

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF TURKEY AND BRAZIL ON SOCIAL ASSISTANCE POLICIES GROUNDING ON BASIC INCOME

By ESRA ÜNAL

1. INTRODUCTION

The social assistance policies shall be regulated by the central governments as well as the local governments. Especially, if the type of the government is a central one, which is a very complex unit, the State tries to both implement its policies and monitor its projects implemented by the central government and the local government at the same time. Factors which differentiate the policies of the local government from those of the central government are the autonomy, discretion and decision making based on locality for the social policies.

While discussions on social assistance policies are being held from both perspectives of those supporting capitalism and those criticizing capitalism; social assistance policies as part of social policies, shall be regarded as potentials of transforming capitalism, as adopted in a human rights based approach.

The traditional view of government regarding social assistances is that they should not be a right. This approach is also reflected in the government policies of social assistances in kind, rather than in cash. Assistance in kind is purchased through service bids and requires storage and a complicated bureaucratic procedure for distribution which makes it a highly expensive measure. It also gives rise to truly unpleasant scenes, where crowded people formed around foundations seeking assistance in kind. According to Sen, “inadequate income is a strong predisposing condition for an impoverished life” (The United Nations, 1990). An adequate income is necessary to ensure an adequate standard of living, participate in civil, political, economic, social and cultural aspects of community life and access to health care. This is also stipulated by Article 9 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights.

On the other hand, as an alternative to traditional social assistance policies, “basic income” is an income paid by the government to each adult member of the society irrespective of whether the person is rich or poor, lives alone or with others, is willing to work or not; in addition, basic income is granted not only to citizens but also to all permanent residents (Van Parijs, 1995). There is a strong connection between income and access to primary goods. For instance, studies performed by various scholars show that inequalities and poverty have a negative impact on health (Vanderbrought, 2007: 873).

The basic income should be paid to household or individuals. Everyone should have the right to receive a certain amount of money to live.

Comparison on social assistance policies of Turkey and Brazil is very important to understand how a human rights based social justice approach affects the social assistance policies. In Turkish press releases and comparisons made by authorities, Brazil has been compared with Turkey in many aspects, especially economically, socially and politically. In this paper, mainly the shift in social assistance policies of Brazil and their differences from the ones in Turkey will be shown and there will be a discussion on its effects on poverty and the deep inequality in society.

Due to the wide coverage of this paper, the policies formulated by the local governments or civil societies will be excluded, without ignoring the incompatibility of the central government policies with the local conditions. However, it should be noted that, if the central government's policies are ignored or too much emphasis is given to the local governments, then the principles of equality and universality shall be jeopardized (Buğra and Keyder, w. date: 2). Since the universality principle is very important, it should be recognized that localization may erode the belief in equality, since localities may have different levels of funds based on their resources and local revenues. Although these social assistance policies are more in need of local application; the centrally coordinated policies and the policies implemented by the local governments, which are in actual contact with the beneficiaries, can still be distinguished (Buğra and Keyder, w. date: 3). The social policy attempts of central governments are criticized by liberals for the policies tend to lean toward "social engineering". However, it is missed that local authorities are the ones that citizens bring their demands and wishes and they are the ones that interact with the central government directly in discussion of the content of the assistance and social policies regarding poverty and monetary assistances. Thus, indeed, local government is a crucial element for legislation on social policies of central government, however, looking at central government policies is also as important as the local government policies.

2. BASIC INCOME

There are variations of basic income in the world today and the original is the one implemented today in Alaska, United States. In 2008, the citizens in Alaska got the highest basic income so far (BIEN, 2008). This is an unconditional citizen's income given to all as a fundamental right, which might look quite radical, but has been defended by prominent philosophers, and prominent economists including a few Nobel Prize Laureates such as the economist Andrew Glyn from Oxford University. He writes that "basic income is the most

innovative policy encouraging capitalism to be based on a new balance between work and other activities. Such a proposal would involve a recasting of elements of the welfare state in an egalitarian direction which would be extremely worthwhile” (Vanderbrought, 2007: 180-181). The system of basic income will subsidize low paid jobs and people having least freedom will gain freedom.

