Table 2.1. The two surveys are more than 11 years apart, and sample characteristics reflect the changes in the structure of the Turkish society over this period. About half of the respondents in both surveys, with a slight difference (50.2% in 2015, 49.4% in 2004) were women, and more than two-thirds were married. Married respondents were 73% in 2004; in 2015 this dropped to 67%. Average age increased by two years; in 2004 half of the sample was below the age of 37,

in 2015 the median age was 36. The average number of people residing in the households was 4.3 in 2004, dropping to 3.5 in 2015. In other words, the average household size in Turkey shrank by around one person (0.8) in the last 11 years.

One of the most significant differences between the two samples was the education level of the respondents. In 2004, the proportion of university graduates was 7.5% whereas in 2015 it almost doubled to 14.8%. Parallel to the rise of the education level, the proportion of adults with an education of primary school or less dropped from 60% in 2004 to 39.5% in 2015. These data significantly overlap with official statistics. According to the latest TURKSTAT data published in 2014, the proportion of university graduates over 18 was 15%, and those with primary school education or less was 38.4%. The proportion of urban population, defined in the sampling framework as the population living within the municipality borders, increased to 81.2% in 2014 from 65% in 2004. Respondents who reported being able to speak Kurdish increased from 12.6% to 14.8% during the same period.

Respondents in both surveys were asked to report their average monthly total household income including all wages, salaries, retirement benefits, interest, rent and any other type of

TABLE 2.1

**Main characteristics of
the samples**

	2015	2004
TOTAL NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS	2,495	1,536
DATES OF THE FIELDWORK	August 29 - November 29 2015	February 18 - March 11 2004
NUMBER OF PROVINCES RESEARCH WAS CONDUCTED IN	68	20
WOMAN (%)	50.2	49.4
MARRIED (%)	67.1	72.6
AGE (AVERAGE)	41.6	39.4
MEDIAN AGE	36	37
NUMBER OF PEOPLE IN THE HOUSEHOLD (AVERAGE)	3.5	4.3
UNIVERSITY GRADUATE (%)	14.8	7.5
PRIMARY SCHOOL OR BELOW EDUCATION (%)	39.5	60.0
URBAN RESIDENT (%)	81.2	65.0
KURDISH-SPEAKING (%)	14.8	12.6
HOUSEHOLD INCOME (MONTHLY AVERAGE, TL)	1,739	675
HOUSEHOLD INCOME (MONTHLY AVERAGE, USD)	602	511
HOUSEHOLD INCOME PER CAPITA (MONTHLY AVERAGE, TL)	659	219
HOUSEHOLD INCOME PER CAPITA (MONTHLY AVERAGE, USD)	228	166

income over the last six months. The average monthly household income in the samples was 675 TL in 2004 and 1,739 TL in 2015. Based on the number of people living in a household, per capita income almost tripled in current (nominal) prices from 2004 to 2015, increasing from 219 TL to 659 TL. When converted to USD from the exchange rate at the time of the fieldwork, in 2004 the household income was 511 USD whereas in 2015 it was 602 USD (17.8% increase). Per capita household income increased from 166 USD in 2004 to 228 USD in 2015 (37.3% increase). With the decrease of the average population in households, per capita household income grew by 37%.

Thus from 2004 to 2015, the total household income of our sample increased 2.6 times in Turkish Liras and 18% in USD. Considering the decrease in the number of people living in a household, per capita household income increased by three times and 37% in current USD. At this point, we need to highlight the fact that household income information collected through household surveys can be understated. There are various reasons, but especially those with high incomes who generate a significant portion of their income through unregistered activities have a tendency to understate the true amounts in such surveys.

In comparing the household income of both samples from 2004 and 2015, we need to take into consideration whether the income change observed in the past 11 years corresponds to a real increase in income when inflation is also accounted for. Bearing in mind the dates of the fieldwork and that the respondents were asked to consider the previous six months in their responses, we can take December 2003 and July 2015 as the basis for the 2004 and 2015 household surveys. According to CBRT inflation data, a commodity basket worth 100 TL in December 2003 costs 249.38 TL in July 2015.⁷ Therefore, 1 TL with current prices in December 2003 corresponds to around 2.49 TL in July 2015 in current prices. Following this logic, we can argue that if the per capita household income of 219 TL calculated in 2004 current prices reaches 546 TL ($219 \times 2.4938 = 546$ TL) in 2015 current prices, then there has been no change in real incomes. Only changes above this level can be considered as real income growth. Accordingly, as the calculated household income per capita in 2015 was 659 TL, compared to 2004 we observe an actual increase in the income of 20.7%.

In sum, over the 11 years between 2004 and 2015, the population of Turkey grew a bit older and became more educated with a relatively higher income. The proportion of citizens living in urban areas grew significantly while the average number of residents in a household decreased. The changes apparent between the 2004 and 2015 samples can be perceived as a product of developments in the Turkish society over the last 11 years. How does this population of more urban, relatively older and more educated individuals who earn a slightly higher income approach civil society participation, social solidarity, giving and philanthropy in an economy with a relatively unfavorable outlook? In this research we will try to answer this question.

At this point, it is important to discuss the limitations of our research. The main limitation is that although we can have a snapshot view of individuals' attitudes and opinions within a given period, we cannot follow up on these trends in time for the same individuals. Our research is not designed as a panel that is based on multiple recurring interviews with the same people over a period of time, and in 2015 we did not interview the same respondents from 2004. Thus, we can only trace changes in the average trends. It is not possible for us to identify respondents who had changes in their behaviors and attitudes and further pinpoint the underlying causes. However, we can observe how ordinary individuals respond to different factors in two separate periods of time and compare the changes.

⁷ This calculation was made by CBRT inflation calculator (www.tcmb.gov.tr).

3. SOCIAL CAPITAL AND CIVIL SOCIETY

In this section, we briefly examine interpersonal trust in Turkey, perceptions of individuals regarding their own and civil society organizations' influence in addressing society's problems, and their views on CSO activities in general.

Interpersonal trust, which is one of the fundamental elements of social capital, is quite low in Turkey. When respondents were asked to choose either "most people can be trusted" or "you can never be too careful when dealing with others," only one out of every 10 respondents (10%) believed most people could be trusted (Figure 3.1). This considerably low rate is consistent with findings of other research on this topic and has not shown significant change since 2004.

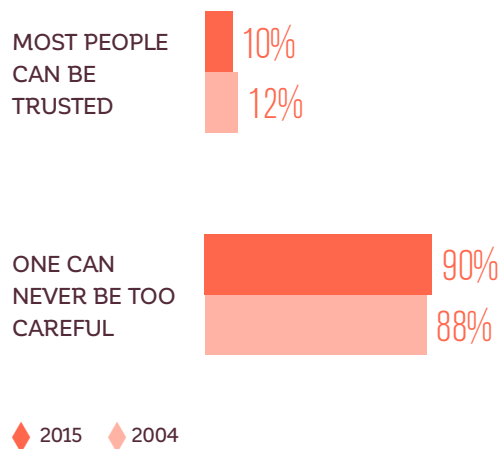


FIGURE 3.1

Do you think most people can be trusted? Or you can't be too careful?

To what extent do citizens believe that they or CSOs can have an influence in addressing society's problems? The proportion of those who feel they can be influential or very influential in addressing existing problems is 36% and 5%, respectively (Figure 3.2). About one-third of respondents (36%) felt in-between ("neither not influential, nor influential"), and 22% gave negative opinions. Compared to 2004 findings, in 2015 there was a decrease both in the proportion of respondents who believe they cannot be influential and those who think they can be influential. Those who believe that they have an influence in addressing society's problems decreased from 46% to 41%, whereas those who did not feel influential went from

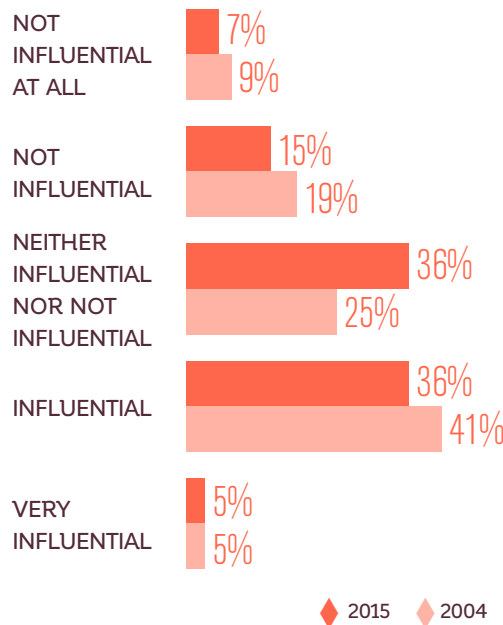
28% to 22%. The main reason for this change is the increase in the proportion of respondents who said "neither not influential/nor influential," from 25% to 36%. Compared to 2004, in 2015 there was a more negative situation concerning the perceptions of the influence of CSOs in addressing society's problems (Figure 3.3).⁸ A total of 64% of the respondents in 2004 believed CSOs had influence while this figure decreased to 48% in 2015. In addition, the proportion of respondents who said that CSOs do not have an influence increased from 13% to 19%. Therefore, citizens' perceptions of CSOs' influence in addressing society's problems have deteriorated in the past 11 years.

In order to better understand citizens' thoughts about the influence of CSOs, we asked the respondents to assess the influence of CSOs in various areas. Figure 3.4 shows the proportion of those who see CSOs as "quite influential" or "very influential" in different areas. A notable finding is that the proportion of those who see CSOs as quite or very influential does not exceed 50% in any area. Areas where CSOs are believed to have the highest influence are helping the disabled and the environment. In contrast, the proportion of those who consider CSOs influential in unemployment reduction is especially low with only one out of every four respondents thinking so (23%). This is not surprising. After all, it is difficult to say that CSOs have the capacity to change the rate of the unemployed within the overall labor force in Turkey and the general public seems to support this view. Those who believe CSOs have an influence in supporting the disabled, which

CSOs' perceived influence in addressing society's problems has deteriorated over 11 years.

FIGURE 3.2

As a citizen, to what extent do you think you can have an influence in addressing existing problems towards creating a better society?



⁸ Obviously it is very difficult to determine how the notion of civil society is understood by the respondents. In order to avoid the impact of these difficulties and conceptual differences on the results, we briefly explained the term as "organizations such as associations, foundations and charities." It is clear that this definition is neither fully inclusive, nor can it be repeated similarly for every question. The questionnaire included the explanation of concepts when they are first introduced, when possible, then references were used to ensure the fluidity of answers.

In Turkey, the areas where CSOs are believed to be most influential are support for the disabled and the environment.

can be regarded as helping those in need, is relatively high (45%) while this figure is only 32% for education and health. Another area where CSO influence is believed to be relatively high is reforestation and environmental protection activities. About 44% of the respondents find CSOs influential in this area. Only a minority of 35% find CSOs influential in the prevention of human rights violations.

When we asked the respondents in which areas CSOs in Turkey are mostly active, the top three responses were food assistance (19.1%), education (13.5%), environment and reforestation (10.5%) (Figure 3.5). A comparison of these findings with the data received from public institutions responsible for foundations and associations show an overlap to a certain extent. As of 2014, the three areas where foundations are most active are social solidarity and service providing (29%), education (26%), and health

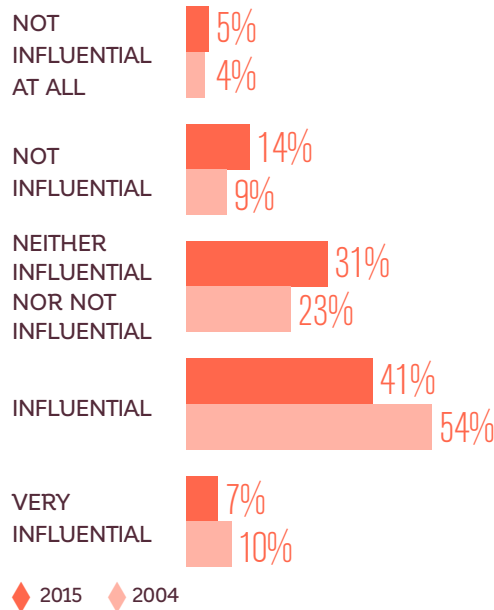


FIGURE 3.3

To what extent do you think CSOs such as associations, foundations and other charity organizations can have an influence in addressing existing problems towards creating a better society?

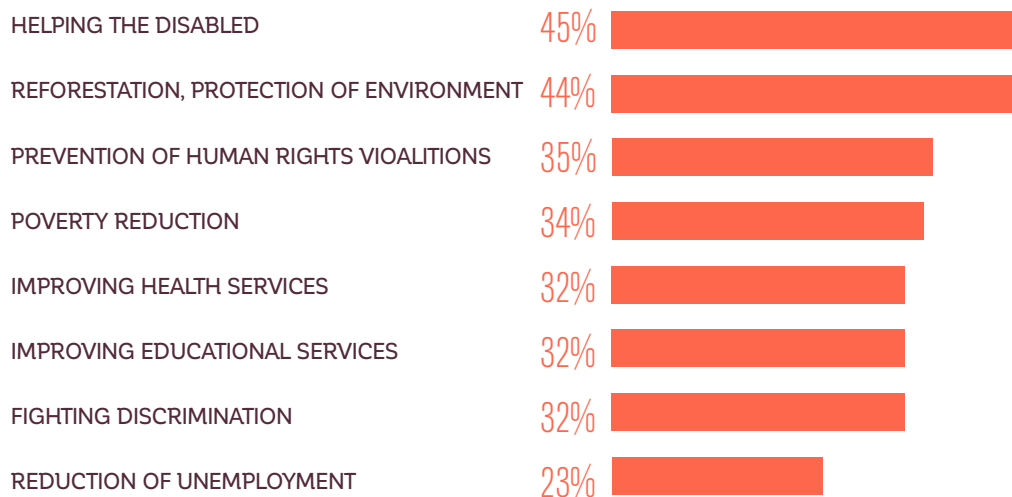


FIGURE 3.4

In your opinion, what is the influence of CSOs in Turkey in particular areas? (Those who think CSOs are quite or very influential)

FIGURE 3.5

In your opinion, in which areas CSOs are most active in Turkey?

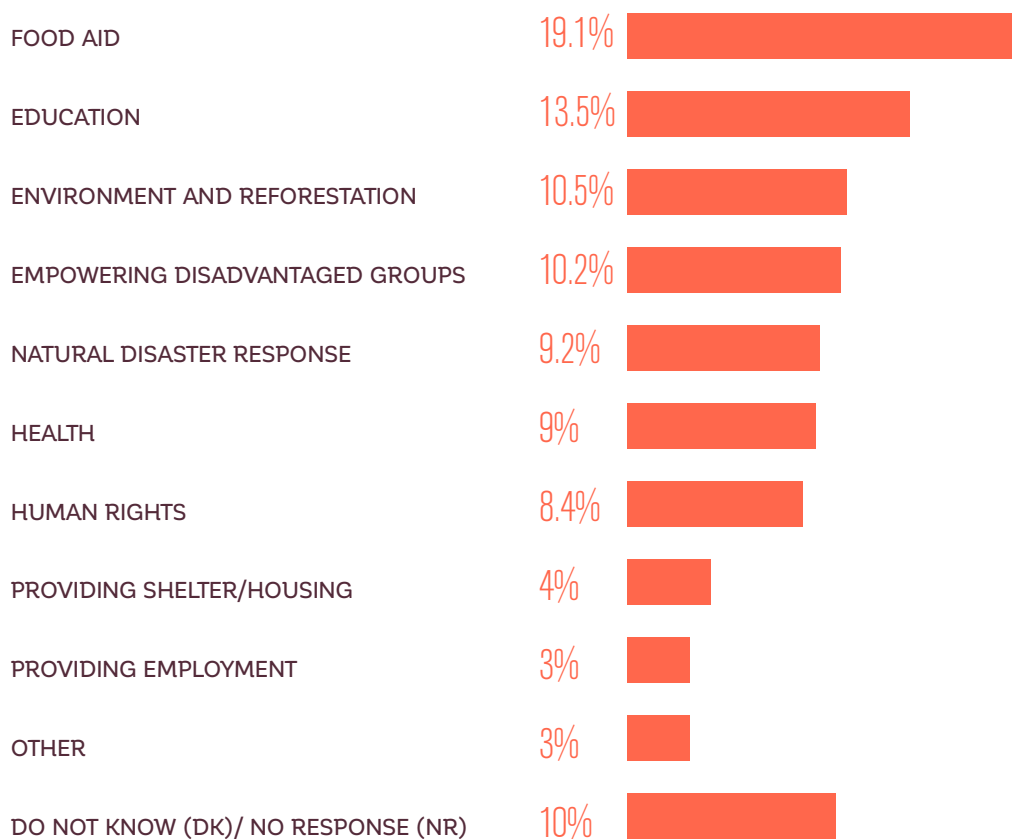
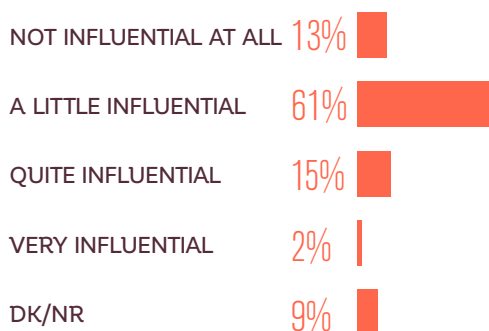


FIGURE 3.6

To what extent are CSOs influential in the areas you selected?



(12%).⁹ Foundations working on the environment related issues make up only 3% of the all operating foundations. In terms of associations, the top three areas are professional and solidarity associations (31%), sports and sports-related associations (19%), and associations providing religious services (16%).¹⁰ These are followed by associations working on humanitarian aid (6%), while environmental associations remain far behind at 2%.

⁹ Source: Prime Ministry of the Republic of Turkey, General Directorate of Foundations, <http://www.vgm.gov.tr/db/dosyalar/webicerik199.pdf>

¹⁰ Source: Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Turkey, Department of Associations, <https://www.demekler.gov.tr/tr/AnasayfaLinkler/demeklerin-faaliyet-alanina-gore.aspx>.

Compared to the other areas in the list, activities on food assistance, education, environment and reforestation are more visible (both in their daily life and on mass media through news reports and commercials) to a wider audience. Therefore, it is likely that respondents perceived them as the areas CSOs mostly focus on. When we asked the respondents about CSOs' influence on areas they are most active in, those who responded "quite influential" or "very influential" remained at 17% (Figure 3.6). This figure suggests that CSOs are not really perceived to be influential even in areas where they are most active. Furthermore, the majority of the respondents think that CSOs are only "a little influential."

CSOs are also not perceived as influential actors in policy making (Figure 3.7). About one-fourth of the respondents (23%) think that CSOs have no influence in policy making while 49% believe they are a little influential. Those who believe CSOs are quite influential or very influential in policy making in Turkey amounts to only 17%.

Parallel to the deterioration in the perception of CSOs as prominent actors in addressing society's existing problems, CSOs are perceived to have a limited influence even in the areas they are most active. In other words, the conviction that civil society organizations can create solutions to major problems of the country is not strong. There is a widespread perception of lack of influence both at the individual level and with respect to civil society activities. This is expected to lead to a statist approach to the solution of the country's problems.

