

PHILANTHROPY IN TURKEY:

CITIZENS, FOUNDATIONS AND THE PURSUIT OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

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Türkiye Üçüncü Sektör Vakfı
Third Sector Foundation of Turkey

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EDITORS

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Foreword

This publication marks the culmination of a two year research initiative undertaken by TUSEV (Third Sector Foundation of Turkey) to understand and measure the potential for social justice philanthropy in Turkey. This study was part of a larger effort supported by the Ford Foundation to encourage philanthropy in Islamic societies. Similar studies were undertaken by research institutions in 5 other countries, including India, Indonesia, Egypt, Tanzania, and the United Kingdom. Prof. Abdullahi An’Naim of Emory University provided the intellectual leadership for the initiative, which aimed to “explore the ways of mobilizing, organizing and facilitating philanthropic activities in Islamic societies in support of local social justice initiatives, so as to promote sustainable material and human resources for the empowerment of internal initiatives for social change and broader popular participation in development” (An-Na’im and Halim, 2003, p:1).

The particular nature of the Turkish philanthropic landscape necessitated a far-reaching research effort in order to be able to provide a comprehensive layout of the sector. Historical roots, Islamic traditions, legal frameworks under transition, and current practices by individuals and foundations combine to form the unique setting of Turkish philanthropy today. Coordinated by TUSEV, the research team included Prof. Murat Çizakça (Bahçeşehir University), Assoc. Prof. Ali Çarkoğlu (Sabancı University), Prof. Davut Aydın (Anadolu University) and Assoc. Prof. Fatoş Gökşen (Koç University). The research is composed of four critical dimensions, each meant to uncover the current state of charity and philanthropy in Turkey, to examine the range of challenges and barriers facing Turkish foundations, and to explore the potential for greater social change philanthropy. Thus, the chapters contained in this publication offer a perspective on the past, a snapshot of the present, and a vision of the future for philanthropy in Turkey, and makes an attempt to understand the following: Which critical needs and challenges facing Turkey today are foundations positioned to respond? What are the motivations and priorities of donations made by individuals, and what role do they ascribe to philanthropic institutions? Do these institutions undertake a ‘charitable’ approach, or one more oriented toward the promotion of social justice? To what extent can philanthropic endeavors be directed to support meaningful social change?

Charity in its traditional sense offers only short term solutions to immediate needs, whereas social justice philanthropy addresses the root causes of problems, often tackling issues of inequality and the distribution of power. While there will always be a role for charity as a remedy for basic and immediate needs, intractable problems such as poverty and inequality require comprehensive solutions and strategies. What this study conveys is an important need to focus on bringing individuals and foundations further along in supporting and undertaking social justice causes and efforts.

As the first comprehensive research initiative on philanthropy in Turkey, this publication adds a great deal to furthering our understanding and broadening our vision of individual and institutional giving. The analysis contained here offers the promise of a new beginning, acting as a first step towards stimulating deeper research on the intersection of social change and the role of foundations in Turkey. We hope that foundations take up the challenge of self-examination and find ways to lead Turkish citizens towards a most just and hopeful future.

Prof. Dr. Üstün Ergüder
Chairman of the Board, TUSEV

Preface and Acknowledgements

*“Coming together is a beginning.
Keeping together is progress.
Working together is success.”*

Henry Ford

On behalf of Third Sector Foundation of Turkey (TUSEV), I express our gratitude to Ford Foundation for inviting us to be a part of this important initiative, and for their support in this endeavor. We are particularly grateful for the guidance of Christopher Harris, Senior Program Officer at the Ford Foundation.

The ardor of our research team made this project a great success. We are thankful to the authors for contributing exceptional studies, and for their flexibility and openness during the editorial process.

The research team at TUSEV was part of a global team of partners from Egypt, India, Indonesia, Tanzania and United Kingdom, under the guidance of the Global Advisory Board. We appreciate the supportive environment they created throughout this project.

This publication could not have been made possible without the direction and support TUSEV’s Executive Board and Trustees, the editorial and administrative support of TUSEV staff and numerous others who contributed to this final product (listed in the inside cover). We would also like to acknowledge efforts of the field surveyors and the valuable time of respondents in answering lengthy surveys. Without their contributions this study could not have been realized.

We present this book with the hopes that it will inform and inspire a new generation of donors and foundations to support social change and development in Turkey.