Basic income’s political debate is not new. British Labor Party introduced it in the 1920s in Britain. Basic income is applied in many countries around the world and there are different versions of it. It is claimed that it realizes social justice in countries like Brazil and Namibia. For instance, the President of Brazil Lula da Silva introduced basic income as “*Renda Basica*” (Citizenship Income). Although now in Brazil, basic income is not implemented as in Alaska, direct cash transfers are granted to households (to the mother of the household) that send their children to school. It is argued that cash gives more freedom and in contrast, concerning the assistance in kind, somebody else decides what the people needs (The World Bank, 2004).

3. COMPARISON OF BRAZIL AND TURKEY

Regarding the comparison of social assistance policies of Turkey and Brazil conducted by respectively their central or federal governments, it should be noted that there are many similarities between Brazil and Turkey economically, socially or demographically.

3.1. Economical Comparison

To begin with, concerning the fiscal indications, despite being ranked as one of the top ten economies in the world, Brazil has always been a Latin American country struggling with crises (Ozanira da Silva e Silva, 2004). Until 2000s, privatization of public enterprises and other economic policies were designed to attract foreign capital exactly like in Turkey. Especially, after 1980, because of its debt and fragile economical structure, Turkey showed a great similarity to Latin American countries and specially to Brazil. In 1967, the motto for Brazil has been “growth is the solution”. Moreover, by 1978, Brazil had attracted over US \$14 billion in foreign investment, 1/3 of which came from the United States. However, the post 1964 Brazilian experience showed that the most rapid economic growth did not automatically reduce social problems; indeed such growth could increase them (Sloan, 1983: 65). The problem with the Brazilian strategy of development was stated by the former President Médici in 1974 as “the economy is doing well, but the poor are doing poorly” (Sloan, 1983: 66). Moreover, as a result of the move to service sectors in Brazil, pursuant to the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (“IBGE”), the level of industrial employment fell by 48% between 1990 and 1999. It led to a deep transformation in the structure of the society, which increased the immigration of many workers and their

families, especially from the northeast region of the country. Inequality and poverty continued to grow within the social structure. Still today, dual economy is an inevitable part of the system, since it is clear that a small part of the society lives in the “first world” conditions, as elites, managers, government officers; but the majority live in poverty. Brazil’s poor population lives in the northeast part of the country like the poor does in the eastern part of Turkey. In Turkey as well, firstly the internal migration started around the 1950s. The “worker surplus” caused by the mechanization of agriculture and the lack of agricultural social policies pushed the people living in the rural areas to the urban areas to find jobs. The first *gecekondu* (shanty towns in Turkey) neighborhoods emerged in the 1950s in Istanbul and this spread to other cities. The lands, where these shanty towns were built, belonged to the state or to foundations. Although the owners of the houses in these shanty towns could be punished, the state stayed quite. There were two reasons for this quietness: (i) these people could be exploited in the industrial areas, and (ii) they also have become the political parties’ potential voters. In 1966, the *Gecekondu Law* (Shanty Town Law) provided the legal ground for the shanty towns of these people. With this law, the State provided electricity and water for these areas. In the 1980s the *gecekondu* areas became important with the population growth and rise of service sector. The one room *gecekondu* became an apartment *gecekondu*. They mixed with expensive apartment buildings like a symbol of the deep inequality in the country. Also, in the 1990s, the number of *gecekondu* renters increased and people started to get rent from renting their *gecekondu* to the new migrants. A big percentage of the people migrated because of the security problems and because of the lack of livelihood in the east of Turkey. Therefore, within cities very big socio-economic integration problem occurred and the unskilled labor that had just given up agriculture and lack of basic education could only secure jobs in the construction sector when they arrived to the big cities. Their shelter conditions were unacceptable. Moreover, the desolated places that migrants had located in the cities like Tarlabaşı in İstanbul, became the homes of purse-snatching, drug dealers, and sex workers.