Low levels of interpersonal trust in Turkey with only less than half of the population believing that CSOs such as associations, foundations and charity organizations can be influential in the solution of existing problems does not create an enabling environment for giving behavior. It appears that in a cultural environment where there is a widespread lack of interpersonal trust, there is also a widespread opinion that civil society activities supported

by donations and engagement are ineffective as well. These two phenomena are most likely related to each other. It is difficult for CSOs to become more influential in an environment where trust, civil society participation and giving are low. Conversely, it is harder to trust civil society when it is perceived as ineffective.

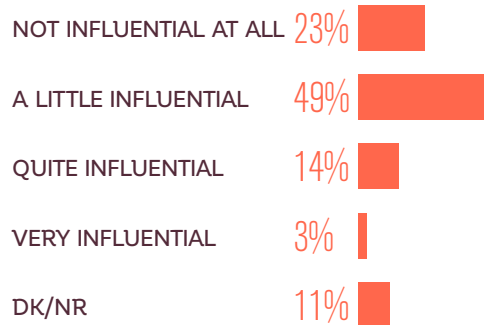


FIGURE 3.7

Generally speaking, to what extent do you think CSOs are influential in policy making in Turkey?



4. PERCEPTION OF PHILANTHROPY

In order to understand the perceptions of Turkish society about philanthropic activities, we first asked an open-ended question to the respondents concerning their understanding of philanthropy¹¹ (Figure 4.1). By using an open-ended question, we tried to get their opinions on philanthropy, without limiting them to a few pre-determined choices. An interpretation and grouping of the responses given revealed that philanthropy is mainly regarded as “helping” in Turkey. About 40.6% of the respondents think of “helping the poor and those in need” when we asked about philanthropy, while 28.5% said “helping others, doing good” without referring to any group. A third group (9.1%) sees philanthropy as cash, food or clothing assistance. These three groups make up about 80% of all respondents. Those who link philanthropy primarily with religious activities and concepts (sadaqa, zakat, fitre, religious

obligations, building or helping mosques and Quran teaching courses, etc.) make up 8% while those who link it with providing assistance with education (including building schools) constitute only 1.1% of the respondents.

Another method we used to identify how people understand philanthropy was giving the respondents a list of activities that can be considered philanthropic and ask them whether or not they regard each as philanthropic. Unlike the previous question, we tried to measure to what extent different activities are deemed philanthropic. Figure 4.2 presents the rate of respondents who deem each activity philanthropic.

¹¹ Our use of philanthropy corresponds to “hayırseverlik” in Turkish.

Individuals in Turkey consider philanthropy as “helping others”.

The majority of the interviewees (85%) agreed that activities supporting education such as giving support for a student’s education, giving scholarships, building schools, and dorms are acts of philanthropy. This is the highest rate among the activities on the list. Even though support for education was rarely mentioned when we asked respondents about philanthropy in an

open-ended fashion, almost all respondents regarded such activities as philanthropic. In other words, even though education, which receives considerable attention from philanthropists in Turkey, was not among the top items respondents mentioned when they thought about philanthropy, when we exemplified with “supporting a student’s education, giving scholarships, building schools and dorms,” the majority of the respondents reported seeing them as philanthropic acts. From this perspective, education could be considered as the primary support area in terms of helping the poor and those in need. On the other hand, the proportion of those who consider establishing non-profit foundation universities

FIGURE 4.1

What comes to your mind when you think of philanthropy? (open-ended question)



INDIVIDUAL GIVING AND PHILANTHROPY IN TURKEY

as philanthropic are significantly lower (68.1%). This gap suggests that a significant portion of Turkish people do not regard the establishment of a foundation university as a philanthropic act. Another possible explanation is that the non-profit claim of foundation universities may not seem credible to people. The fact that foundation universities require fees - even though fees do not cover the cost of education provided - might be weakening the link between foundation universities and perception of philanthropy. So even though there appears to be a strong tie between education support and the perception of philanthropy, this tie seems to grow weaker at the level of universities.

Similarly, the proportion of those who consider giving away part of personal wealth to foundations as a philanthropic activity is relatively low (65.2%). As we have seen among other results of the research, there is a certain level of insecurity and doubt towards activities done by using intermediaries. In line with this observation, it seems that donating one's wealth to a foundation for philanthropic reasons instead of direct giving is a decision that is difficult for people to conceptualize. These findings indicate that philanthropy is perceived to be limited mostly to individual and direct activities.

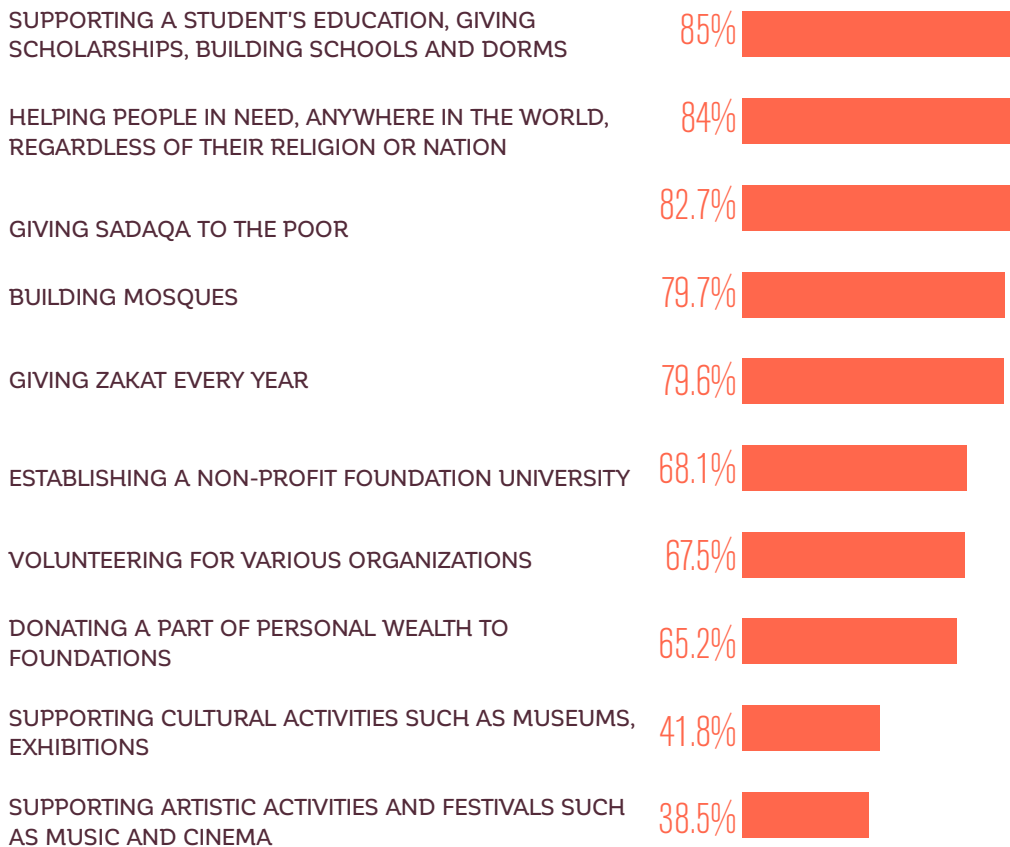


FIGURE 4.2

Activities that are perceived philanthropic

Perception of philanthropy in Turkey is limited mostly to personal and direct giving.

Following educational assistance, activities such as helping people in need anywhere in the world regardless of religion or nation (84%), giving sadaqa to the poor (82.7%), building mosques and giving zakat are deemed philanthropic by a majority of the respondents. It is interesting that preferences for direct giving

to those in need appear to be independent of religion or nation. Accordingly, the potential for direct giving to people from different religions or regions in the world is expected to be reasonably high based on the responses to this question. At least respondents who answered our question did not reject this idea in principle.

At the end of the list is support for cultural activities like museums and exhibitions as well as supporting other forms of art. Only less than half of the respondents see these activities as philanthropic. For the majority of the people in Turkey, direct giving such as giving to the poor and those in need and covering

FIGURE 4.3

What is the most frequently done philanthropic activity in Turkey? (open-ended question)



their educational expenses are seen as philanthropic. However, providing access to art for those who cannot afford is not considered as a philanthropic act. All these results point to the fact that philanthropy in Turkey is mainly understood as activities which aim to address certain social needs (education, religious practice, mitigation of poverty). It would not be wrong to claim that activities related to art, culture and even higher education as well as investments in civil society are not considered philanthropic. Our findings also suggest that, at the very least, the general public perception does not regard these types of activities as a response to social needs.

In Turkey philanthropy is mainly understood as activities that aim to address fundamental societal needs such as education, religious practices, and reduction of poverty.

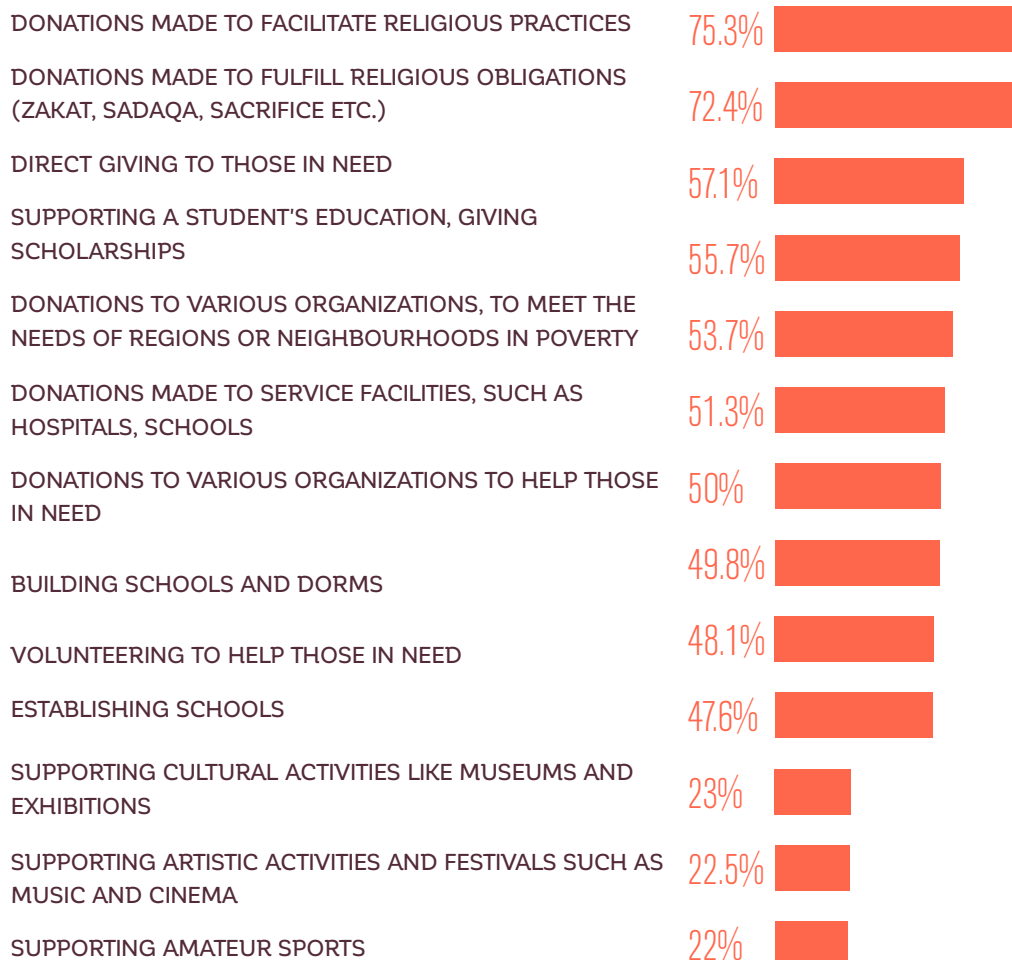


FIGURE 4.4

Frequency of different philanthropic activities done in Turkey (those who think they are done "quite frequently" or "very frequently")

Parallel to the finding that philanthropy is mainly regarded as “helping others,” when we posed an open-ended question to the respondents about the most frequently done philanthropic activities in Turkey, almost all the responses were again related to helping others (Figure 4.3). The only response on the list that can be considered outside of helping others is “giving scholarships to students and building schools” at 8.3%. It is noteworthy that helping refugees has been stated as an important philanthropic activity by 3.8% of respondents, most likely because of the recent influx of Syrian refugees.

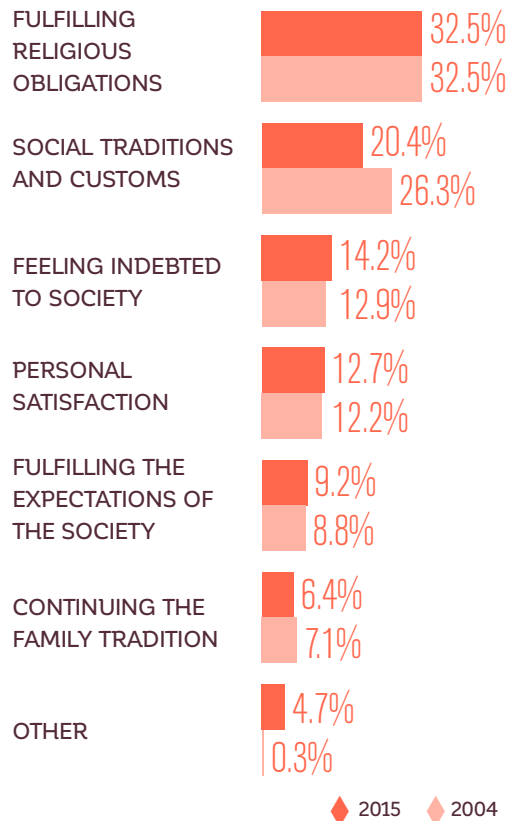
Philanthropic activities with religious motives (giving zakat/sadaqa, donating for religious purposes, and food aid during Ramadan) were reported by only 18.8% of the respondents as the most common philanthropic activity in Turkey. This, of course, does not mean other philanthropic acts are done without religious

motivations. But when such philanthropic activities are articulated, they are expressed independent of religious motives.

When we asked respondents about the frequency of various philanthropic activities in Turkey by presenting a list, religiously-motivated donations (donations to mosques and aids to fulfill religious obligations) were regarded as the most frequent ones (Figure 4.4). When we posed the same question in an open-ended fashion, only less than five people had reported religiously-motivated activities as the most frequently done philanthropic activities. However, when the question was asked by presenting multiple choices, religiously-motivated activities were selected at a significantly higher rate. Following these activities are donations to meet financial needs and educational support. Giving for cultural events, art, and amateur sports were chosen as the least frequent on the list.

FIGURE 4.5

In your opinion, what is the primary reason for engaging in philanthropic activities?



The views of individuals regarding the motivations of those who engage in philanthropic activities are equally as important as identifying how philanthropy is understood. Figure 4.5 shows that the most common view on this is individuals' concerns to fulfill their religious obligations (32.5%). While the total proportion of the items in the list that can be related to the influence of the society and family (social traditions and customs, society's expectations, family traditions) reaches 36%, more personal motivations (religious obligations, indebtedness to society, personal satisfaction) are expressed by the 59.4% of respondents. Thus personal motivations are thought to be more influential for engaging in philanthropic activities.

Since we asked the same question in 2004, we can observe how opinions on this question have changed over the past 11 years. A significant difference is around a six percentage-points decrease in the category “social traditions and customs.” There is also a slight increase in the proportion of those who believe that indebtedness to society is a significant motivation. Also, there is a significant increase in the “other” category, where various other views are grouped under.

5. INDIVIDUAL GIVING IN TURKEY

To examine how individual giving takes place in Turkey, we first focus on direct giving practices mostly towards family and local circles that occur outside of an organizational framework. Next, we will analyze a relatively more formal practice, which is giving to those “in need” through an intermediary organization.

5.1. DIRECT GIVING TO THOSE IN NEED

In this section, we focus on citizens’ direct giving preferences and behavior to those in need. Questions we seek answers to include: Primarily, whose duty is it to help the poor in the eyes of Turkish citizens? What would they do if they had some money to help others? Did they help any relatives, neighbors or others in need over the past year and, if yes, what was the nature of this help? We will also examine donations made to fulfill religious obligations. In short, we try to understand how and to what extent individual resources reach out to those in need outside of an organizational framework. Furthermore, we also aim to identify the amount of donations respondents give directly

to those in need, independent from various organizational frameworks such as civil society organizations.

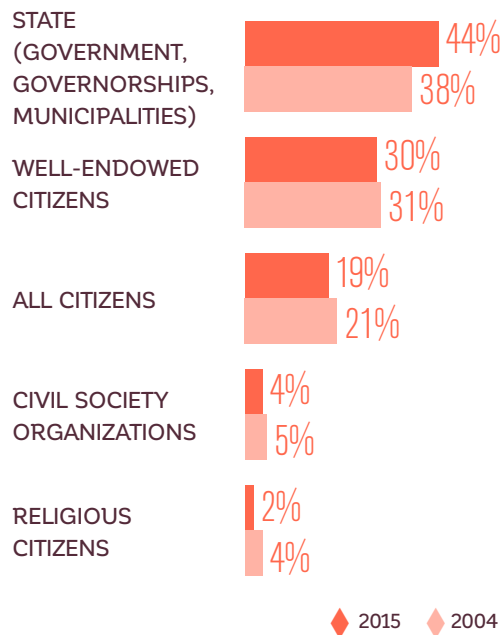
Primarily whose duty is it to help the poor in need according to Turkish citizens? The most common answer to this question was “the state” (44%), followed by “well-endowed citizens” (30%) (Figure 5.1). Nineteen percent believe all citizens should share this responsibility whereas only a few believe the responsibility belongs to civil society organizations (4%) and religious citizens (2%). In the case of Turkey, it is not surprising that the state is attributed primary responsibility in terms of helping those in need. Perhaps the most significant finding here is although well-endowed or ordinary citizens are deemed responsible, when they come together formally under the umbrella of a “civil society organization,” such a primary role is no longer attributed to them. In other words, we can deduce that the notion of civil society does not stand out in terms of helping the poor as much as it does for wealthy individuals or citizens.

In Turkey, helping the poor is regarded primarily as the duty of the state and well-endowed individuals. Only 4% of the citizens believe that this responsibility belongs to CSOs.

The ranking of responsibility in 2015 completely overlaps with 2004 data. The biggest difference between 2004 and 2015 is the six percentage-point increase in the proportion of those who think that it is the state's responsibility to help the poor, whereas there has been a slight decrease in other categories. Thus, we can say that over time priority given to the state increased at the expense of other categories.

FIGURE 5.1

In your opinion, whose duty is it to help the poor?