Filiz Bikmen
Executive Director, TUSEV

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Author Biographies

DAVUT AYDIN

Davut Aydın, graduated with distinction from Eskişehir Academy of Economic and Business Sciences in 1972 and started his assistantship at the accountancy chair the same year. Between 1974-1977, he completed his masters degree at Boğaziçi University, on Finance-Accountancy. In 1978, he received his doctorate with a thesis titled A Study on Financial Institutions from the perspective of Intermediate Financial Institutions (The Existing Situation in Turkey in the period 1963-1975). He became an associate professor in 1984 and a professor in 1992. Davut Aydın has many studies, articles and presentations especially on foundations.

ALİ ÇARKOĞLU

Ali Çarkoğlu is currently an associate professor at the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at Sabanci University, Istanbul. He received his Ph. D. at Binghamton University-State University of New York in 1993. His areas of research interest include voting behavior, political parties, political economy of informal sector and corruption, water conflict and regional development issues in Turkey and the Middle East. His publications appeared in the Middle Eastern Studies, Political Studies, European Journal of Political Research, Turkish Studies, New Perspectives on Turkey and Electoral Studies. He regularly teaches courses on Turkish politics, comparative political parties and interest groups, formal modeling, research methods and statistics.

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Murat Çizakça is currently a full professor at the Faculty of Management at Bahçeşehir University, Istanbul. He received his Ph.D at the University of Pennsylvania in 1978. He has done extensive research on Ottoman economic history, comparative history of business partnerships, history of philanthropic foundations in the Islamic world, Islamic banking and economics. He has published, in English and Turkish, six books and 45 articles on the above. He has been a fellow of the Institute of Advanced Studies in Berlin (Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin, 1997-98) and is currently a member of the Scientific Committee of the Datini Institute of Economic History in Prato, Italy. On 1.10.1997, he has been acknowledged as "Internationally Recognized Scholar" by the Turkish Higher Educational Council. He regularly teaches courses on economics, business and financial history, history of civilizations and economics.

FATOŞ GÖKŞEN

Fatoş Gökşen received her PhD in Mass Communications from the Annenberg School for Communications, University of Pennsylvania. She worked for Center for International Health and Development Communication and World Health Organization. Her research interest are women, literacy, health and media, environmental sociology, and social justice and civil society. She published several articles on health communication, political economy of environment, and environmental attitudes and behavior in Turkey. She currently teaches in the Sociology Department of Koc University.

Glossary

The following terms are found interspersed throughout the text. Definitions were derived from glossaries in the following sources: Çizakça, Murat. A History of Philanthropic Foundations: Islamic World and the West, with Specific Reference to the Ottoman Archives (Istanbul: Boğaziçi University Press, 2000), T.C. Başbakanlık. 5231 Sayılı Dernekler Kanunu ve Vakıflar Kanun Tasarısı Taslağı. (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık, 2004), Ballar, Suat. Vakıflar Sözlüğü. (Istanbul: Türk Kardiyoloji Vakfı, 1994)

Evkaf-ı Hümâyün Nezareti - Central Foundation Administration (CFA) established in 1826 by Sultan Mahmud II.

Fetvâ - Opinions, response, on a point of Islamic law.

Fitre - Donations and aid given to the poor by those with the means to do so during the time of the religious holidays.

Gayr-i sahih - Foundation financed by public revenues and composed of state assets whose purpose must be charitable.

Hadis, hadith - The sacred sayings of Prophet Mohammed.

İcâre-i tavîle - Long term property rental contract.

İcâreteyn - Ottoman double rent endowments.

Mazbut vakıf- Ottoman era foundation for which there are no descendants of the original founder or trustees. Mazbut foundations are administered by the GDF.

Müfti -A specialist who gives an authoritative opinion on Islamic law.

Mülhak vakıf - Ottoman era foundations whose descendants do exist and are under the supervision of the GDF but administered by the descendants.

Sadaka - Donation made in the name of Allah, the object given in return for sevap.

Sadaka –i cariyye - Donation given constantly.

Sevâb, Sevap - Rewards for deeds done in the name of Allah and the Prophet Muhammed.

Vakıf Or waqf in Arabic, Foundation.

Vakıflar Bankası - Public bank which was originally financed by the assets of Ottoman era foundations.

Vakıflar Genel Mudurlugu (VGM) - General Directorate of Foundations (GDF), responsible for administration and regulation of foundations in Turkey. Linked to the Office of the Prime Ministry.

Zekât - One of the five pillars of Islam. Compulsory alms meant to be given to the poor by those who have wealth. Required to pay 2.5% of the value of cash, gold, silver and property holdings as part of one's zekât and fitre.