3.2.Sociological Comparison

In a sociological sense, the middle class of Turkey is as weak as the middle class of Brazil. Especially the underdevelopment Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia is comparable to the case of Brazil. A rapid decline in the rural population of Brazil has been observed and in almost all provinces of Brazil, the rural population stayed as minorities. Moreover, religious based charity organizations were being active such as *Deniz Feneri Derneği* (Light House Association) in Turkey. Starting from 1994, at the northeast and the Rio metropolitan area, Pentecostals and Christian base community members were making

material and social assistances (Mariz, 1994). Formal labor became informal and casual labor, where existing social protection failed to be prevented, became common in both of the countries. The research results of an important think-tank in Turkey, “Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Vakfı” (“TESEV”), “Economical Privileges in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia” examines the case of 21 cities from the region. In 1996, all of these cities were at the bottom concerning the socio-economic development among 76 cities in Turkey and in 2003, the socio-economic situation almost did not change and only 7 cities out of these 21 cities have been socio-economically developed.

3.3. Comparison in Population Growth

Concerning the population growth, both Brazil and Turkey suffer from the problem of over population and a high degree of unemployment and underemployment. Brazil is a very big country with an area of 8,547,403 km² and a population of 198,739,269 inhabitants (World Bank, w. date). Today 26% of the population is below poverty line, where it was 38% in 2004 (World Bank, w. date). Turkey is also one of the biggest countries in the region (especially compared to the European countries) with an area of 783,562 km² and a population of 77,804,122 inhabitants (World Bank, 2010). Today 17% of the population is below poverty line and it was 18% in 2001, that means no concrete development has been obtained so far (World Bank, 2010). Both Turkey and Brazil suffer from related problems such as poverty, illiteracy, lower standard of living and corruption. Population in both countries is diverse. There are 26 States and 5,563 municipalities and one Federal District, where in Turkey there are 3,225 municipalities in 7 regions. In Brazil the gross national income per capita is US \$2,842.36 per person, where in Turkey, it is US \$2, 397.32 per person (Nation Master, w. date).

3.4. Political Comparison

Concerning politics, according to Mario Henrique Simonsens, democracy did not work before 1964 in Brazil because “universal suffering frequently regarded those candidates whose promise to divide resources into parts whose sum is greater than the whole and this led to an excessive emphasis on distribution policies, whose consequences included rapid inflation, external debt, the failure of growth, and social disorder” and for the technocrats democracy becomes demagoguery under conditions of mass poverty (Sloan, 1983: 53). It is also true for Turkey. Poor people in Turkey have always been the pawns of the elite class that are also reflected to the social policies implemented in populist ways such as distribution of washing machines, dish washers or refrigerators for free in the poor parts of the country during the election times.

3.5. Comparison of Social Policies

Concerning social policies, according to Article 2 of the Turkish Constitution Law, one of the characteristics of the State is the “welfare State principle”. This principle legitimizes the intervention of the State to the economic life to achieve the social peace and social justice (Özbudun, 2005: 123). What is meant by welfare state, is explained in the Supreme Court decision of Turkey as: “The state has to fulfill the duties of social justice, social security and human dignity” (Özbudun, 2005: 123). Turkey granted rights to the formally employed and the assumption was that the population would all be covered either because they were formally employed or dependents of such a covered person. However, the structural adjustment programs and globalization conditions have changed this situation dramatically.

In Turkey the municipalities tend to act like brokers of charity. They collect funds and contributions from the rich and distribute them to the needy. This may result from the municipality exercising various pressures on businessmen for them to behave in tune with their perceived social responsibility. In the Studies of Ayşe Buğra and Çağlar Keyder, it is stated that many interviewees from the municipalities had mentioned their relations with the businessmen or factory owners within their districts whom they contacted and asked for donation either by sending the list of poor people (Eyüp Area), by asking to support scholarships for students (Besiktaş Area), by delegating the financing of one evening`s iftar meal during Ramadan (Bağcılar and Şişli Areas) or by providing the food supplies to be distributed from one (or more) of the supermarket(s) in the district as their donation. According to the in depth interviews they conducted, the interviewees were reluctant to describe the mechanisms of donations by businessmen, which were in the form of an exchange of political and regulatory favors against contributions (Buğra and Keyder, 2003: 11).