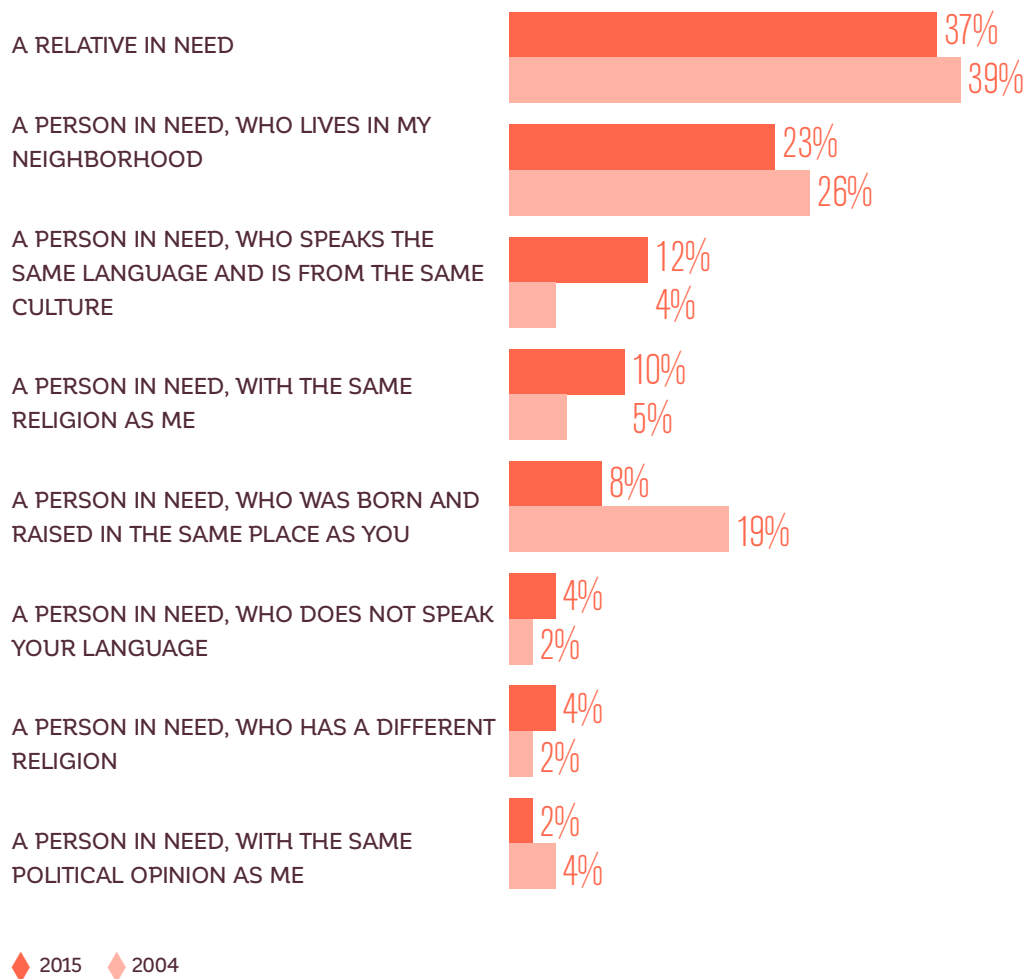
When other findings of the study are also taken into consideration, the increasing tendency for attributing the responsibility of helping the poor to the state becomes more understandable in the bigger picture. In an environment where economic challenges are on the rise, trust in civil society organizations' ability to address the country's problems is decreasing (Section 3) and where individuals' engagement in and donations to civil society activities are diminishing (Section 5.2), it is not surprising to observe the expectation of the state as the most influential actor. It is also highly likely that the increasing aid distributed by the state through Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundations had an influence on this expectation.¹² These expectations are quite understandable since Turkish state is getting more actively involved in helping the poor over the past years.

When we asked the question, "If you had some money to help others, to whom would you consider giving it?" in 2004 to identify the giving priorities of citizens, responses mostly pointed to a narrow, local or "parochial" approach, namely a trend of prioritizing their own social circles such as family members and fellow townspeople (Figure 5.2). About 85% of the respondents in 2004 chose one out of three responses that we can consider parochial (relative, neighbor, fellow townspeople). However, in 2015, the total proportion of those giving these three responses dropped to 68%. We especially observe a significant decline (19% to 8%) in the proportion of respondents who prioritized those in need who grew up in the same place as the respondents. Contrary to this decline

¹² According to data from the Ministry of Family and Social Policies, total social aid spending by the public sector in Turkey in 2002 was 1.38 billion TL, 0.5% of the GDP. However, in 2015, total social aid spending reached 25.8 billion TL. This amount equals to 1.33% of the GDP; therefore, the share of social aid in the GDP increased by 2.7 times from 2002 to 2015. For more information, please see <http://www.aile.gov.tr>

FIGURE 5.2

If you had some money to help others, to whom would you consider giving it?



in parochial tendencies, the proportion of those who prioritized people whom they feel religiously and culturally close to has increased to 22% in 2015 from 9% in 2004.

Following our question regarding the priorities in deciding whom to help, we then asked respondents if they would prefer to make these donations directly or through a civil society organization (Figure 5.3). A vast majority of the interviewees (88%) preferred making these donations directly, without any intermediary organizations. This high proportion, which has almost not changed at all since 2004, points to an overall negative approach in society

towards using an intermediary for making donations. In summary, we can conclude that the giving behavior of the citizens in Turkey is generally concentrated on direct giving to people in need with local or parochial ties; e.g., to fellow townspeople and increasingly to those with similar religious and cultural affiliations.

The respondents who stated that they would choose to give through an organization (%10) were then asked if they would prefer to donate to a public institution or to a CSO. The proportion of respondents who preferred a public institution (%34) was higher than those

Giving in Turkey is generally done directly and mostly to family members, local acquaintances or fellow townspeople, and increasingly to those in need with close religious and cultural affiliations.

who selected to give to CSOs (%18, Figure 5.4). A significant part of the respondents (39%) stated that it would not matter.

In order to identify the proportion of Turkish citizens who have directly donated to those in need, we asked the respondents whether they have donated to a relative, neighbor or any other person in need over the last year in cash or in any other way such as food, clothing, coal, etc. (Figure 5.5). Around one-third of our sample (34%) gave a positive response to this question. The proportion of positive responses to the same question was 44% in 2004. A ten percentage-point decrease indicates to a significant drop in the prevalence of this behavior. Figure 5.6 illustrates how the prevalence of this behavior changed in different socio-economic groups, highlighting that education and household income level are important factors. Those who give to people in need have higher education and income levels than those who do not. For example, 19% of the respondents who donate are university graduates while among those who do not donate, the proportion is 13%.

Respondents who said that they had given directly to those in need over the past year were then asked to whom they had given and whether these donations were in cash or in kind such as food, clothing, coal, etc. Slightly more than half of the respondents (57%) reported donating to relatives, 41% to neighbors and 58% to any other person in need (Figure 5.7). Compared to 2004, the proportion of those donating to relatives and neighbors (among the group of respondents who donate) did not show much change in 2015 while those who reported donating to other people in need presented a significant increase. In other words, while the proportion of those who help someone in need over the past year decreased, among them, the proportion of those who helped others outside of family and neighbors increased. Even though it is not surprising that direct donations remain at a smaller and local scale, the decreasing donation rate points to a loss of importance given to this circle. It seems that the rate of direct donations made in a

FIGURE 5.3

Would you prefer giving to those in need directly or through a relevant organization?

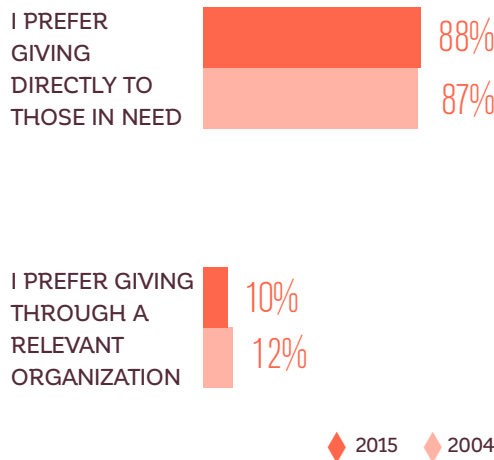


FIGURE 5.4

Which would you prefer to deliver your donation to those in need, a public institution or a civil society organization?

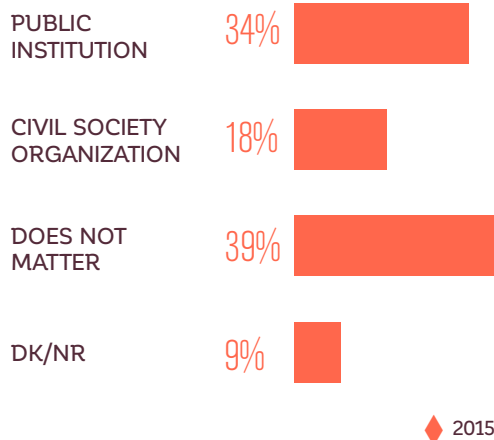


FIGURE 5.5

Over the past year have you directly donated to a relative, neighbor or any other person in need, in cash or in any other way such as food, clothing, fuel (for heating), etc.?

FIGURE 5.6

Socio-economic breakdown of direct giving behavior

smaller and local circle decreased while those made in a relatively wider sense (i.e. others in need) increased.

In terms of the nature of donations made, 39% of those who reported donating to relatives gave cash, 35% food, 26% clothing and 7% coal (Figure 5.8). Compared to 2004, a slight decrease in cash donations to relatives can be observed while there is a modest increase in those giving food and clothing. In terms of donations made to neighbors, food is the most common type of donation (25%), followed by cash (22%), and apparel (17%) (Figure 5.9). Donations made to others in need, aside from relatives and neighbors were mostly in cash (40%) and food (35%) (Figure 5.10). The preferences for the types of donations made have not changed compared to 2004.

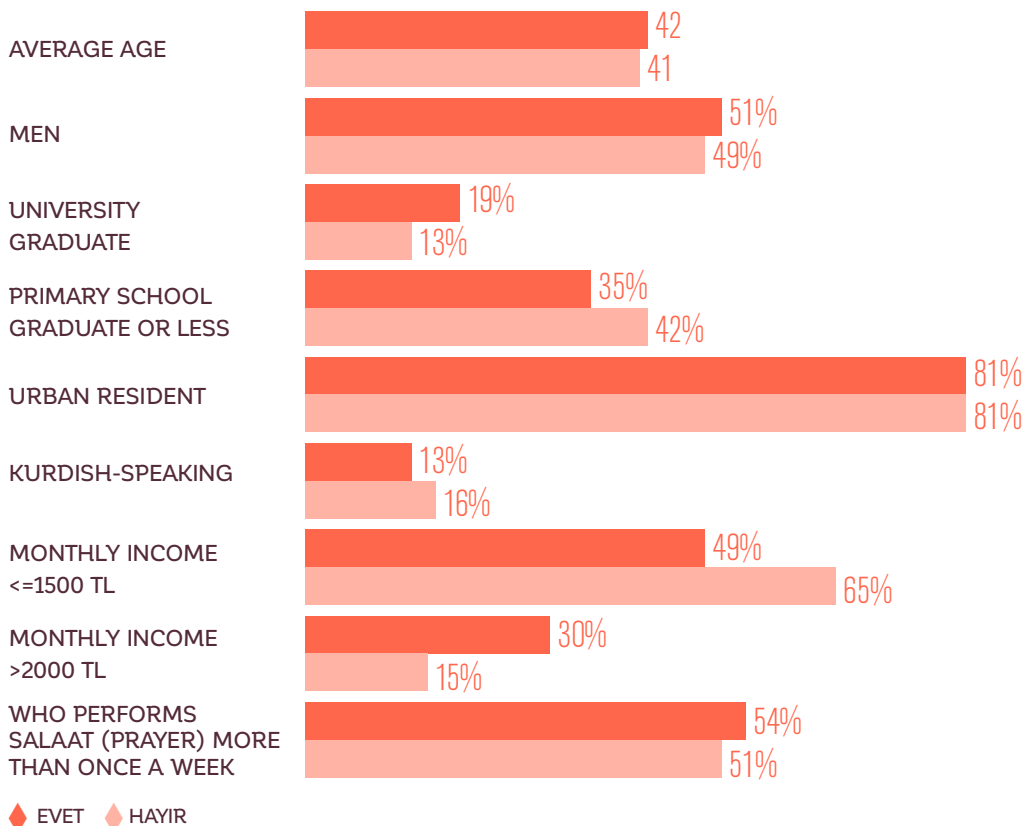
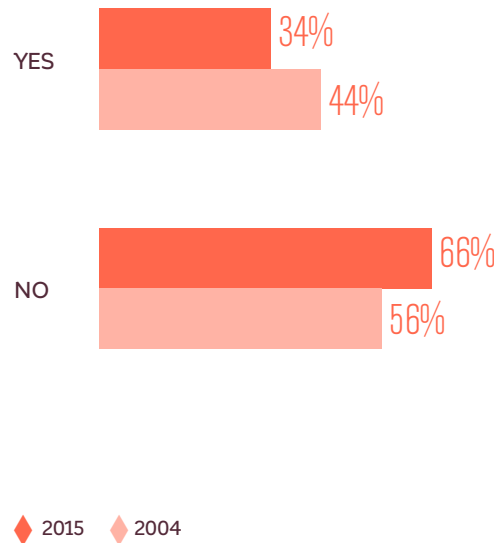


FIGURE 5.7

If you made any direct donations over the past year, who did you give to?

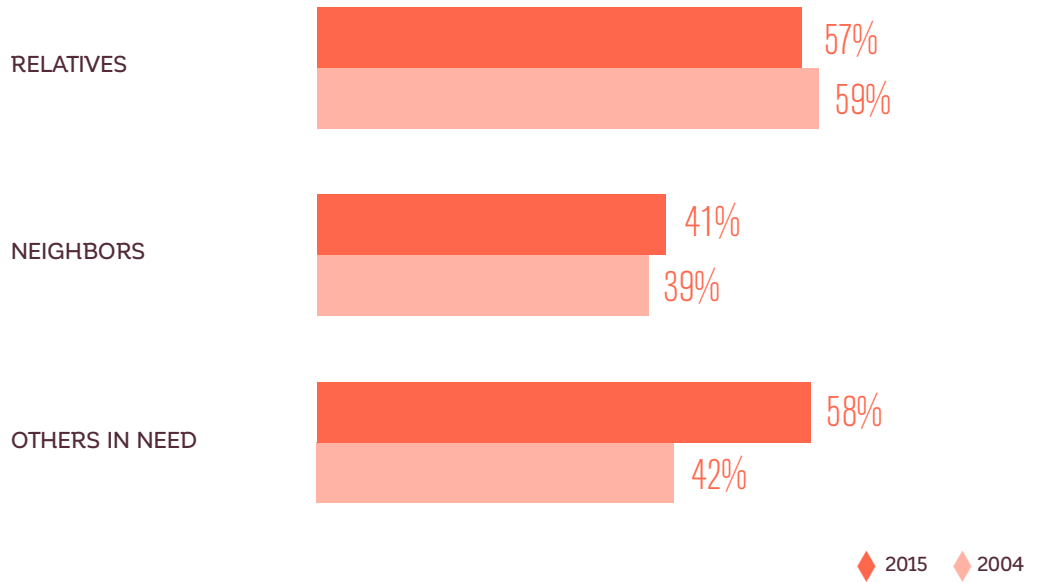


FIGURE 5.8

Nature of donations made to relatives

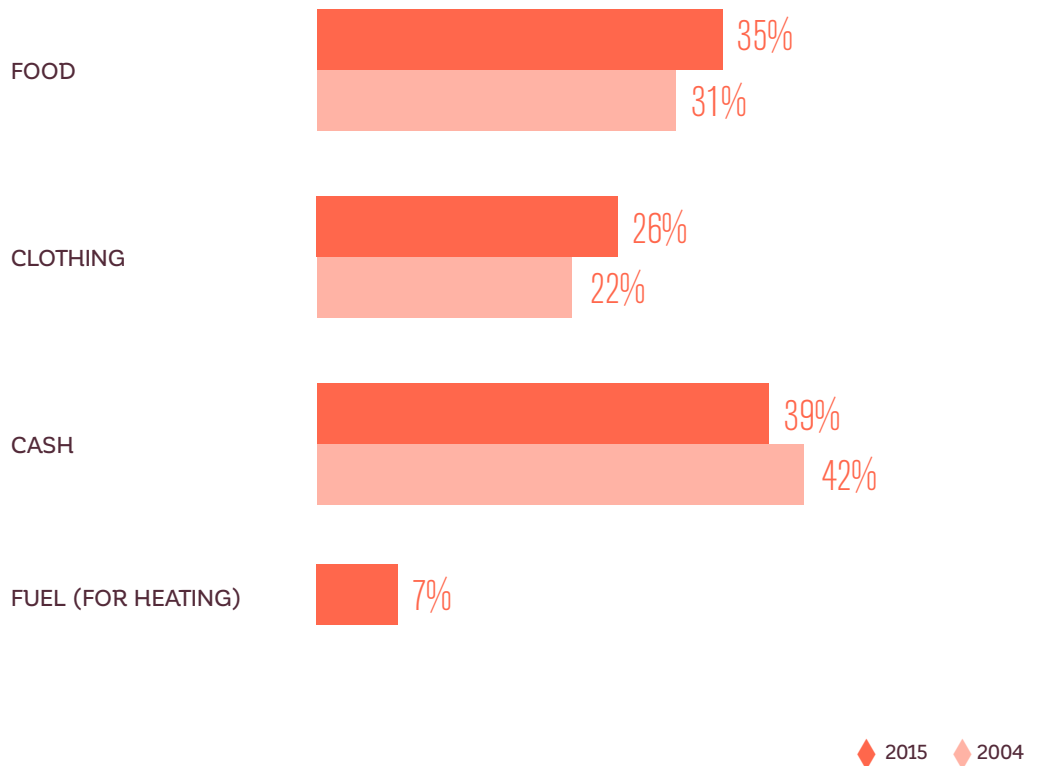


FIGURE 5.9

Nature of donations
made to neighbors

Respondents who said that they had given directly to a person in need over the past year were then asked to state the estimated total value of their donations made to different groups (relatives, neighbors, others in need). The results of this question are presented in Figure 5.11. The majority of the donors (56-70%) refrained from answering the questions while 15-25% estimated their donations to be below 50 TL (approx. 17 USD and 15 Euros). We do not know why the respondents preferred not to answer this question. Hiding the information on the small amounts of donations or the difficulty in estimating the total sum of such irregular donations could be the reasons. It is also known that it is not common to reveal the financial value of such donations in the Turkish culture. Perhaps if donations had been a significant portion of a family's budget, the attitude of refraining from such monetary estimations would probably have changed. As of 2015, such a tendency was not strong.

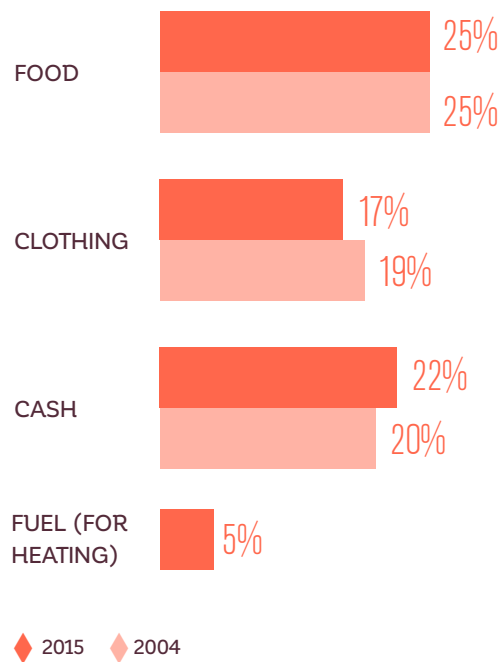
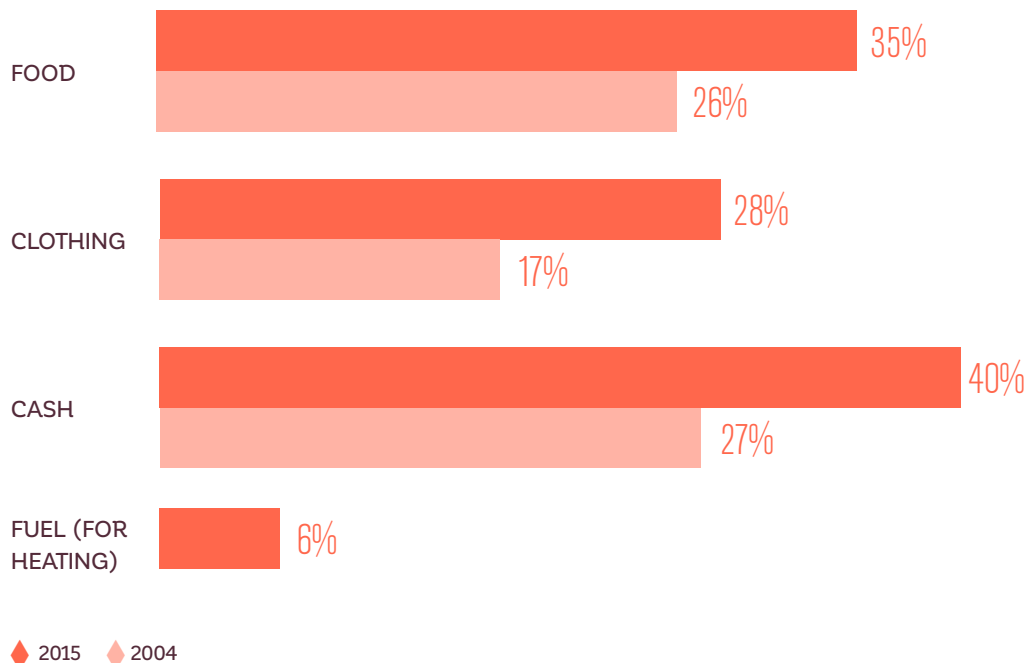


FIGURE 5.10

Nature of donations
made to those in
need, aside from
relatives and
neighbors



52% of the respondents stated that they do not prefer giving through an organization because the amount of their donations is too small.