Executive Summary

Philanthropy in Turkey: Citizens, Foundations and the Pursuit of Social Justice

Executive Summary

Filiz Bikmen

INTRODUCTION

Recent discourse regarding the advancement of social justice has generated debates on the role of philanthropy, civil society, and the extent to which funds are allocated to promote societal change. Thought leaders assert that resources are more likely to create lasting change and a more just society when allocated toward initiatives which address the root causes of social ills rather than only its symptoms.¹ This approach, often juxtaposed to ‘traditional charity’, is referred to as ‘*social justice philanthropy*’. Not surprisingly, its definition remains elusive and perhaps controversial. The Independent Sector developed an explanation to achieve more clarity and shed further light on the term (see **Box 1**).

The Ford Foundation has taken this issue in among its priority focus areas, asserting that funders in the US and abroad should be doing more to support initiatives with a social justice perspective. Among their objectives to further this often conceptually-based debate is ‘*legitimize social justice philanthropy by developing a stronger analytic capacity and literature on the field*’². According to data put forth in an article by Christopher Harris at the Ford Foundation, foundation assets in the USA have increased, yet giving for causes related to civil rights and social action³ absorbs less than 2%⁴ of overall grantmaking. And of the 60,000 foundations, the 10 largest funding this issue area account for about one-third of all funding. This and other similar research has spurred a wave of new initiatives to get more US foundations to take on more social justice funding.

Looking beyond the US, the Ford Foundation has supported a number of efforts to examine this issue in an international context. This particular study on Philanthropy in Turkey was born out of a larger effort to examine social justice philanthropy in Muslim societies. Launched in 2003, Turkey was one of the six countries (others being Indonesia, Egypt, Tanzania, India, and the Muslim community in the United Kingdom) to concurrently undertake this research with an aim to 1) Examine motivations and patterns for individual giving and foundations’ allocation of resources and 2) Assess the extent to which these funds were allocated for social justice causes.

This study was particularly valuable for Turkey in terms of content and timing. As the first quantitative and wide scale study on philanthropy and foundations in Turkey, this study helped to place this topic on the public’s agenda. Its timing was also appropriate, having been undertaken during a period of important change for foundations and civil society organizations. Propelled significantly by Turkey’s future EU aspirations, substantial social and political reforms have enabled civil society and steadily increased its value as a critical vehicle in pursuit of a more just, participatory,

¹ Miner, Andrew. “Change or Charity” *Alliance Magazine*, September 2004. Harris, Christopher. “The Social Justice Gap”, *Ford Foundation Report*, Summer 2003.

² Harris, Christopher. “The Social Justice Gap”, *Ford Foundation Report*, Summer 2003.

³ A category of grants defined by the Foundation Centre.

⁴ *Foundation Yearbook and Foundation Giving Trends*, The Foundation Centre, 2002.

and democratic nation. Yet as this and other recent studies⁵ reveal, this new frontier has brought with it respective challenges, among them the plight for mobilizing broader support of individuals, and greater investment for endeavors which advance social change and justice. As such, this study not only helped to build analytic capacity and expand literature; it provides important insights, and paves the way for an informed debate on the future of giving, civil society and social justice issues, and how to more effectively organize philanthropy for social, economic and democratic development in Turkey.

BOX 1. SOCIAL JUSTICE PHILANTHROPY

Social justice philanthropy is the granting of philanthropic contributions to nonprofit organizations that work for structural change in order to increase the opportunity of those who are the least well off politically, economically and socially.

It includes the following broad categories of activities:

1. Researching root causes of social problems (like poverty, its implications, discrimination, lack of access to politics, public policymaking and the economy).
2. Communicating and disseminating this information to the public, with a particular emphasis to reach those who are direct victims of social problems.
3. Strengthening new or existing social movements that work for social, political and economic equity through:
 - Grassroots activism through the mobilization of disadvantaged and disenfranchised groups;
 - Creating networks or alliances among social justice groups;
 - Community organizing toward increasing opportunity and redistributing socio-economic power;
 - Technical assistance – including broad development, inclusion of constituencies and democratic funding processes – for social justice nonprofits;
 - Economic development that increases the socio-economic opportunities of disadvantaged and disenfranchised populations;
 - Labor organizing that increases the rights and opportunities of disadvantaged and disenfranchised groups;
 - Environmental causes that ensure that disadvantaged groups are not disproportionately affected by harmful environmental practices,
 - Peace and reconciliation programs that seek to understand and address the causes of conflict;
 - Advocacy and lobbying to enact changes in government policies, regulations, and programs affecting disadvantaged populations.
4. Protecting and enhancing the legal rights of those who are marginalized in society or discriminated against.

Source: Independent Sector, www.independentsector.org

⁵ *Civil Society in Turkey: An Era of Transition* CIVICUS Civil Society Index Report for Turkey, TÜSEV Publications, Istanbul, 2006.