4. DISCUSSION ON SOCIAL ASSISTANCE POLICIES OF BRAZIL AND TURKEY

Both in Brazil and Turkey, unemployment increased and adaptation of neo-liberal policies led to the rising of informal market economy. Violence increased in big cities of both countries, unqualified workers were not able to satisfy the employment conditions, number of the working children increased and most importantly, poverty increased effecting especially the most vulnerable parts of the society.

4.1. Social Assistance Policies of Turkey

As of social policies, in Turkey, social security system is based on three pillars: (i) social insurances, (ii) social assistances, and (iii) social services. In this paper, only the social assistances will be elaborated.

First of all, in Turkey, social assistance policies are embodied through the Law on Encouragement of Social Cooperation and Solidarity numbered 3294. The objective of solidarity fund is “to help citizens in the state of poverty and destitution, or, when necessary, to help non-citizens who are in Turkey legally or otherwise, to take measures that will enforce social justice by ensuring the fair distribution of income, to encourage social aid cooperation” (The Grand National Assembly of Turkey, 1986). According to this law, Directorate-General of Social Cooperation and Solidarity (“DGSAS”) is the authoritative public institution.

Law on the Organization and Duties of the Directorate-General of Social Cooperation and Solidarity regulates the institution’s framework, constitution, duties and authorizations (Directorate of Social Assistance and Solidarity of Republic of Turkey, 2008). The fiscal resource of the DGSAS is drawn up by Social Cooperation and Solidarity Fund (“SASF”). The Fund Committee decides on the allocation of the fiscal resources. The Committee, which is obliged to meet every month, consists of a state minister, the DGSAS general manager, prime minister’s advisor, domestic affairs minister’s advisor, health minister’s advisor and general director of foundations under law. This is the most effective decision authority for the central government aids (Directorate of Social Assistance and Solidarity of Republic of Turkey, 2008). The SASF is the authoritative institution to execute the decision of the committee. There are affiliates all around the country in the cities and counties. Under Turkish Law they are governmentally operated non-governmental organizations and the committee may request additional resource transfers (Directorate of Social Assistance and Solidarity of Republic of Turkey, 2008). Moreover, in the SASF, it is stated that the aim is to facilitate the reaching of charitable contributions to the needy. Hence, in each sub-district three philanthropic individuals are expected to serve on their boards of trustee (Directorate of Social Assistance and Solidarity of Republic of Turkey, 2008). It is obvious that the state’s charity based mentality continues with respect to the SYDGM.

This fund is a social assistance program, where individuals or households apply to the local *muhtar* (neighborhood heads man) to be considered for eligibility. After this, the case of individual is sent to a district board to be considered. This board often ratifies the decisions of *muhtar* or in rare cases, sends social workers to see the living conditions of the individual or the family. Before the Law regulating the Solidarity Fund Article 8 of Law No. 3294, social assistance was the secondary functions of intuitions like *Kızılay* (which functions as Red Cross in Turkey) and the *SHÇEK* (Turkish Social Services and Children Protection Institution).

There are many weak points of the system of the DGSAS. For instance, *muhtars*, since they are elected by their neighborhood, feel that they are not in position to deny an application even if they feel that the person does not deserve (Buğra and Keyder, w. date: 38). Also the social workers believe that the decisions concerning eligibility should not be left to their discretion. They need clear and formal guidelines, which specify conditions of eligibility. Otherwise, this will erode the trust of the citizens in the effectiveness and formal rationality of the program.

Moreover, the assistance by this fund is inadequate and uncertain. It consists of one-time aid in small cash of 120 Turkish Lira to 150 Turkish Lira (approximately US \$80 to US \$100 in 2010) and food or fuel. In this policy there is no universal coverage or consistency. Fund on Encouragement of Social Cooperation and Solidarity Foundations in the districts cooperate with the district municipalities for the logistic needs and use of depots of municipalities to distribute the coal.