Overall, the amount of donations made to relatives was higher than to other groups. For instance, while the proportion of those who gave to their relatives between 250 TL to 1,000 TL (85-340 USD, 76-304 Euros) is 7.8%, 2.6% of the respondents gave the same amount to their neighbors and 4.9% gave to others in need. There are scarcely any individuals who donated above 1,000 TL (340 USD and 304 Euros). Almost half of the respondents (47%) reported paying attention

to religious obligations while determining the amount of their donations, like the amount of zakat (Figure 5.12). We observe a slight decrease in this proportion compared to 2004.

Why do people choose to give directly rather than through an organization? About half of the respondents who gave directly over the past year reported not giving through an organization since the amount of their donation amount was small (52%, Figure 5.13). Similarly, 26% reported not giving through an organization since their donations were irregular and only made when they met someone in need. Lack of information (5%) and trust (13%) also play some role in not preferring an intermediary organization. When compared with 2004, in 2015 the proportion of individuals pointing to a lack of information seems to have decreased, while the influence of irregular donations in not preferring an intermediary organization increased.

FIGURE 5.11

Estimated value of donations (distribution among those saying they donated)

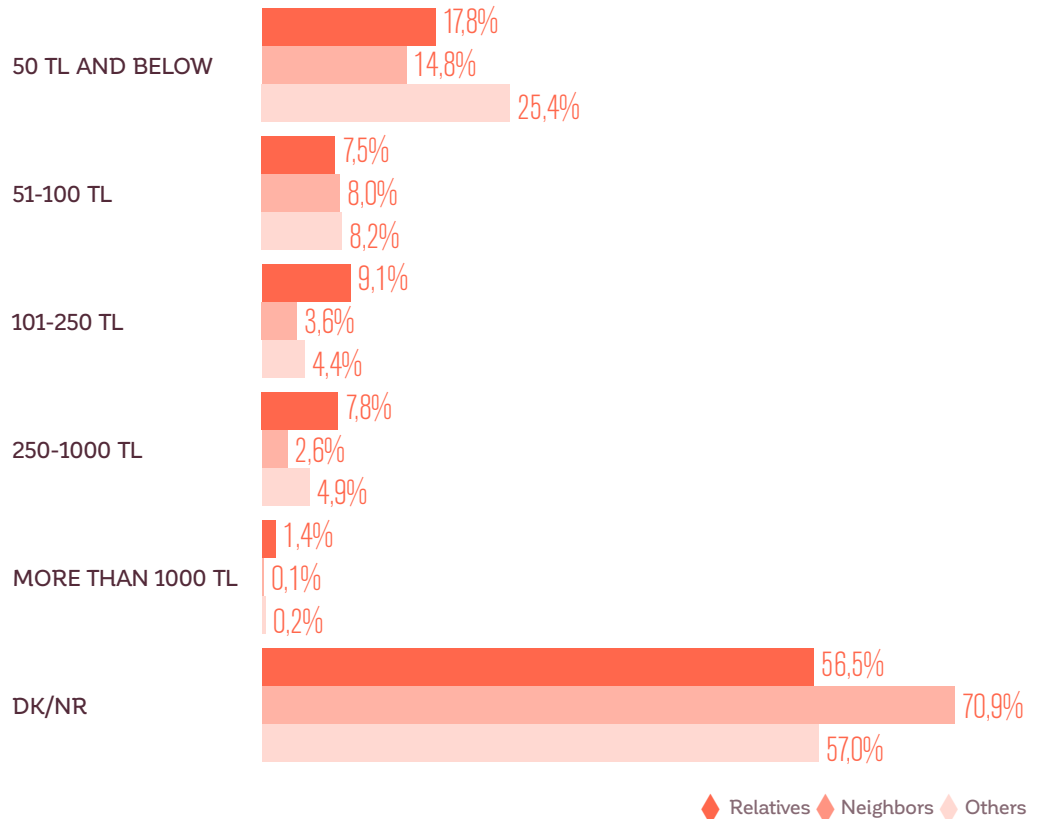


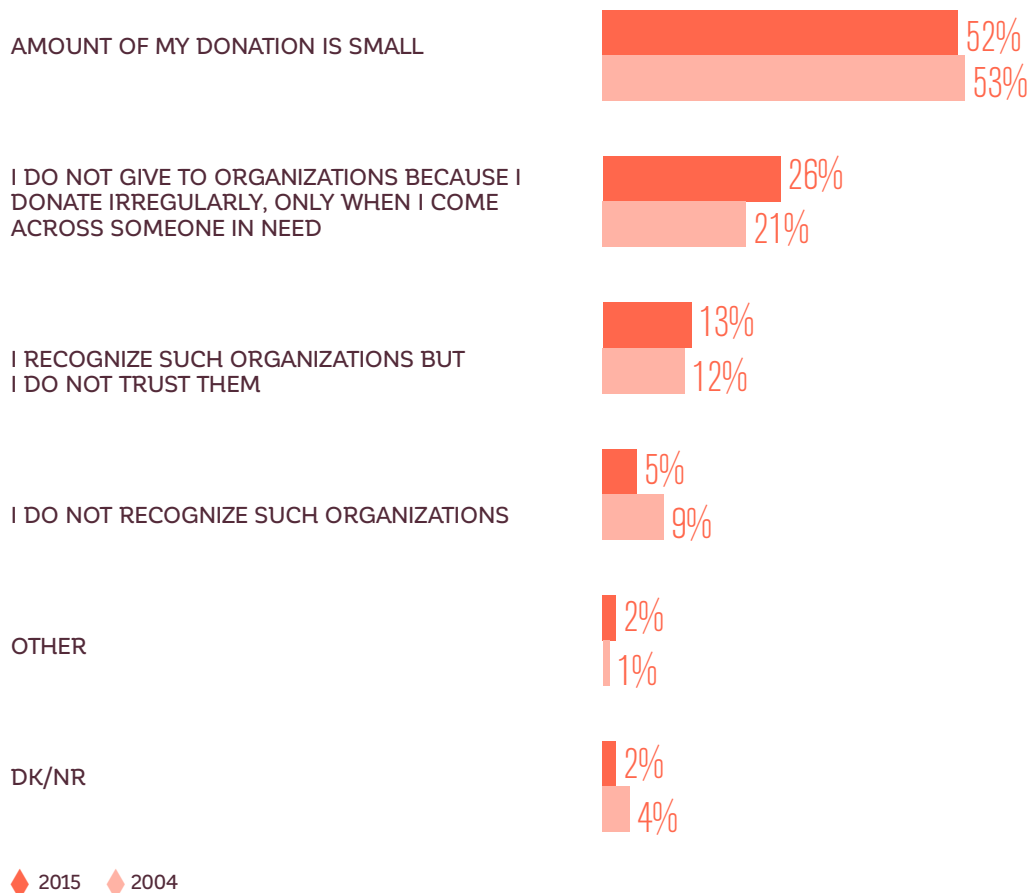
FIGURE 5.12

Do you take religious obligations into account while determining the amount of your donation?



FIGURE 5.13

What is the main reason that you do not give through an organization?



Due to economic stagnation in 2015, religiously motivated giving such as sadaqa, zakat and sacrificing practices seem to have decreased compared to 2004.

FIGURE 5.14

Do you give money to street beggars?

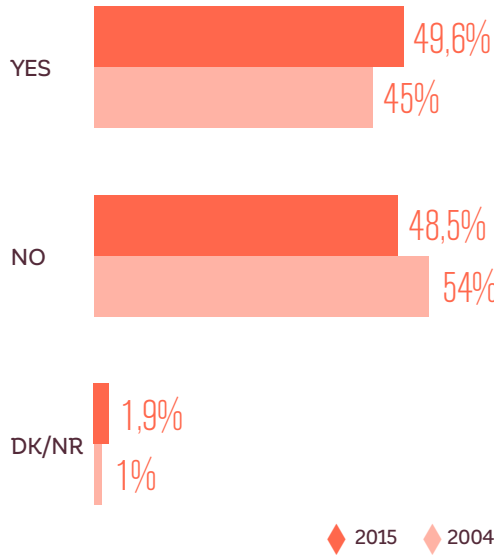
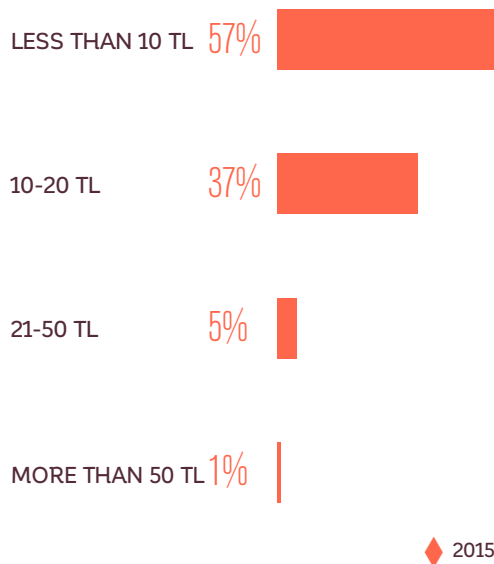


FIGURE 5.15

Can you estimate the amount of money you gave to street beggars over the past month?



It is possible to consider giving money to street beggars as a form of giving. In order to capture this aspect of giving, we also asked respondents whether or not they gave money to street beggars (Figure 5.14). In terms of this behavior, society seems to be divided into two equal groups and the proportion of those who reported giving money to street beggars slightly increased in 2015 compared to 2004.¹³ More than half of the money given to street beggars over the past month (57%) was below 10 TL (approx. 3.4 USD and 3 Euros) and almost all of it (94%) was below 20 TL (approx. 6.8 USD and 6 Euros) (Figure 5.15).

When we focus on giving related to religious obligations, 68% of the respondents reported having given sadaqa during the previous Eid Al-Fitr (Ramadan Feast) (Figure 5.16). Compared to 2004, in 2015 we observed around eight percentage-points increase in the proportion of those who did not give sadaqa and who did not have the financial means. There is a significant decrease in the proportion of those who gave zakat over the past year compared to 2004. This figure dropped from 40% in 2004 down to 28% in 2015 (Figure 5.17). A similar trend can also be seen in the prevalence of sacrificing practices during Eid Al-Adha (Figure 5.18). The most critical reason for the decrease in fulfilling religious obligations is probably the relative deterioration in the economic conditions. As highlighted earlier, as the economy was relatively stagnant in 2015 compared to in 2004, there has been an overall decline in the frequency and amount of giving. Parallel to this finding there appears to be a decrease in the religiously-motivated sadaqa, zakat, and sacrificing practices as well.

¹³ Even though figures in this finding can be linked to the increase in the number of Syrian refugees over the past 2-3 years, we do not have a question in the survey that would establish this link.

As highlighted under Section 2 of the Report, we took advantage of the opportunity that presented itself during our fieldwork in 2015 and observed the results of a natural experiment. Half of the 2015 interviews were conducted before Eid Al-Adha, and the other half was completed afterward. Thanks to this timing we obtained two years' worth of data regarding the prevalence of sacrificing practices. Due to the way, the question was posed ("Did you sacrifice an animal in the past Eid-Al-Adha (Feast of Sacrifice?"), those we had interviewed before the feast referred to the feast of 2014, while those we interviewed after responded for the feast of 2015. The rate of sacrificing was lower in both groups compared to 2004. About 57% of the respondents reported having sacrificed in 2004, while it was 50% in the group interviewed before the feast in 2015 and 43% in the group interviewed after the feast. In other words, from Eid Al-Adha in 2014 to the one in 2015, we observed a decrease in sacrificing practice. It is possible to interpret these findings as a sign of the negative course of the general financial situation of the citizens during the stated period.

In order to identify the proportion of respondents who received donations from someone or from an organization, we asked the respondents whether they received any donations to address their financial problems over the past year. Only a small segment of our sample (4%) reported receiving such donation (Figure 5.19). The considerably low level of this group in 2004 (6%) did not show any significant changes in the past eleven years. It is possible to consider these measurements as the lower threshold of recipients in society because if certain individuals think of receiving donations as a negative sign, they might have reservations in revealing this information during a household survey. Since our findings reflect a higher rate of individuals who reported giving than those receiving, it might raise the question whether our sample possibly included more donors

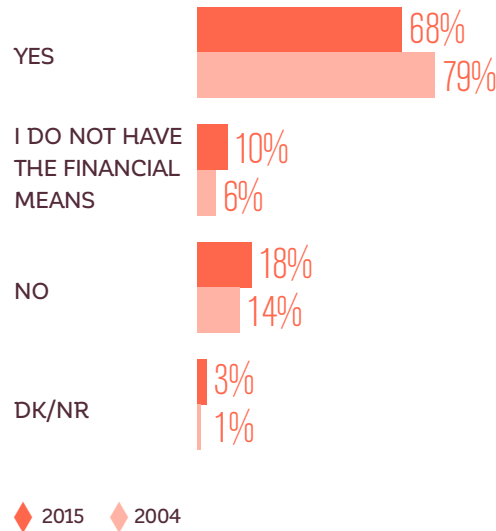


FIGURE 5.16

Did you give sadaqa in the previous Eid-al-Fitr (Ramadan Feast)?

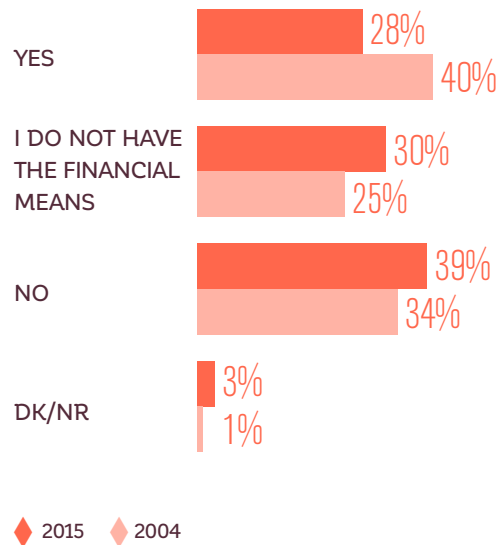


FIGURE 5.17

Did you give zakat last year?

than recipients. However, we would like to highlight that we did not deviate significantly from the general trends in Turkey and lower socio-economic groups were not excluded from the sample as shown by the sample characteristics we detailed earlier. Thus, our opinion is that receiving donations is significantly underreported due to social pressure.

In Turkey, the highest amount of direct donations (with an annual average of 53.2 TL) is made to street beggars.

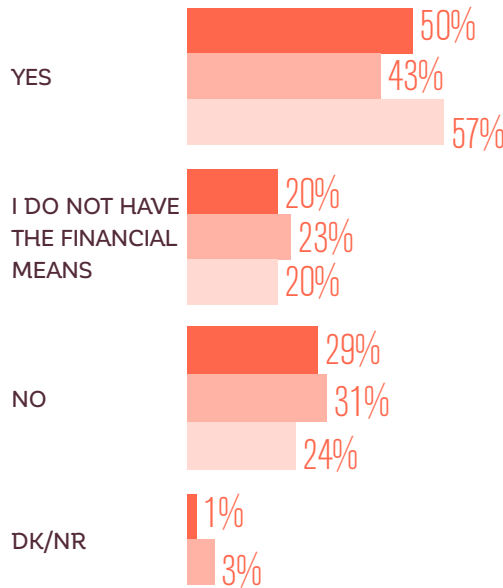
What is the total value of all the donations made directly to those in need? Since we asked the respondents the estimated financial value of their donations for every category, it is possible to give an approximate answer to this question. When the sum of all the donations made by respondents (to relatives, neighbors and others in need, money given to street beggars and, sadaqa and zakat amounts) is divided by the total number of respondents in the sample, we can calculate the per capita amount of donations made in every category (Figure 5.20). According to this calculation, the

highest amount of donations is made to the street beggars. On average, each respondent in our sample gives 53.2 TL (approx. 18 USD and 16 Euros) to street beggars in a year.¹⁴ The annual per capita amount of all these direct donations equals 209.6 TL (approx. 71 USD and 64 Euros). This amount does not include voluntary and obligatory donations made to organizations, which we will focus on under Section 5.2.

These results are likely affected by the fact that donations are made in relatively small amounts, in an irregular fashion and only when a problem or a person in need is encountered. A relatively small amount of donations is made to those other than relatives and neighbors and, among them, giving to street beggars in small amounts possibly out of social pressure stands out. It is difficult to measure the influence of religious motivations, such as sadaqa and zakat, on these types of donations. It is possible that each donation is made with religious motivations. In fact, this research did not intend to question the underlying motivations for each donation. However, one of the reasons for the low amount of religiously motivated donations, in the form of zakat, sadaqa and sacrifice practice, can be due to the result of the Islamic tradition that encourages keeping donations secret. These general trends have not changed much since 2004.

FIGURE 5.18

Did you sacrifice in the previous Eid-al-Adha (Feast of Sacrifice)?



◆ 2015 - Before the Feast ◆ 2015 - After the Feast ◆ 2004

14 Here, the average donation made to street beggars over the past month (4.43 TL) was converted to the annual amount. It is significant that these donations which are generally below 10 TL (Figure 5.15), reach a considerable amount over a year. Also the rate of giving to street beggars increased slightly since 2004. If the question were asked about "the past year" instead of "the past month," it would not have been possible to compare the results with 2004 and the uncertainty stemming from respondents trying to estimate the sum of these small bits of donations over twelve months would have increased.

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FIGURE 5.19

Have you received any donations from a person or an organization over the past year to address a financial problem?

In short, the prominent feature of direct donations in Turkey is that they are irregular and in small amounts. However, despite everything, the presence of the idea and practice of helping those in need and giving cash and in-kind donations to the smaller, local circles are particularly significant. This fact undeniably plays a major role in providing solutions to social problems. We have no findings that suggest an increase in these donations over time. In practice, we see a decrease in irregular and direct giving. Is it because formal giving principles through organizations are replacing informal practices or are we facing a situation where this duty is directly taken up by the state? We do not know the answer to this question yet.

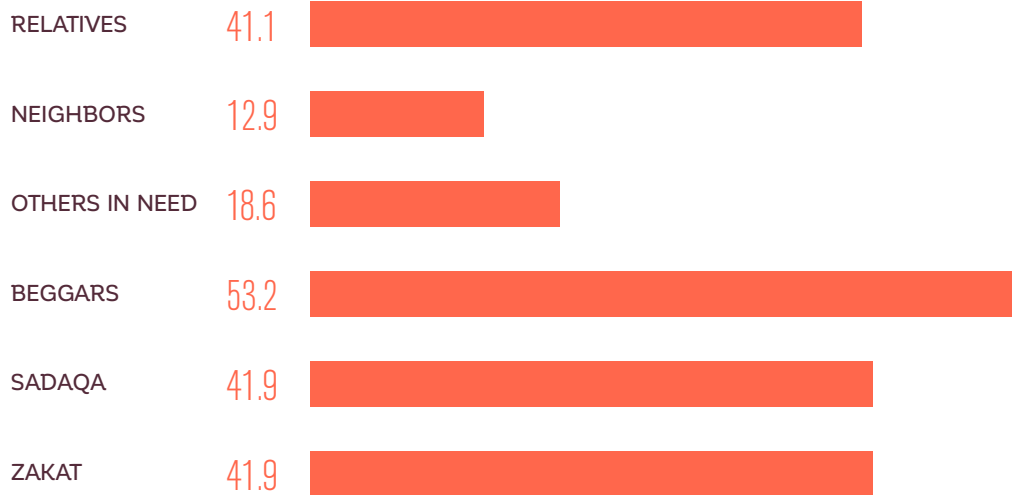
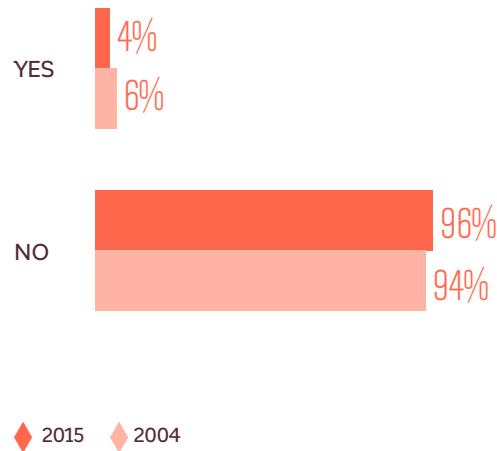


FIGURE 5.20

Estimated per capita financial value of direct donations made over the past year (TL)

Note: For each category, the sum of direct donations stated by the respondents was divided by the total number of those surveyed (2,495).

5.2 DONATIONS TO CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS AND PARTICIPATION IN ACTIVITIES

The aim of this section is to present the frequency and nature of participation in the voluntary organizations and reasons for participation in these activities. The frequency of donations made to voluntary organizations, donors' priorities in making their giving decisions, and their relations with the organizations they donate to are also the focus of this section. Furthermore, we will try to put forward the list of foundations and associations that first come to the minds of the respondents and their levels of trust towards various organizations. Trust towards different organizations is a critical component of social capital and is a determinant factor for participation in civil society organizations as well as giving.¹⁵

What portion of the voting age population in Turkey participates in the activities of voluntary organizations (CSOs such as associations, foundations, charity organizations, unions, sports clubs, etc.)? To answer this question, respondents were presented with a comprehensive list of 21 types of organizations (based on their main areas of activity; i.e., sports club, women's organizations, trade associations, human rights organizations, etc.) and were asked whether they were engaged in activities such as membership, voluntary work, participating in meetings and giving donations other than membership fees for such organizations over the past year.

Figure 5.21 presents responses to this question in comparison with 2004 data. In 2015, only 6% of the respondents stated that they became members of voluntary organizations over the past year, 7.8% worked as a volunteer, 6.7%

participated in meetings, and 12.9% gave donations other than membership fees. Overall, those who engaged in at least one of these four activities was 15.8%.

Compared to the findings of our 2004 research, there is no meaningful change in the proportion of respondents reporting membership, volunteering, and participation in the meetings. However, there is a significant decrease in the proportion of those who make donations other than membership fees. Approximately 18.4% of the respondents in 2004 reported that they had made donations other than membership fees over the past year, while this proportion decreased by 5.5 percentage-points to 12.9% in 2015. This decrease is worrisome for the financial structures of foundations and associations since donations are the most important source of income for civil society organizations in Turkey. According to data compiled by TUSEV, as of 2013, donations made up 41% of the total income of associations while it was 30% for foundations.¹⁶

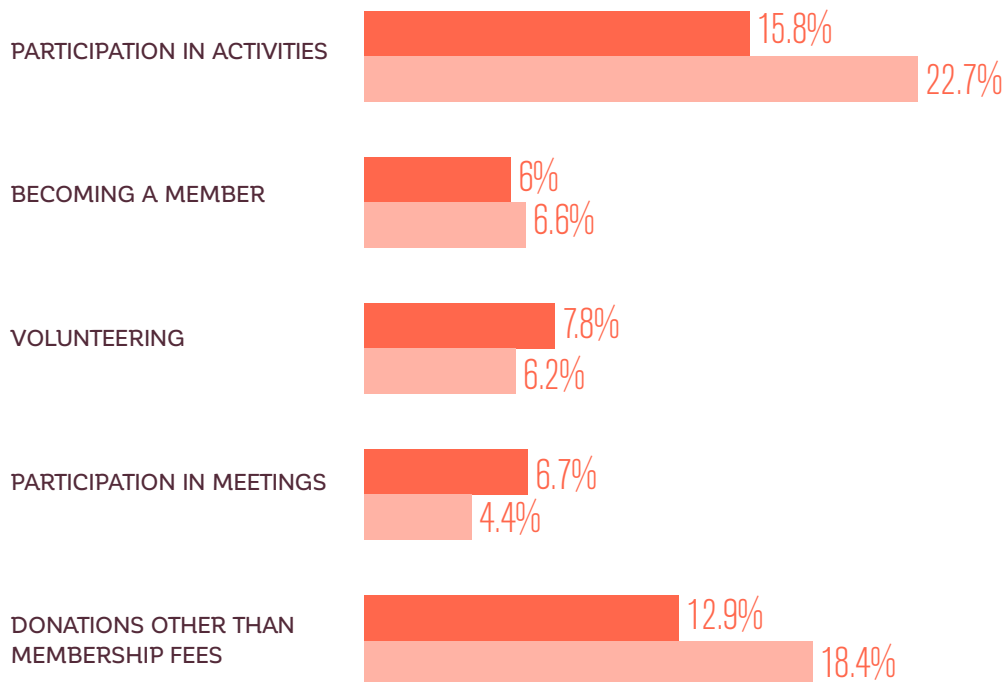
Even though we do not have concrete data to explain the reasons behind this decrease, the fact that the economy was growing rapidly in 2004 and experienced a slowdown in 2015 might have played a role in these results. Parallel to the decline in donations other than membership fees, the proportion of those who engaged in at least one of the four activities mentioned above is seven percentage-points lower in 2015 than it was in 2004. In other words, due to the decrease in donations other than membership fees, there has been a significant decrease in the rate of engagement in civil society activities. Respondents appear to hold back from giving through CSOs. Similarly, there has been a slight decrease in formal participation in civil society activities as a member while there has been a slight increase in volunteering and participating in meetings held by CSOs.

¹⁵ For further information, see Brehm, John and Wendy Rahn, 1997, "Individual-Level Evidence for the Causes and Consequences of Social Capital", *American Journal of Political Science*, 41(3): 999-1023

¹⁶ See, TUSEV, Civil Society Monitoring Report 2013-2014 Executive Summary, http://www.tusev.org.tr/uzrfiles/files/Izleme_Raporu_Yoneticisi_Ozeti_2013_2014.pdf

FIGURE 5.21

Participation in
CSO activities in
the last year



◆ 2015 ◆ 2004

After determining whether or not the respondents engaged in the aforementioned activities in voluntary organizations, we asked them a set of questions to understand the reasons for their behavior. First, we presented those who reported not doing any of these activities a list and asked them the main reason, besides a lack of available time, for why they did not engage with such organizations (Figure 5.22). One-third of these respondents (32%) said they did not have money to spare for volunteering, while 14% stated that they were not interested in such activities. Following these responses were having nobody in their immediate circles who engaged in such activities (10%), not trusting such organizations (7%), and having reservations since they never participated in similar activities before (7%).

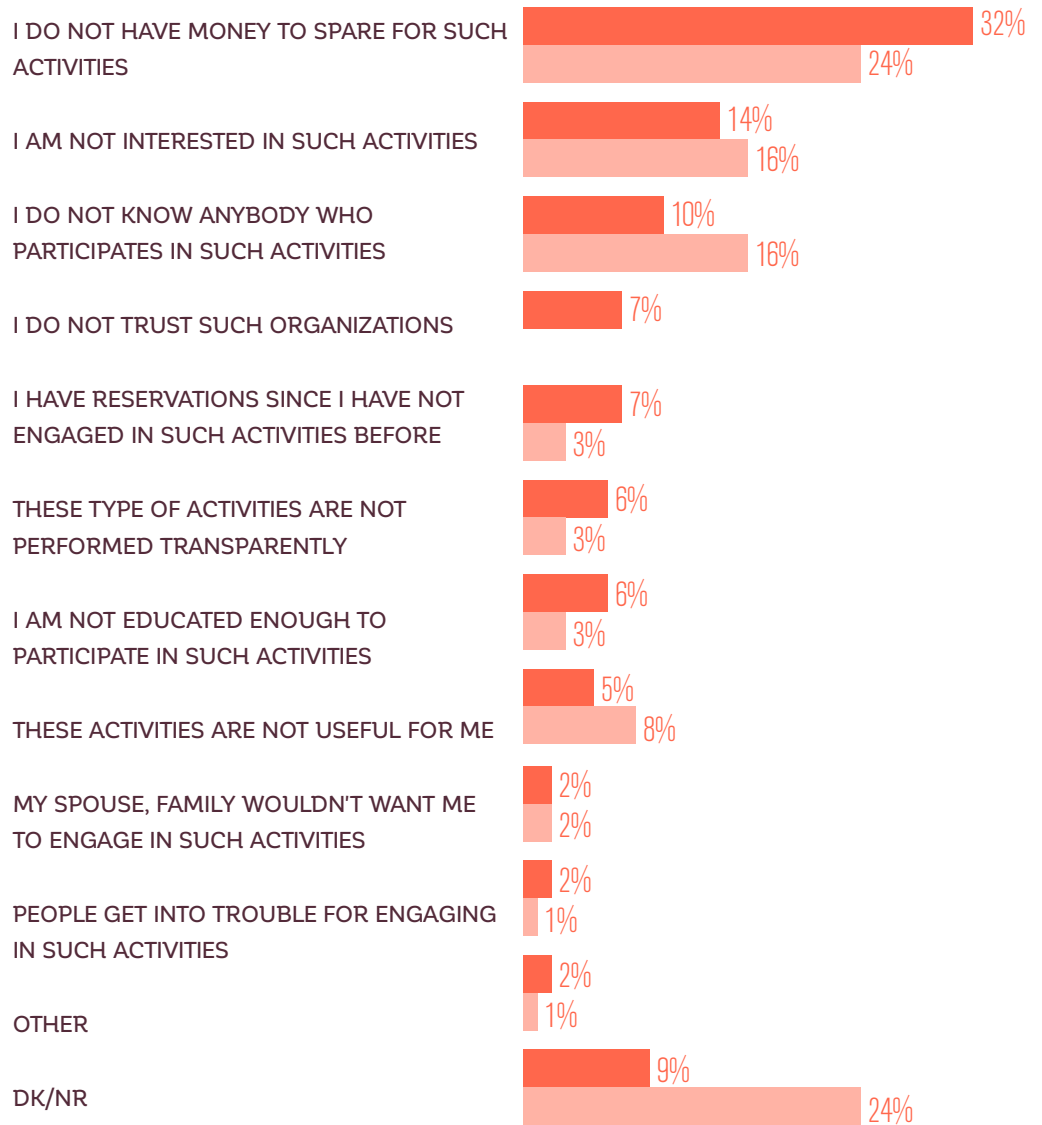
When comparing 2015 and 2004 data, it would be more accurate to compare the prevalence ranking of these reasons rather than their

The primary reasons for not engaging in voluntary activities are stated as lack of financial means, lack of interest and not having anyone in immediate circles who participated in such activities.

rates since the respondents in 2004 were not presented with the choice “I do not trust such organizations.” The ranking of the reasons for not engaging in civil society activities was very similar in 2015 to that of 2004. In both years, lack of financial means, lack of interest and not having anyone in their immediate circles who participated in such activities were the top three reasons.

FIGURE 5.22

Reasons for not participating in the activities of voluntary organizations



◆ 2015 ◆ 2004

Note: In 2004, respondents were not presented with the choice of "I do not trust such organizations."

The “I do not trust such organizations” choice, which was not presented to respondents in 2004, holds a significant place among the reasons given for not engaging in civil society activities. The decrease in the proportion of different choices in 2015 compared to 2004 can be attributed to the addition of this new choice in the answers. Nevertheless, when compared to 2004, a significant portion of the respondents reported a lack of financial means as the reason for not engaging in activities. This proportion increased by eight percentage-points (from 24% to 32%) from 2004 to 2015. This increase can be interpreted as a deterioration of the financial situation of citizens; it is also a pattern that explains the significant decrease in giving other than membership fees in the previous question.

Personal satisfaction, fulfilling religious obligations and contributing to social development were stated as the major reasons for doing voluntary work.



FIGURE 5.23

Reasons for engaging in voluntary activities in organizations

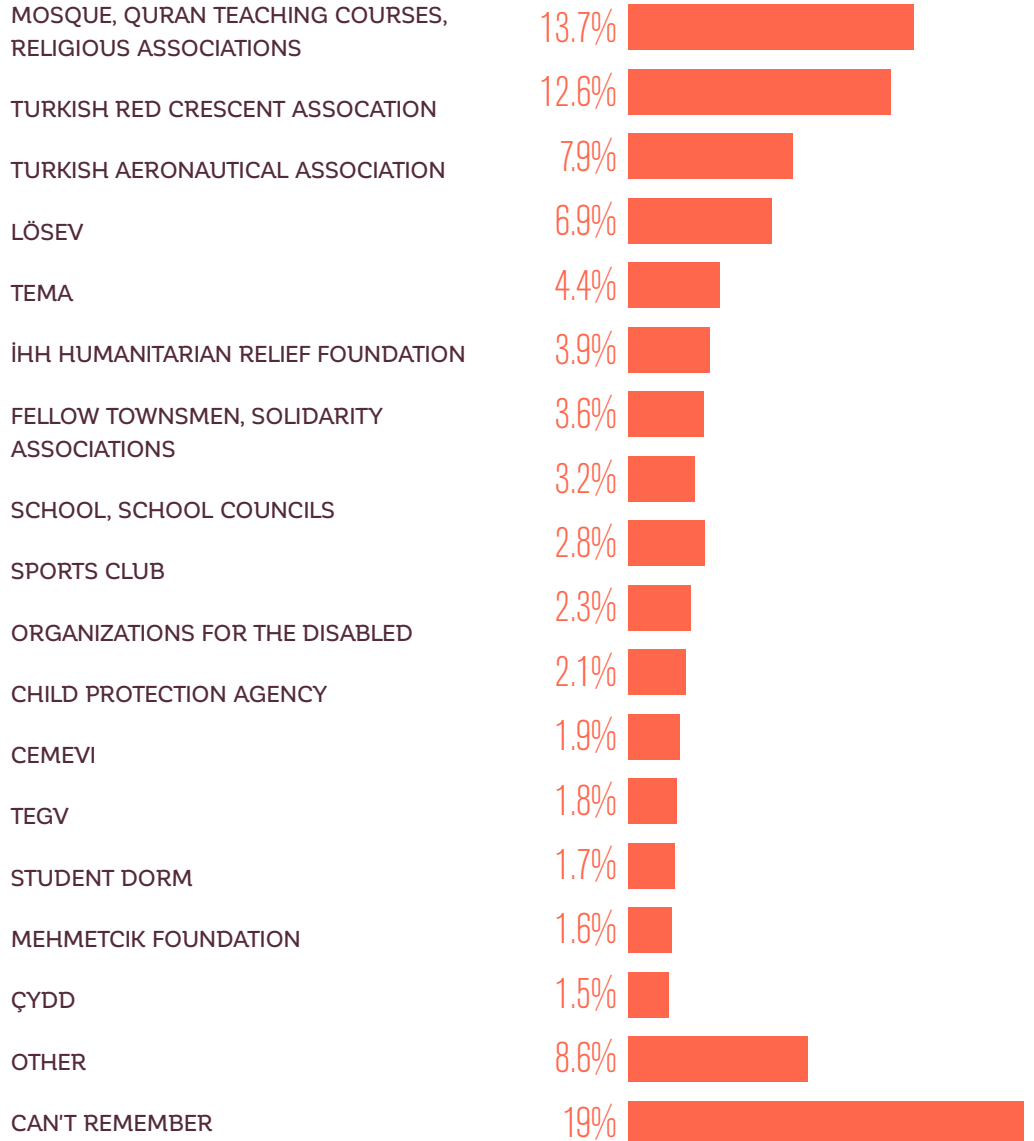
◆ 2015 ◆ 2004

The respondents who stated that they are volunteering for CSOs were presented with a list of motivations and asked to select the main reason why they choose to volunteer (Figure 5.23). The results here show the distribution of responses among the respondents, both in the 2004 and 2015 samples, who reported that they

have volunteered for CSOs (about 6% of the samples). The top response to this question was personal satisfaction (20%), followed by fulfilling religious obligations (15%) and a feeling that voluntary work contributes to social development (14%). When we compared these responses with the 2004 research, two points

FIGURE 5.24

The list of organizations or institutions respondents made their last donations



stood out. First, the proportion of those who reported personal satisfaction as the reason for voluntary work decreased from 28% to 20%. Second, the proportion of those who said they volunteered because of religious obligations increased from 11% to 15%. In other words, while the emphasis on individuality decreased, there was an increasing trend in volunteering with religious motivations. A significant change was not observed in the rest of the response categories.

Using an open-ended question, we asked the respondents who indicated that they had made donations to a voluntary organization to name the last organization they have given more than 25 TL (8.5 USD and 7.6 Euros). Around 13.7% of the respondents stated that this organization was a mosque, Quran teaching course or a religious association (Figure 5.24). When we also include donations made to Cemevi (Djemevis), the overall rate of donations made to religious organizations goes up to 15.6%. Donations made to religious institutions were followed by the Kızılay (Turkish Red Crescent Association) at 12.6%. Donations made for educational purposes (schools, school councils, dorms and various CSOs) constituted 8.2% of the overall donations. Türk Hava Kurumu (THK- The Turkish Aeronautical Association) at 7.9%, LÖSEV (The Foundation for Children with Leukemia) at 6.9%, TEMA (The Foundation for Combating Soil Erosion, for Reforestation and the Protection of Natural Habitats) at 4.4% and IHH (The Foundation for Humanitarian Relief) at 3.9% were among the top organizations respondents most recently gave to. A significant portion of the interviewees (19%) did not remember the name of the organization they donated to; while 8.6% reported giving to various agencies which did not exceed the 1% rate among all responses.