According to the study of Ayşe Buğra and Çağlar Keyder (Buğra and Keyder, w. date: 33), Municipal officials indicated that Fund on Encouragement of Social Cooperation and Solidarity Foundation in the district would send the people in need to the municipality, when it is unable to provide social assistance for these people from the fund itself. Information is also lacking and it is by chance that beneficiaries find out about the opportunity. The beneficiaries also think that the criteria applied are not advertised properly and the decisions are overly discretionary. Concerning the way of the organization of this program, there is no benefit in maintaining the local advantage of this program. Furthermore, there is no attempt to contextualize the decisions or to conduct any discussion with the target population. This unintended effect also weakens the authority of the *muhtar* and the social service experts. Centrally provided this welfare fund should contribute to an understanding as a social right and prevent the emergence of a local charity fund.

Through this fund, as part of the World Bank's Social Risk Mitigation Project ("SRMP"), Conditional Cash Transfer ("CCT") is implemented. The CCT includes pregnancy allowances to poor families, as well as allowances given to poor families on the condition of regular health controls for preschool aged children. Such a policy is implemented throughout the world including Brazil that will be elaborated below as *Bolsa Família* (Family Pocket Money). However, this application is not sufficient in Turkey as the reasons stated above and since the project targets only the poorest 6% of families with young children, and the amount of assistance is extremely low. While it intended that the allowances should be distributed solely on objective criteria and through a strong central

control mechanism, there are different in practice, which reflect the approaches of local administrators. For instance, two of the SYD foundations, the officers told that they refused to hand out pregnancy assistance as they believed that such a practice would increase birth rates (Buğra and Keyder, w. date: 18).

Besides, the Law No. 2022 grants monthly allowances to the elderly and disabled in need still states as condition: “in cases where they have no relatives who can take care of them”. This approach emphasizes that responsibility of taking care of the needy falls primarily on the relatives rather than the public. In fact, Ayşe Buğra and Çağlar Keyder states that during the field researches they conducted several *muhtars* and other residents of poor neighbors stated that there were many elderly who did not receive this allowances because they did not know it, or did not qualify because they lived with their relatives. However, if they had benefited, this would improve the conditions of the poor family and the position of the elderly in the family (Buğra and Keyder, w. date: 16).

The system prescribed by the SYDCM and the World Bank is based on a point-scoring formula that allows for all information on applications to be sent directly to the SYDGM via the internet, which in turn, should prevent local implementers from arbitrary decision-making (Buğra and Keyder, w. date: 16). The purpose of this point formula system is to establish a process that is objective and scientific in selecting beneficiaries. But in practice the process of determining economic conditions varied across provinces and implementers. In some provinces, the SYD foundations maintained more authority in determining beneficiaries, while in others, the point formula system was strictly applied. There are no clear standards for determining how many families and individuals can benefit from the CCT in a province and its sub-provinces. In the interviews conducted, some of the SYD foundation officials said they eliminated certain applications even before entering them into the computer to reach the poorest 6% of the population and while in other provinces, all applications are sent to the center (the capital city of Turkey: Ankara) and the rates of the applicants receiving aid in provinces with the highest rates of poverty reaching 80 to 90% (Buğra and Keyder, w. date: 16-18).

Another project regarding to the SRMP is the KASDEP (Local Incentives Project or Rural Social Support Projects). It consists of income generating projects, employability training projects, temporary community employment, and various comprehensive projects for the development and maintenance of social infrastructure, service centers and community well being. However, similar problems are also present here. Although the micro credit may be quite successful in already existing businesses, these projects are unsuccessful as means of combating poverty. In micro credit policy, if a person cannot pay back, he/she

will also not be able to benefit from the allowances of the SYDGM. Moreover, in the employment projects, there are pre-described jobs for women and men. For instance, traditional women jobs such as craftwork, knitting have been foreseen and new options are not served.