A significant pattern here is that religiously-motivated giving is most prominent. However, no organization stood out in the responses by name, most likely because such organizations are probably active only at the local level. The top two organizations – the Turkish Red Crescent Association and the Turkish

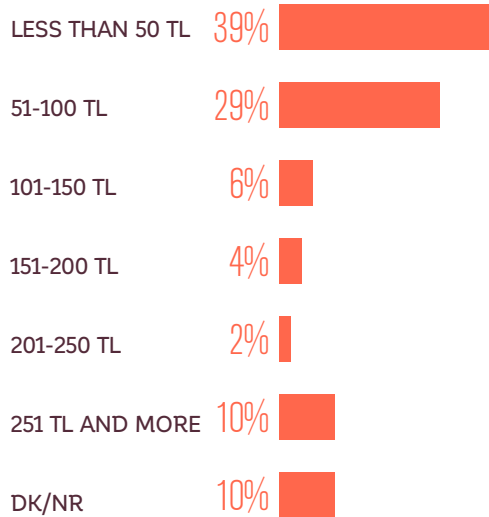
Aeronautical Association – whose names were identified by the respondents are actually state-mandated organizations rather than civil initiatives. Such state-mandated or partially state-mandated organizations including the Child Protection Agency and the Turkish Armed Forces Mehmetçik Foundation make up almost one-fourth (24.2%) of the responses. If we take into account that 24.2% of donations are made to state-mandated organizations and 15.6% are given to religious organizations, we see that only 60.2% of total donations are made to civil society organizations that are established with a civil initiative. If we exclude the “other” category that includes various organizations, the proportion of CSOs named by the respondents drops down to 51.6%. In other words, about 16% of the most recent donations above 25 TL were made to religiously motivated activities, 24% to state-mandated or partially state-mandated organizations and about 52% to civil society while 9% were given to organizations outside of these categories. The presence of public institutions in this distribution is quite high. Donations made to organizations other than religious institutions can also have religious motivations. However, a collection of donations for religious activities under an organizational structure did not have a high rate when compared to other categories.

**16% of last donations
above 25 TL were made
to religiously-motivated
organizations, 24% to state-
mandated and partially state-
mandated organizations, and
about 52% to CSOs.**

Organizations like LÖSEV, TEMA and IHH, appear to stand out among organizations other than state-mandated or partially state-mandated organizations, mosque-building associations, Quran teaching courses and religious associations. There is no data to analyze the determinants of this finding. However, these results show that these three organizations found a foothold for themselves in terms of collecting donations.

FIGURE 5.25

Estimated value of the most recent donation



◆ 2015

CSOs are more likely to receive donations if they are recommended by an existing donor and if they provide a “good giving experience.”

When we asked the total estimated value of their donations, 39% of the respondents stated giving below 50 TL (approx. 17 USD and 15 Euros) and 29% between 51 to 100 TL (approx. 17.3 - 34 USD and 15.3 - 30 Euros) (Figure 5.25). Therefore, the majority of donors' last donation was less than 100 TL. There is also a group of 10% reporting to have donated more than 250 TL (approx. 85 USD and 76 Euros), which is significant.

When asked about their relationship with the organization to which they most recently donated (Figure 5.26), more than half of the respondents stated that either themselves or someone they know had a good experience with the organization (60%), they thought they could benefit from the organization's services (59%), made another donation within two years (58%) and had seen news coverage about the organization (53%). The fact that those who donated to the same organization again within two years after their first donation made up 58% of the respondents and those donated more than two years ago comprised 40% of respondents points the tendency among the donors to make many donations to the same organization. About a third of the respondents (36%) reported making donations to an organization they volunteered for previously. Two findings that illustrate external factors influencing the giving behavior are the following: 40% of the respondents made a donation because they were asked by an acquaintance and 31% received a request from an organization. These figures are relatively low compared to other factors on the list. In sum, starting relations with people, making sure that they have a “good giving experience” and being recommended are the most important factors for collecting donations in Turkey. Once someone donates to an organization, it is likely that he or she will continue giving. However, the visibility of the organizations as well as the belief that donors can benefit from the organizations' activities, are also significant factors. In other words, organizations' likelihood of receiving donations increase to the extent of their visibility and their ability to demonstrate that their donors can benefit from them. The fact that the category “having received a request to make a donation”

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FIGURE 5.26

Relationship with the organization before the most recent donation

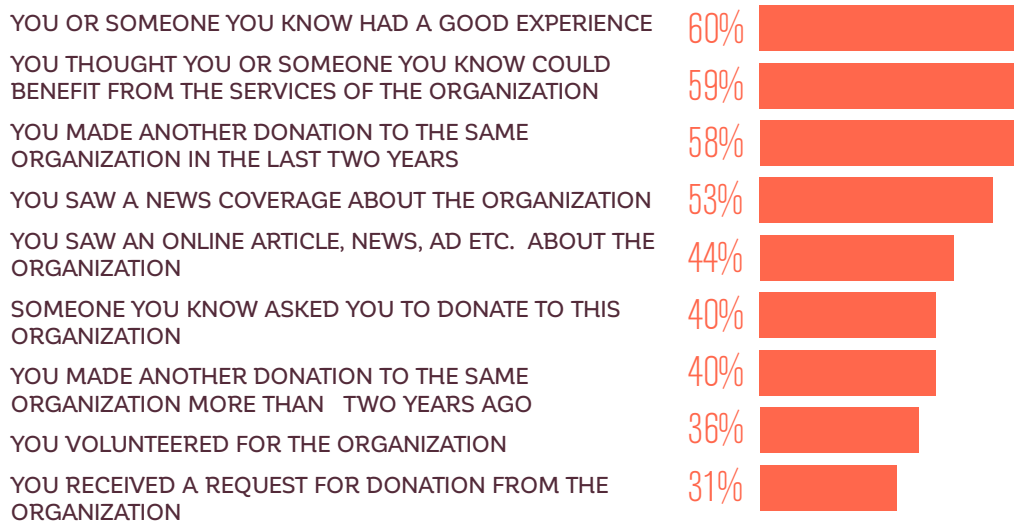
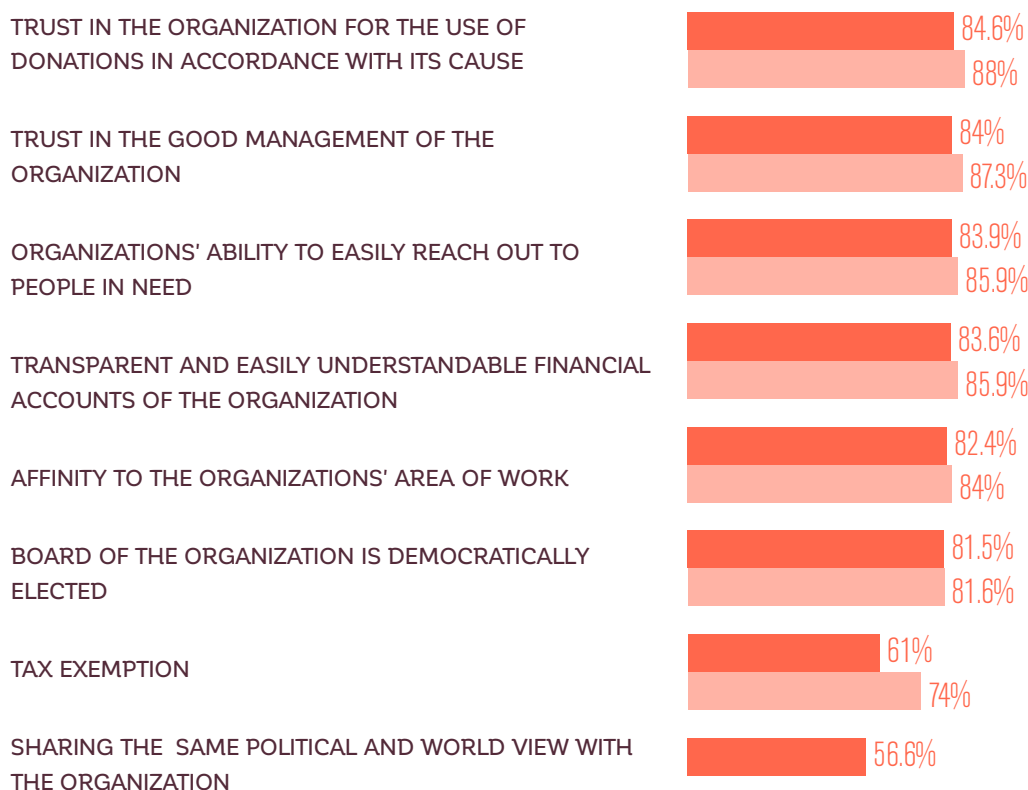


FIGURE 5.27

Determining factors for selecting the organizations to give (those who consider as “important” or “very important”)



◆ 2015 ◆ 2004

has the lowest rate among the choices suggests that existing fundraising activities of CSOs are not sufficient to trigger giving behavior in Turkey.

What are the determining factors for selecting the organizations to give? A majority of the respondents (more than 80%) consider the following as important or very important: donor's trust in the proper management of the organization and that they will use donations in line with the cause, the organization's ability to easily reach out to people in need, transparency in financials, donor's affinity to the organization's scope of work and whether the board of the organization is democratically elected. There are no significant differences among these factors in terms of importance (Figure 5.27). As explained in the following pages, only a small segment of donors receive reports on the activities of organizations they give to. Still, trust plays a major role in donor-CSO relations. About half of the respondents (56.6%) deemed having the same political stance and worldview with the organization as an important factor in their giving decisions. The proportion of those who gave importance to tax benefits decreased from 74% in 2004 to 61% in 2015. Since tax exemption is more important for corporations than it is for individuals in Turkey, this finding is not surprising. We did not observe a significant change in the importance attributed to other factors on the list since 2004.

Do individual donors conduct research before giving to an organization? Do they express their opinions on how their donations should be used and receive reports from organizations after their

donations? About one-third of the respondents (34%) reported having done research on the organization they gave to (Figure 5.28). Half of the donors (51%) did not express an opinion on how their donation should be used while 25% expressed an opinion and 23% said they gave for a specific cause (Figure 5.29). Since respondents in 2004 were not presented with the choice "giving for a specific cause," it is difficult to compare the situation between the two years. Although the option was new, there has not been a significant change in those who expressed an opinion. As presented in Figure 5.30, donors were asked whether they received reports regarding the activities of organizations they gave to. There was not a significant change in responses to this question compared to those in 2004. About one-third of donors stated receiving reports while the remaining two-thirds did not. The nature of the report received by this group of one-third is not obvious. Overall, these findings show that only one-third of donors received a report or feedback regarding their donations. This rate is obviously not very high. Donations were mainly made without doing previous research, and only 48% of the respondents (total of those who expressed opinions directly and who donated for a specific cause) expressed their views on how their donations should be used. In other words, at least half of the donations are spent at the discretion of the recipient organization. All of these can be considered as limitations to the development of organized giving in Turkey. The fact that donors are not doing any research on organizations might suggest that organizations are not necessarily in competition for collecting donations. More than half of the donors leave the decision of how to use the donations to the organizations while two-thirds do not receive any feedback regarding the activities of organizations. In a broader sense, these findings give the impression that organizations do not have the habit of fulfilling accountability standards towards their donors.

FIGURE 5.28

Did you do some research about the organization before making a donation?

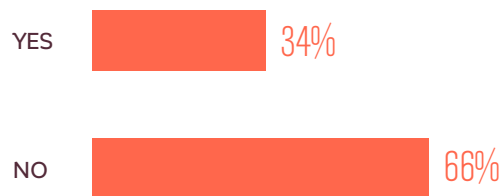


FIGURE 5.29

Do you express your opinion about how your donation should be used?

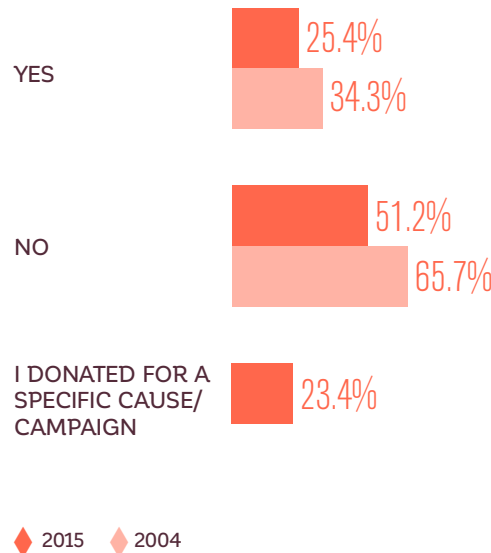
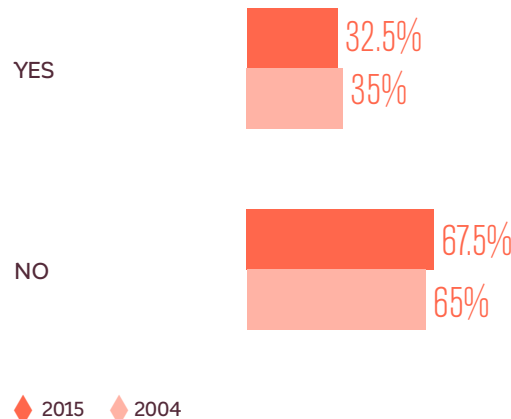


FIGURE 5.30

Do you receive reports from the organization you give regarding their activities?

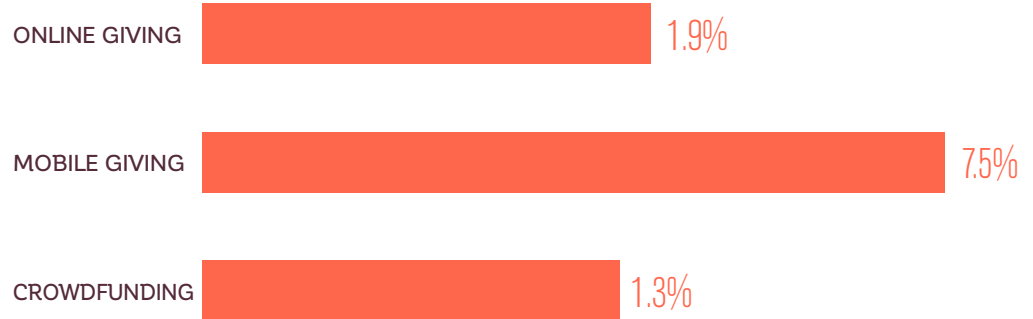


In order to measure the frequency of using new channels of giving in Turkey, we asked the respondents whether or not they used some of these new channels (Figure 5.31). Mobile giving appears to have reached a considerable prevalence as 7.5% of the interviewees reported giving through sending SMS. The proportion of those who gave through an online website is quite low (1.9%). Participation in crowdfunding activities, which is becoming more popular internationally, is still very low in Turkey (1.3%). In short, the use of new fundraising methods is still limited in Turkey. A question that arises here is whether or not such online giving activities have a higher rate among the population with high internet access. Unfortunately, we do not have the possibility to compare this observation with 2004. But of course, those without access to the internet face limitations with respect to these new channels of giving. However, it is clear that the use of mobile phones, unlike the internet, has become an accessible medium for all segments of society. Therefore, despite the low rate of internet giving, we have enough reasons to anticipate an increase in mobile giving and crowdfunding activities over the course of time.

Which foundations and associations first come to mind of Turkish citizens? Organizations that comprised more than 1% of the distribution of top five responses given by the respondents are presented in Figure 5.32. Kızılay (The Turkish Red Crescent Association) is at the head of the list with a very high proportion (26.8%). Kızılay is followed by LÖSEV (9.8%), THK (8.2%), TEMA (6%), Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu (5.9%) and the Kimse Yok Mu Demeği (5.3%). We observed that respondents tend not to make a distinction between state-mandated organizations such as Kızılay, THK and the Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu versus organizations which are based entirely on civil initiative.

A noteworthy point here is that Kızılay, LÖSEV, TEMA and the Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu, were also in the top rankings of the list of organizations most recently donated to. Similarly, the IHH Humanitarian Relief Foundation and the Mehmetçik Foundation,

FIGURE 5.31

Use of new channels for giving

which are at high rankings on the list of most recently donated organizations, are also at top positions among firstly identified organizations. It is evident that Kızılay is the top organization in terms of recognition and receiving donations. This is not surprising given that it has a place in the education system. High media visibility of LÖSEV and TEMA seems to have a positive influence on their high recognition.

In order to identify to what extent our respondents display trust to various organizations, we presented a list and asked them to score each organization from 1 to 10. (1 –“I do not trust at all,” 10 –“I completely trust”). As Figure 5.33 shows, the most trustworthy organizations on this list significantly overlap with the organizations that first come to mind as reported earlier (the

Turkish Red Crescent, LÖSEV, the THK, the Child Protection Agency, TEMA). This finding points to a positive relationship between trustworthiness and level of recognition. As presented in Figure 5.33, as of 2015, trust in the armed forces appears to be high while trust in political parties, the Turkish Grand National Assembly, and the central government/administration is relatively low.

We asked the same question in 2004 for some of the organizations on the list. Generally, average trust towards foundations and associations increased in 2015 compared to 2004. Similarly, while trust in political parties increased, trust in the National Assembly, the central government/administration, and the armed forces decreased.

It is known that some public related organizations/public foundations request payments under the name of a donation. In order to measure its frequency, we asked respondents whether they were obligated to make donations unwillingly to any organization over the past year (Figure 5.34). The obligatory giving rate decreased to 1% in 2015 from 7% in 2004. This shows that various obligatory payments under the name of donation have become quite scarce. When we asked those who reported required payments to which organization they made this payment, a majority of the responses pointed to public schools. It is likely that many public schools ask for donations from parents during student

When thinking about CSOs, respondents do not make a distinction between state-mandated organizations (the Turkish Red Crescent, the Turkish Aeronautical Association, and the Child Protection Agency) and civil initiatives.

enrollment to cover certain needs. Such obligatory donations are typically collected to cover services and infrastructure needs (cleaning, painting, heating, etc.) of public schools; however, this trend seems to have decreased considerably over the past ten years.

In the previous section, we had calculated the annual per capita amount for all types of direct giving by summing up those made to relatives, neighbors and others in need, money given to street beggars and sadaqa and zakat amounts and then dividing it by the total number of respondents in the sample (Figure 5.20). At this

point, we can add to this total our findings on the voluntary and obligatory donations made to organizations. The question used in Figure 5.21 presented respondents a comprehensive list of 21 different organizations and asked respondents whether they made donations other than membership fees to any such organizations. And in the previous question, we asked the respondents the estimated amount of obligatory donations they had to make over the past year. When we add these two results to the calculation, we reached the annual per capita average donation in Turkey which is presented in Figure 5.35.

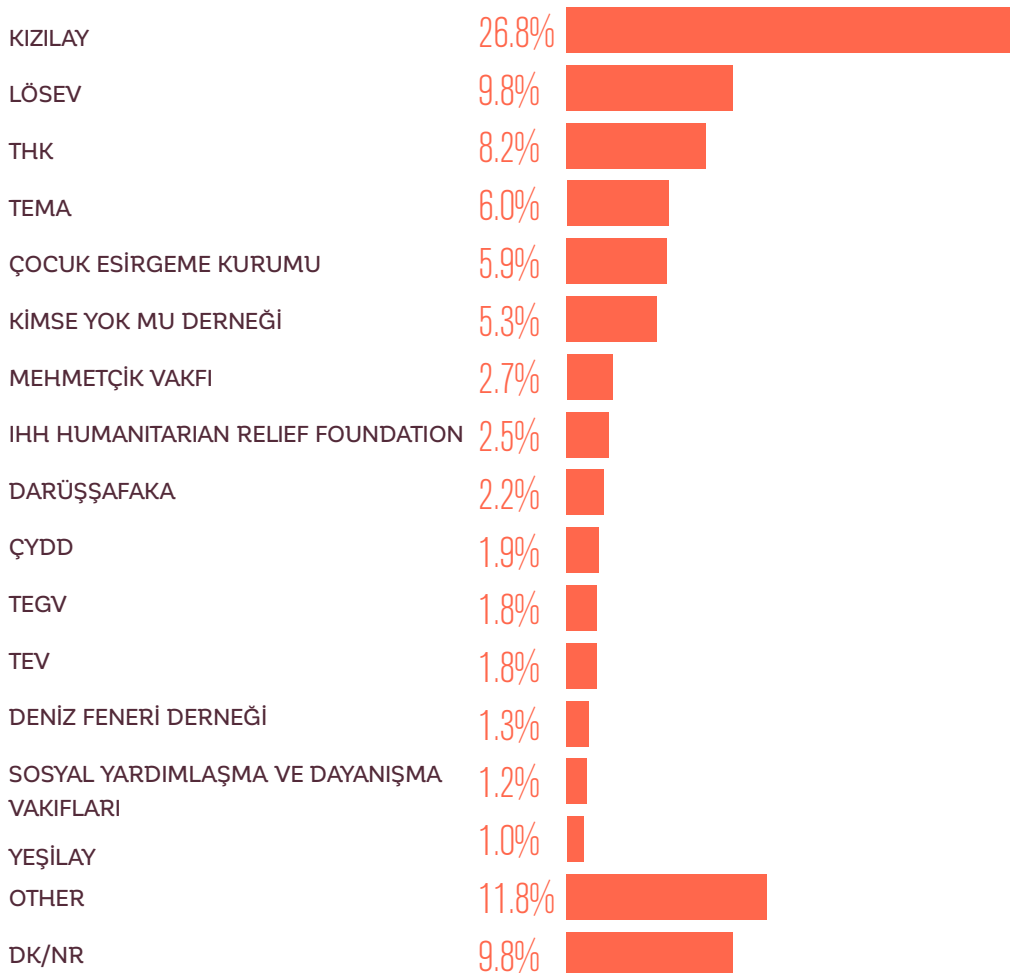


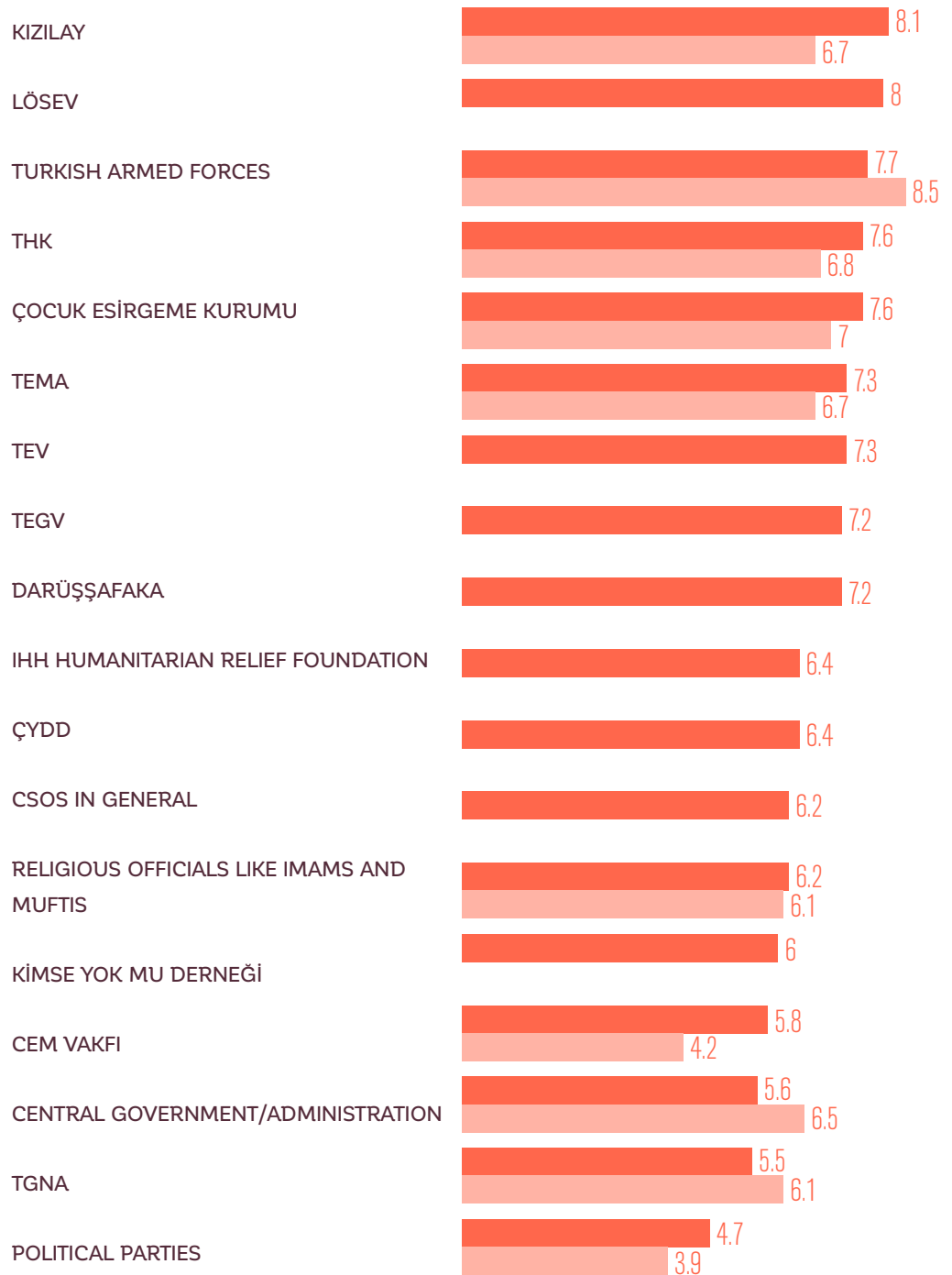
FIGURE 5.32

What are the foremost foundations and associations that come to your mind among the ones active in Turkey?

Note: Distribution of first five answers given among the total of answers

FIGURE 5.33

Trust towards
various
organizations
(average values,
1-10 scale)



◆ 2015 ◆ 2004

INDIVIDUAL GIVING AND PHILANTHROPY IN TURKEY

FIGURE 5.34

Were you obligated to make donations to any organization over the past year?

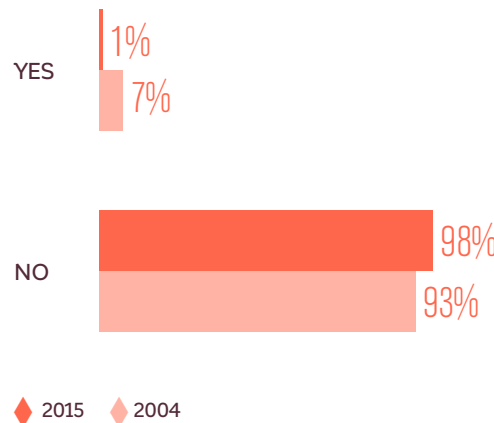
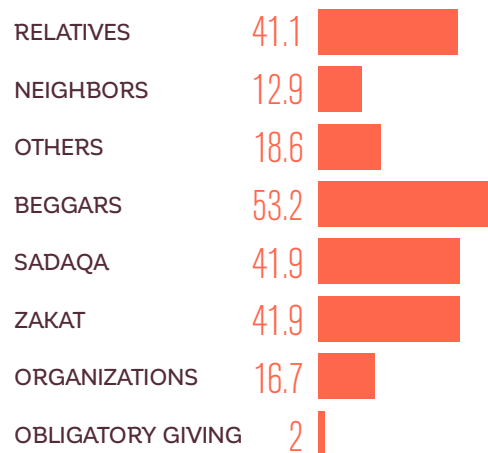


FIGURE 5.35

Estimated financial value of direct giving and donations made to organizations per capita (TL)



For each category, the sum of donations stated by the respondents was divided by the total number of respondents (2,495).

donations made to organizations in nine developed European countries.¹⁷ Donations made to organizations in these nine countries

¹⁷ 9 countries that presented data for the research are Germany, Belgium, France, Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and Italy. Date of data is 2012. Study can be found here: https://www.fondationdefrance.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/philanthropy_in_europe_2015_0.pdf

Donations made to organizations over the past year remained far below direct donations with 16.7 TL (approx. 5.6 USD and 5 Euros) per capita. Per capita, obligatory donations were estimated at 2 TL (approx. 0.7 USD and 0.6 Euros). In light of these data, total per capita for direct giving and giving through organizations in a year are calculated as 228.3 TL (approx. 77.5 USD and 69 Euros). According to 2015 TURKSTAT data, there are around 60 million people in Turkey at or above the age of 18. Therefore, we estimate the total amount of donations made in Turkey as 13.7 billion TL (approx. 4.5 billion USD and 4.15 billion Euros). This amount equals to 0.8% of Turkey's GDP in 2014, 1% of average annual household income and 2.9% of average annual per capita household income as calculated in our research. A point that is worth noting here is that the reported donation amounts may be a bit higher than real amounts and income levels may be a bit lower than the actual levels. Generally, in surveys, the income statements of respondents are lower than the real amounts; this is influenced by the nature of face-to-face interviews, the tendency to hide the real income and the difficulty of calculating the total income of the household. Yet there is an obvious social attraction to declaring philanthropy and giving amounts higher than they actually are. Therefore, even though the amounts we calculated to measure the share of donations in Turkey over total income might seem low, they can be seen as an upper threshold for real quantities.

How does the total amount of all donations made over a year in Turkey stand in an international comparison? A significant challenge to make such a comparison is the fact that international comparisons focus mainly on donations made to organizations and do not include direct giving (cash and in-kind donations to relatives, neighbors and others in need, sadaqa and zakat, donations to street beggars) that we have included in our research. In light of this fact, donations made only to organizations in one year correspond to 0.06% of the GDP in Turkey. Research conducted by Fondation de France compared

The total amount of donations made in one year in Turkey is estimated as 13.7 billion TL (approx. 4.5 billion USD and 4.15 billion Euros). This amount is equal to 0.8% of Turkey's GDP in 2014.

make up 0.2% of the total GDP. The country where donation to GDP ratio is highest is the UK (0.56%) while the lowest is Belgium (0.04%). According to these data, 0.06% individual donations to the GDP ratio in Turkey is a bit higher than Spain (0.05%) and Belgium (0.04%).

Individual giving to organizations in Turkey is 0.06% of GDP while the total rate of individual giving is 0.8%. This number is even higher than the UK, which has the highest rate in the *Fondation de France* research. Unfortunately, data from the UK and other European countries do not include direct giving. It is not easy to estimate what the total amounts would be in these countries when all donations are added to the calculation in a detailed way as we did for our research. Therefore, with the data at hand we cannot confidently state whether Turkey stands lower or higher in comparison.

Regardless of whether or not respondents made donations, we asked them which areas of activity they would prioritize if they were to donate by presenting them a list of activities (Figure 5.36). The prioritized area was various disadvantaged groups and those in need (the poor and needy, orphans, families of martyrs and veterans, the disabled). About half of the respondents (50.1%) reported that they would donate to organizations engaged in these areas. These were followed by organizations engaged in education (11.8%), helping children and the youth (9.1%) and health services (6.3%). Social and economic development, despite having a high potential impact on respondents' lives,

was a very low priority on the list (1.4%). The reason for this might be the understanding that a broad-scale target like development requires comprehensive and infrastructure related solutions. We deduce that the priority in direct giving is given to areas where the direct impact of donations is more clearly seen. The impact of donations made to areas such as human rights, women's rights, environmental movements may not be observed directly, and they were not deemed a priority by the respondents.

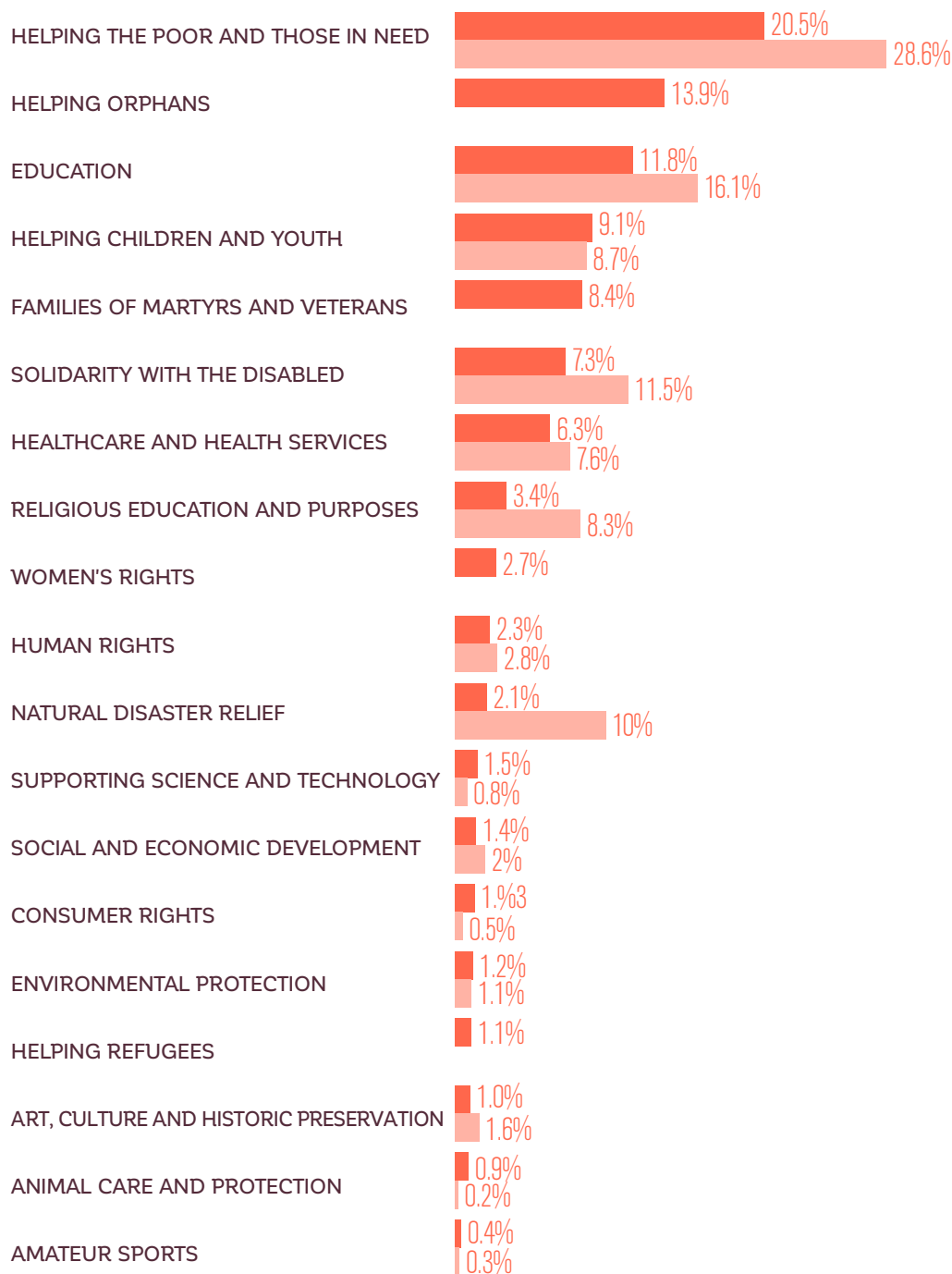
It is not easy to compare the 2015 findings with 2004 since some of the activity areas in 2015 were not presented to respondents in 2004. The most significant change in this comparison was the decrease in the priority given to victims of natural disasters (10% to 2.1%). This can be attributed to the fact that the negative impact of the Mamara Earthquake (1999) was still fresh in respondents' minds in 2004 and was largely forgotten by 2015. It is notable that an important priority was given to orphans and families of martyrs and veterans which were not on the list as an option in 2004. However, while these choices became prominent, it is not possible to prove a decline in the importance given to other items on the list. For example, a decrease in the priority given to the poor and needy, education and solidarity with the disabled groups might be because new choices for orphans, families of martyrs and veterans were used in 2015. In other words, although in 2015 we could better observe the areas of activity that influences giving trends, it is not really possible to claim that important shifts have occurred in the past decade.

The UK-based *Charities Aid Foundation (CAF)* conducts a survey every year in many countries to evaluate giving and volunteering trends. In every country included in the survey, a sample group representative of the population is asked whether they have done any of the following in the past month: (i) donating money to a charity, (ii) volunteering time to an organization, (iii) helping a stranger. Based on the responses to these three questions, a score is given for each country, and results are published in the "World Giving Index" report.

INDIVIDUAL GIVING
AND PHILANTHROPY
IN TURKEY

FIGURE 5.36

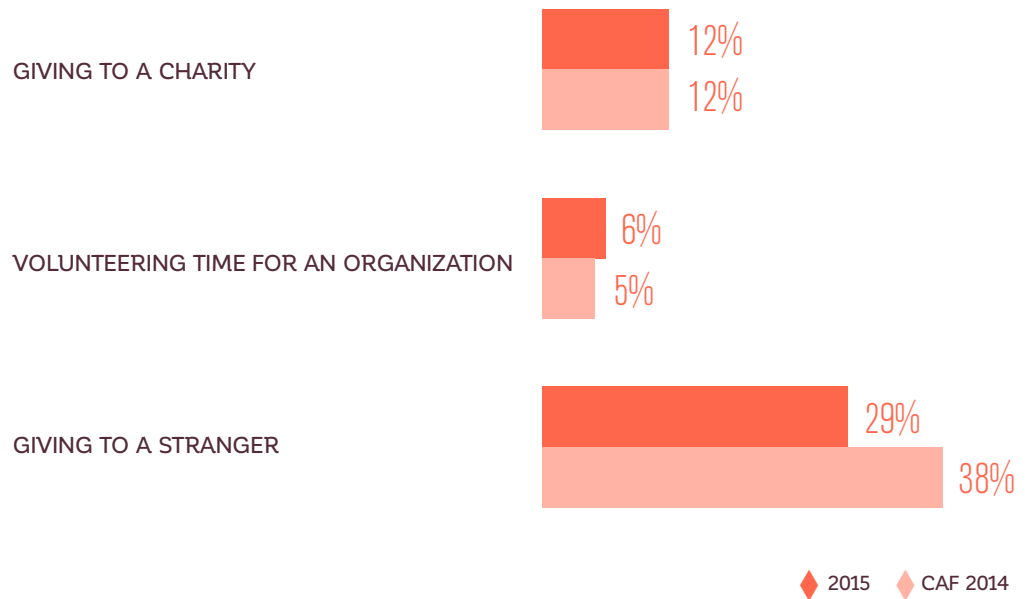
If you were to give to an organization, which areas would you primarily prefer?