4.2. Social Assistance Policies of Brazil

Brazilian Constitution of 1988 like the Turkish Constitution of 1982, guarantees each citizens definite human rights and according to Article 5 the rights and guarantees under international treaties to which Brazil is a party to, are considered part of the national law and also praised in Article 4 of the Conclusions and Recommendations of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (The Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 2003).

Although both Turkey's and Brazil's Constitutions did not eliminate the inequalities within the countries, in Brazil these clauses of the Constitution are used effectively and dynamically. Both Turkey and Brazil had very disorganized programs. However, Brazil gathered most of them under one policy, which is *Renda Basica* and started to work effectively. The social policies in Brazil are based on constitutional guarantees and human rights based social justice approaches. They prevent people from dying in poverty and show why human rights, especially socio-economic rights are not a mere commodity.

The idea of Income Transfer Programs instead of applying traditional social policies came on the agenda of Brazil in 1991. Senator Eduardo Suplicy's Project was approved in the Senate. He prepared the *Programa de Garantia de Renda Minima* (Basic Income Warranty Program) on a national level. The program targeted Brazilian workers, 25 years old and over, who earned an amount corresponds to the amount of two times of the minimum wage in Brazil (Deep Brazil, 2010).

O Partido dos Trabalhadores (The Workers' Party) administration between 2003 and 2006 implemented previously existing (but was inefficient) "cash-transfer policies" for poverty alleviation. It proposed a cash transfer to families with children going to school and in 2005, this would become a Citizenship Income to all Brazilians and foreign people who resided in Brazil for at least five years. This change started in 2003 with the Luiz Inacio Silva's government human rights based attitude towards public policies. Before him there were federal programs based on charity like in Turkey such as school scholarship, food scholarship, gas aid and food ticket.

To such programs these examples shall be given: Firstly, the Child Labor Eradication Program ("PETI") started in 1996 with the Law No. 9,989 of July and Portaria Ministerial No. 458, of October, 2001 to maintain children between 7 and 15 with monthly US \$5.10 to US

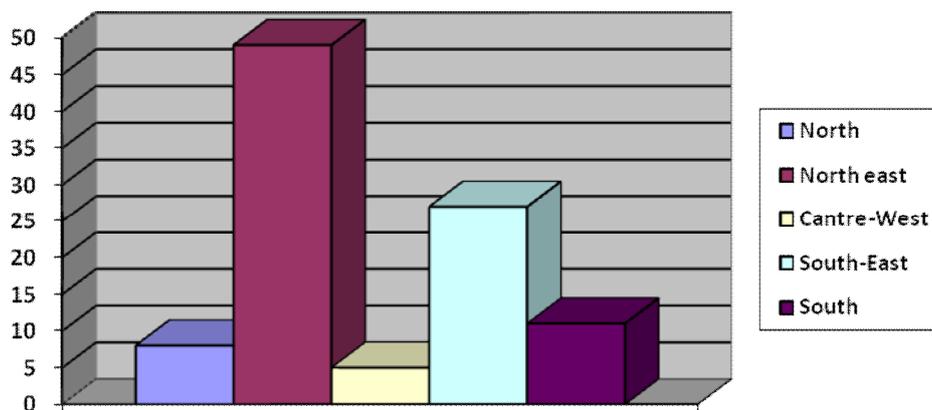
\$15.30 benefits go school. However after 15 years, the family is dismissed from the program. This program does not help to break the vicious cycle of poverty (Ministério do Desenvolvimento Social e Combate à Fome, 2010). Secondly, Continuous Action Benefit was created in 1996 and it was for people from 65 years old and handicapped people who live in families per capita monthly income below a 1/4 of a minimum wage (Ministério do Desenvolvimento Social e Combate à Fome, 2010). Thirdly, *Bolsa-Escola* (Subsidy School Program) resembles assistance programs in Turkey as well. It began in June 2001 in Brazil as a federal program. The families' obligation was to assure that their children between 6 to 15 years attend at least 85% of school year. They get around US \$5.10 per child (but the limit is 3 children) (Ministério do Desenvolvimento Social e Combate à Fome, 2010). Moreover, with the *Bolsa-Alimentação* (Subsidy Food Program), which was created in 2001 directed to poor families' per capita monthly income of 1/2 of the minimum wage with pregnant mothers and undernourished children from 0 to 6 years. The aim was to increase health and nutrition condition in the family. The benefits were around US \$5.10 to US \$15.30 for families with one to three children and a health service (Ministério do Desenvolvimento Social e Combate à Fome, 2010). There were also Gas Aid Program, Food Ticket Program and National Housing Project for Urbanizing the Slums like *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı* (Housing Development Administration of Turkey) ("TOKİ") in Turkey. However, these programs lacked a general coordination and caused waste of resources both in Turkey and Brazil. There were desperations in several ministries. There was lack of budget and the target population could not be reached.