◆ 2015 ◆ 2004

FIGURE 5.37

Percentage of those who took the following actions in the past month



Turkey was last included in this research in 2014. Based on the fieldwork of the survey conducted in 2013, 12% of the population in Turkey donated to a charity, 5% spent time for volunteering in an organization and 38% gave to a stranger. With these data, Turkey ranked 128th among the 135 countries where the research was conducted. The USA and Myanmar ranked first in the research. In the USA, for example, 68% of the citizens donated money to a charity, 44% spent time for volunteering in an organization and 79% gave to a stranger.¹⁸

In order to identify the giving trends in Turkey, we asked the same questions (CAF's questions) to our respondents which are presented in Figure 5.37. No changes were observed in the prevalence of the behavior of giving to charity between our findings in 2015 and CAF's World Giving Index 2014 report. The rate of those who helped a stranger over the past month remained

at 29% which points to a nine-point decrease compared to World Giving Index 2014. Turkey was not included in World Giving Index 2015,¹⁹ but if we make a comparison of data obtained from this research with the findings of World Giving Index 2015, Turkey ranks 121st in terms of donations made to charities, 138th in terms of time spent for volunteering, and 136th in helping a stranger among the 146 countries surveyed. These results demonstrate that, according to CAF's methodology of measuring the prevalence of giving, volunteering and donations, Turkey seems relatively behind other countries in the survey.

Figures 5.38, 5.39 and 5.40 illustrate an analysis of how the prevalence of these three behaviors differs in various socio-economic groups. Figure 5.38 focuses on giving behavior to a charity organization. We interpret the data presented as the following; 64% of the respondents who made donations to organizations were men,

¹⁸ World Giving Index 2014. Charities Aid Foundation. www.cafonline.org/docs/default-source/about-us-publications/caf_wgi2014_report_1555awebfinal.pdf?sfvrsn=4.pdf

¹⁹ World Giving Index 2015. Charities Aid Foundation. www.cafonline.org/about-us/publications/2015-publications/world-giving-index-2015

while 48% of those who did not donate were men. Therefore, within the group of those who donate, men are higher in number than women. While the average ages of those donate to a charity and those who do not are very close (41 and 42), the proportion of university graduates among donors (25%) is higher than among the individuals who do not donate (13%). Another significant finding is that giving to organizations is lower in urban areas. The proportion of urban residents is 71% among donors while it increases to 83% among non-donors. There is a noteworthy

positive relationship between giving behavior and monthly household income while no relationship is observed with piety (measured by the frequency of performing prayers).

The findings in the Figure 5.38 indicate that giving to CSOs in Turkey is more prevalent among men and those with higher education and income levels. Furthermore, the behavior of giving to organizations is less frequent in urban areas. This may be due to the social pressure in small, rural areas that leads to giving to solidarity organizations.

FIGURE 5.38

**Socio-economic
breakdown of giving
to a charity**

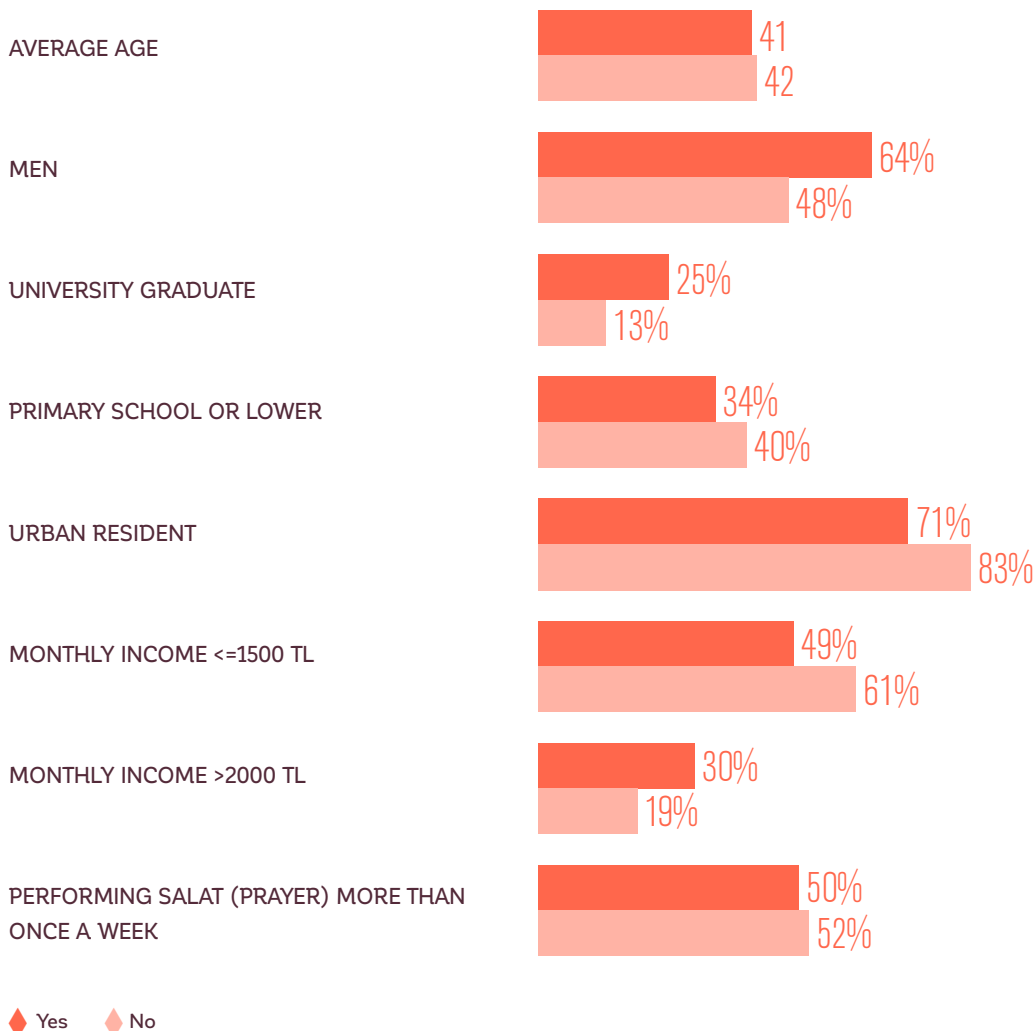
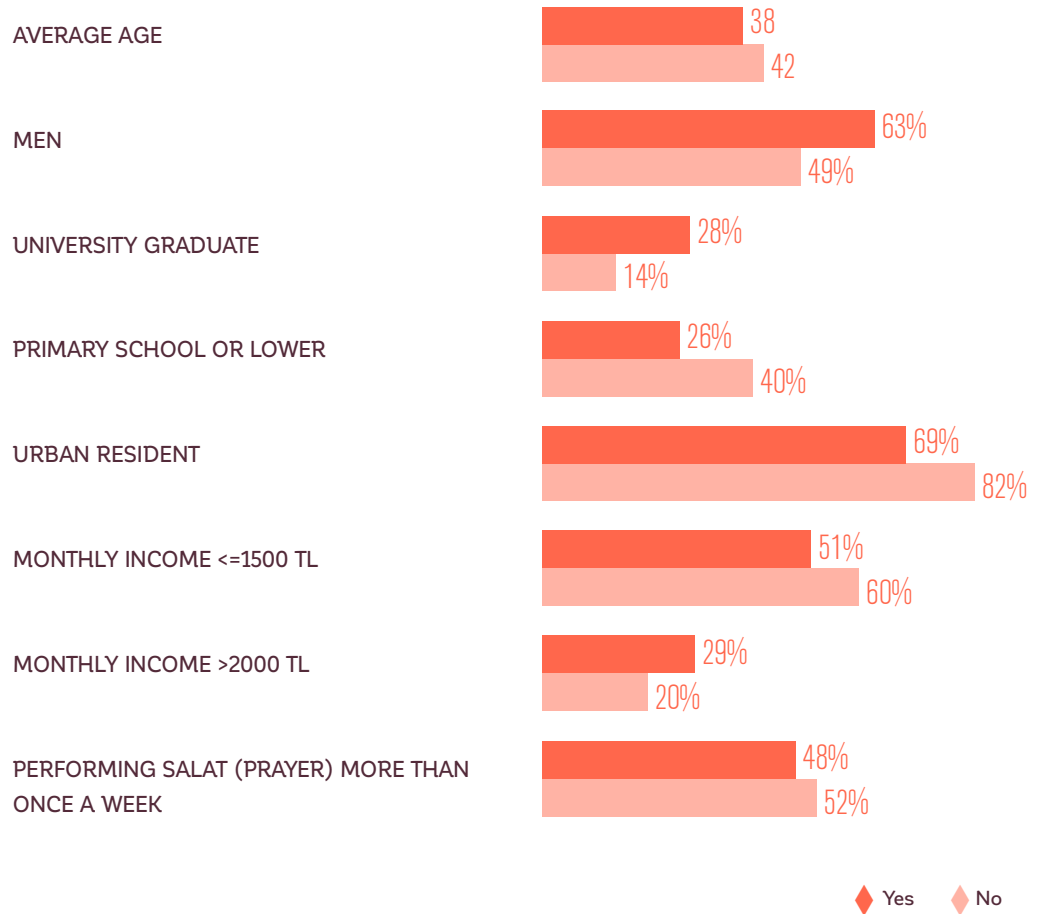


FIGURE 5.39

Socio-economic breakdown of volunteering time for an organization



When we analyze the correlates of “volunteering time for an organization” in Figure 5.39, we observe a similar pattern that is observed in the behavior of giving to CSOs. The proportion of those who spend time for volunteering for an organization is relatively higher among men and those with higher education and higher income. This behavior is less prevalent in the urban group than the rural group. In other words, volunteering behavior is more common among men, those who are educated, relatively young, living in the countryside and with higher income.

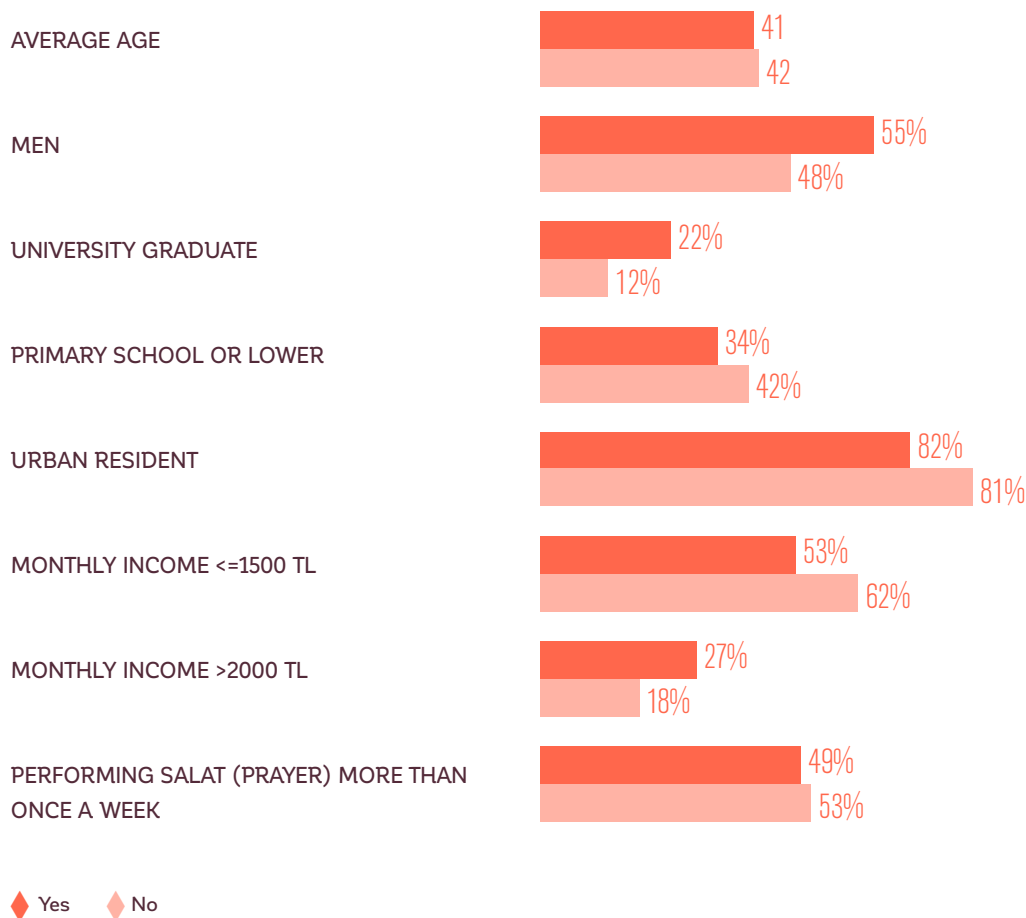
Finally, “helping a stranger” behavior is also more common among men, those with higher education and higher income (Figure 5.40). However, the gap between men and women

here is not as distinct as it was in the previous two behaviors (giving to organizations and volunteering, Figures 5.38 and 5.39). Additionally, when it comes to “helping a stranger” behavior compared to the previous questions there is not a clear distinction between those living in urban and rural areas.

The findings of our research do not paint a positive picture regarding engagement in civil society organizations and giving to CSOs. As of 2015, the prevalence of citizens’ engagement and giving remained quite low. Especially, the proportion of those who give to organizations shows a significant decline in 2015 compared to 2004. Considering the importance of donations in the overall income of CSOs in Turkey, if the

FIGURE 5.40

**Socio-economic
breakdown of
helping a stranger**



decrease in the giving levels continues, it may have an adverse effect on the activities of some civil society organizations.

Reasons for the decline in the proportion of those who give through a civil society organization can be explained with the problems in the organizational structure of CSOs and the difficulties they face in reaching out to public. As will be emphasized below, lack of trust towards organizations and the negative course of the economy obviously play a role in this unfavorable result. Additionally, especially in autumn 2015 when we conducted our research, security was a very significant issue in the country. Since the security concerns were increasing towards November 2015 elections, it is not surprising

to see that limitations occurred both regarding direct giving to those in need and regarding giving through organizations.

Trust plays a major role in the selection of organizations to give. Citizens are more inclined to give to organizations that they or their acquaintances have had a good experience or benefitted from. The majority of those who give to CSOs do not do research about the organizations; they do not express opinions on how their donations should be used and they do not receive activity or financial reports from organizations regarding their activities. Because of these reasons, we come to the conclusion that the mechanisms related to the accountability of organizations do not function at desired levels.

Another finding of the research is that there is a positive relationship between the organizations' recognition, trustworthiness, and level of donations they receive. When we asked citizens which organizations they last donated to, we found overlapping results with the list of organizations that first come to their mind. On the other hand, trust towards organizations that are easily recognized is higher as well. Thus, we can conclude that there is a positive relationship between media visibility, perception of trustworthiness, and receiving donations.

When we explored the giving priorities of citizens, organizations working with various disadvantaged groups were prioritized, while those who work in art, culture and rights-based areas were not. An important question in this regard is to what extent the organizations' visibility and trustworthiness as well as the daily experiences of citizens play a role in these results.

6. CONCLUSION

A comparative analysis of the results of our 2015 and 2004 studies presents an overview of patterns of behavior, perceptions, and attitudes in Turkey regarding philanthropy in particular and civil society activities in general. While Turkish society is rapidly changing and migration from rural to urban areas continue it seems that the influence of social memory and behavior patterns has not completely changed yet. Even though a considerable majority of the population lives in urban areas, a significant portion of these people is only first generation urbanites. It is not possible to assume that diversities in urban life are easily accepted or that cohabitation practices have a solid ground in the cultural space. In Turkey, only one out of ten respondents trusts individuals they do not know. The lack of social capital and lack of trust combined with other findings of the research shape perceptions of philanthropy, attitudes, and finally the behavioral patterns of philanthropic giving. This major trait has remained in place for the past 11 years, and cannot be expected to change in the short-term.

The Turkish society which is already characterized by low levels of social capital has also witnessed unfavorable shocks in 2015 (economic fragility, political uncertainty, security issues, etc.) that have negatively affected giving and philanthropy trends. For instance, relatively more challenging and unfavorable economic conditions in 2015 compared to 2004 appear to have caused a significant decrease both in engagement in civil society activities and giving trends. It is not surprising to see that citizens who do not trust others and who live in a closed social circle have limited engagement in civil society activities. It is possible that political uncertainty and a damaged climate of trust experienced at the time of the research might have affected these trends negatively as well. In September-November 2015, when the household survey for the research was conducted, there was an ongoing economic fragility in Turkey and the practice of living together were threatened by security problems. These circumstances set the background for our research and the societal “state of mind” at the time defined our findings on participation in civil society activities and giving.

Our results show that the duty to address the problems of the poor in Turkey is given primarily to the state. This view seems to have become more prevalent compared to 2004, which is not surprising in light of the current economic problems. The most determining characteristics of philanthropy and giving trends are that they are performed in parochial circles, outside of an organizational framework, in an irregular fashion and directly between donors and those in need. Under the influence of economic challenges, the proportion of respondents who reported direct giving (cash, food, coal, clothing, etc.) to relatives, neighbors or others in need over the past year, decreased to 34% in 2015 from 44% in 2004. Similarly, the proportion of those who reported giving in line with religious obligations over the past year (sadaqa, zekat, sacrifice) decreased by 7 to 12 percentage-points since 2004. Respondents who reported giving to civil society organizations other than membership fees over the past year fell to 13% in 2015 from 18% in 2004. Even though giving behavior is more common among the more educated and high-income segment of society, the overall rates are quite low.

Perhaps the only positive finding is that obligatory giving, which can be regarded as bribing in its true sense, decreased significantly over the past 11 years. This finding is consistent with the results of another research conducted before local elections in 2009 and can be seen as the reflection of an ongoing trend.²⁰ Over the past 11 years, there has also been a decrease in the rate of “petty” or “ordinary” corruption trends that ordinary citizens faced in the public sector. The decreasing trend of requesting payments under the name of a donation as a requisite to get work done in the public sector is a positive and significant development.

20 For this study please see: Fikret Adaman, Ali Çarkoğlu and Burhan Şenatarlar, 2009. Public Services and Corruption from the Eyes of the Household. TEPAV. http://www.tepav.org.tr/upload/files/1271243758r8475.Hanehalki_Gozunden_Kamu_Hizmetleri_ve_Yolsuzluk.pdf

Both the 2004 and 2015 research show that in Turkey philanthropy is mostly understood as giving financial aid to those in need. These donations are made directly to those in need, rather than through an organization. Our findings show that individuals are not necessarily asking for feedback regarding the use of their donations, and this feedback is usually not provided by the organizations. On the other hand, it is observed that respondents are not able to make a distinction between civil society organizations and state-mandated organizations, and that civil society is not seen as an influential actor in addressing existing societal problems. It is worth noting that civil society organizations are mostly perceived as providing social aid and services rather than working on rights-based issues and democratization process. It is evident that these patterns are not conducive for the institutionalization of the civil society sector in Turkey.

The Research findings on the civil society sector in Turkey are thought-provoking. Donations made by citizens to CSOs over the past year have remained at much lower levels than direct giving. As a general observation, it is not possible to say that CSOs are being transparent and accountable. Only 33% of the respondents reported that they receive reports from the organizations that they donated to. Therefore, we can conclude that CSOs are not so active in creating their social support bases, mobilizing them and responding to the donations they receive with providing full transparency and accountability in their activities. In an already negative cultural climate and socio-economic environment, such an attitude becomes a critical obstacle for CSOs to develop their activities and reach the desired influence levels. A gradual decrease in the proportion of those who regard CSOs as influential also supports this view. From this perspective, we can argue that ensuring transparency and accountability is an essential prerequisite for increasing the influence of civil society in Turkey.

Bankalar Cad.
Minerva Han No: 2 Kat: 5
34420 Karaköy-İstanbul
Tel: 0212 243 83 07
Fax: 0212 243 83 05
info@tusev.org.tr
www.tusev.org.tr

TÜSEV
Türkiye Üçüncü Sektör Vakfı
Third Sector Foundation of Turkey