Moreover, both in Turkey and Brazil the populations were unaware (are still unaware in Turkey) of these social programs, access to these social networks was very difficult, it was hard to vocalize the demands, inequality was high, the qualifications of the selection process was not unique, there was a lack of communication between federal, municipalities and the States.

Therefore in Brazil, in January 2004, Ministério do Desenvolvimento Social e Combate à Fome (The Ministry of Social Development and of the Fight Against Hunger) was established by Lula da Silva's Government. The objective of the ministry was to raise the education level and break this vicious cycle of poverty. The income transfer program created by the federal government is implemented by the Brazilian municipalities. There has been a noted decline of poverty rates starting from 2003 as an evidence of success of this program (IBGE, 2008).

The corner stone of this new era is *Bolsa Família*. This program has been proposed to unify the past social policies and started in 2004. It is created under the *Secretaria Nacional de Renda de Cidadania* (National Secretariat on Citizenship) in Ministry of Social Development by the Law No. 10, 836. The central administration's policy namely, *Bolsa Família* is implemented in all of Brazil's municipalities. It delivers benefits to more than 11 million households in *Cadastoro Unico* (National Registry for the Poor Households). The figure below shows the *allocation of Bolsa Família* with respect to the data in 2005.

Bolsa Família in 2005 on the Basis of Territory (Beck Fenwick, 2009: 123)



For instance, today, in São Paulo, the largest city in Brazil, there are 178.590 families enrolled in this program (Ministério do Desenvolvimento Social e Combate à Fome, 2010). Families with monthly income below 1/2 of the minimum wage per capita (which is 200 Reis) and with children from 6 to 15 years as long as they are going to school, have the right to receive this.

After this policy, it is observed that there is a greater presence of the children in the school, a higher economic activity in the neighborhood, since the families started to spend their extra income where they live in, higher economic opportunities and diminishing of the criminal violence. For instance, people living in the neighborhood of *Ladeira dos Tabajaras* (a *favela* in Rio de Janeiro) claim that with this policy they could send their kids to school and themselves can look for a work or go to work. Indeed, during my field trips, there were no kids around in the working hours (except the schools and the community centers), as in contrast with the situation in Turkey.

Starting from 2008, the Ministry of Social Development started to implement two more integrated strategies for children between the ages 15 and 17. One is expansion of the age coverage of the fund for teenagers continuation of their studies. Secondly, *Projovem*

Adolescente (Pro-Youth Teen) strengthens the relations between the teenagers and their families (Ministério do Desenvolvimento Social e Combate à Fome, 2010).

Fome Zero (Zero Hunger) has also been adopted by the Lula Administration (Ministério do Desenvolvimento Social e Combate à Fome, 2010). It was an old fashioned and ineffective program. It consisted of food handouts and subsidies to local food production and financed by the administration and by the private donors. Although in Zero Hunger Policy there is no explicit reference to human rights, a human rights approach is adopted at this time, since the vulnerable groups are identified, discriminations are addressed and the responsibility of the state is accepted to coordinate the appropriate interventions. It shall be said that there is great sensitivity towards human rights in this policy in here as well.

Finally Organic Law of Food and Nutrition Security (“LOSAN”) is another program, which needs to be addressed in term of human rights based policies towards maintaining social justice, by Law No. 11,346, starting from September 15, 2006 (Ministério do Desenvolvimento Social e Combate à Fome, 2010). The aim of the LOSAN is to guarantee the human right to adequate food. It includes policies aimed at improving family agriculture, and facilities to access food.

5. COUNTER ARGUMENTS AND ANSWERS

There are mainly four counter arguments against these relatively new policies of Lula administration. These can be divided as: (i) Ethical concerns, (ii) engineering concerns, (iii) concerns regarding quality, and (iv) economic concerns. These arguments will also be raised in Turkey. Therefore it is necessary to address them.

First of all, concerning the ethical concerns, it is assumed that these policies might lead people to laziness and open new inequality traps. Secondly, concerning the engineering concerns, it is claimed that mistakes in these programs designs of faulty implication could cause mechanical failures in the projects themselves such as the failure of zero hunger program in Brazil before 2003. Thirdly, quality concerns stipulate that these policies do not affect the quality of the educational and health systems. Finally, for the economic concerns, it is claimed that the economy should not carry the burden of all these people.

However, the scenes of humiliation that form an integral part of the general picture of social assistance prepares the ground for such statements as assistance turns people into beggars, these people do not work and have gotten used to asking for assistance. Even one of the principles of the SYD foundation director stated that the systematic cash transfer provided by one single unit of administration could be useful in changing this situation (Buğra and Keyder, w. date: 22). In my opinion, Turkey can and should initiate the concept of basic income. Basic income is a concept that needs to be taken seriously. In

contrast to the oppositions, by this way, the children will be able to enjoy their right to education, the people will enjoy right to health, right to food in summary, the right to development and their self respect. This decreases child labor for the next generations and the system shall be simplified by managerial costs, clientelistic practice, which are very common both in Turkey and Brazil.

In my opinion the best answer to the concerns above would be the facts. In Brazil since 2004, 13 million people have been raised out of poverty. Furthermore, 30 million have moved up into the emerging middle class (Biato, 2009: 2). According to development economist for the International Institution for the Labor Studies Naren Pasad, Brazil “managed to reduce income inequality by around 2%, and at the same time increase employment by around 2% per year and generate economic growth” and Brazil’s focus on social policies such as *Bolsa Família*, is the key component of the successful development (Miller, 2009: 1). Moreover, gini coefficient of Brazil fell from 0.59 in 2001 to 0.53 in 2007 (Hailu, 2009: 1). By basic income, a right-based approach to social protection has established a direct relationship between citizens and the government.

6. CONCLUSION AND POLICY SUGGESTION

Turkey and Brazil have been compared in many aspects; especially in economical, social and political senses. However, the shift in social assistance policies of Brazil and incorporation of differing conceptions of social assistance from the ones in Turkey created a sustainable social progress in Brazil. The experiences of both “developing” countries; Turkey and Brazil have shown that a common platform towards which poverty targeting social assistance shall be basic income.

As a recent development in Turkey, the Democratic Society Party has proposed a Draft Law to the Turkish Assembly the “Citizenship Income Draft Law” (“Draft Law”) on February 13, 2009. In this Draft Law’s reasoning concerns such as the disconnection of social assistances in Turkey, their openness to abuse, duty of the social state and desires of an approach based on human rights are discussed. The Draft Law has almost the common criteria with slightly differences from the one in Brazil. Its target is the people having monthly income less than 1/3 of the monthly minimum income in Turkey and there will be a Fund of Citizenship Income under the Social Security roof. However, it is not limited with the number of the children. Even the families having children more than 5 years old can be granted and it foresees a gradual distribution according to the development levels of the parts of the Country on yearly basis. This Draft Law is in the Commission of Planning and Budget and Health, Family, Work and Social Affairs Sub-commission as of February 26, 2009.

However, from the Brazilian experience, it is clearly seen that only the basic income is not enough. Education, health, civil and political rights and the most importantly the policies that are pro-self-esteem are needed. If such policies grounded on human rights based social justice approaches are applied like in Brazil, the target to reach the social justice and a just society will be achieved.

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