Philanthropy in Turkey: Citizens, Foundations and the Pursuit of Social Justice is a collection of four studies. It examines this matter in a multi-faceted perspective including the historical origin of foundations from the Ottoman Era, their re-emergence during the Turkish Republican Era, an assessment of their organizational/ programmatic dimensions, interactions with beneficiaries and relations with the state. The household survey provides a deeper understanding of individuals' motivations, patterns of giving, and perceptions regarding philanthropy and charity.

KEY THEMES

Taken together, the synthesis of four independent yet harmonized studies reveals the following main themes:

Restrictive legislation and excessive government oversight has negatively affected the philanthropic spirit and role of foundations in Turkish society. This emerges as a dominant theme across these four studies. Foundations were an invaluable source of support and a remarkable mechanism for channeling private wealth for public benefit during the Ottoman Era. Regrettably, the demise of the Ottoman Empire and challenges of the emerging nation-state of the Turkish Republic had negative ramifications on state policies regarding foundations. This shift drastically changed the once vibrant foundation sector into one encumbered with restrictions and excessive oversight, a trend which continued with many peaks and troughs over the past 80 years. However, the publication of this report coincides with the prospect of progress. As of November 2006, the Turkish Grand National Assembly (Parliament) approved a new law. If ratified, this law could overturn a legacy of restrictive policy, and greatly improve conditions for foundations and their relationship with the state.

Foundations face critical institutional weaknesses and do not employ a social justice philanthropy approach in their program. Another common theme emerging from this collection of studies is the institutional weakness of foundations, and their tendency to focus on providing charitable assistance and services rather than helping to advance social justice. The impact of restrictive legislation and policies appears to be among the main factor which has stifled their ability to build and expand financial, management and programmatic capacity. As a result we see a foundation sector which has been closed off and unable to expand and re-invent itself. This study reveals that foundations do not have an orientation toward social justice philanthropy and instead tend to address development needs one person at a time, in a more traditional charitable paradigm. It also suggests that institutional weakness in some respects prevents foundations from moving forward with new approaches to advancing social justice.

Individuals in Turkey are helpful and charitable, and indicate a proclivity for giving directly to others rather than making donations to civil society organizations. Similar to foundations, they prioritize causes which meet immediate needs rather than targeting long term social change. A third key theme reveals that individuals in Turkey view and practice their philanthropy much like foundations do. They are helpful and willing to give, but the amounts are small and not planned. While individuals express a high regard for social justice, this seems to have no impact on the choices and motivations for giving. In fact, while individuals express confidence that foundations and civil society organizations can make a positive contribution to society, they themselves are not keen to participate and support such activities. Instead they prefer to give directly to individuals rather than through foundations or other civil society organizations (just as foundations in Turkey tend not to be grantmaking). Yet when they do give to a

foundation or civil society organizations, they have a preference for causes that target individuals rather than furthering social justice.

CHAPTER SUMMARIES

Each of the four esteemed authors which contributed to this report has a unique background of expertise, including political science, sociology, economics, and history. Their respective chapters are summarized below.

In the first chapter ‘**Economic Dimensions of Foundations in the Ottoman Era**’, **Murat Çizakça** presents a historical overview of the origins of foundations and a rich account of their role, and puts forth several key themes which link the past to the present.

Perhaps one of the most frequently underlined facts about foundations in the Ottoman Era was their role and invaluable contribution to society: *“... in an age when insurance as an institution was unknown, rudimentary insurance for the members of a guild or an urban district was provided; infrastructure projects such as bridges, roads, ports, lighthouses, libraries, water conduits, aqueducts, public fountains and pavements were built and maintained; in short practically all the services one can expect to have in a civilized society, save defense, were financed, organized, built and maintained by this system.”*

In discussing the origins and motivations of establishing foundations, Çizakça highlights the prominent influence of religiosity and faith: *“Consequently, establishing a foundation was considered a means to obtain salvation in the hereafter and it was this religious motive, which prompted Muslims to establish so many different foundations in response to a bewildering variety of social needs observed locally.”* Çizakça also highlights relationships between the state and foundations: *“...during the classical age of the Ottoman Empire, the state and the foundation sector cooperated with each other. This cooperation took the form of tax exemptions as well as direct financial support provided by the state.”*

However, these cooperative relationships underwent a significant shift over time, leading to increased government restrictions and controls on foundations. Çizakça notes the implications of this change on both the nature of foundations and their role in delivery of social welfare: *“... the growing pressure applied first by the Ottoman and then the republican state on the foundation system, and the transformation from the private foundation system to state provided services meant that the responsibility of social welfare was assumed by the state. Several Islamic countries, primarily Egypt, pre-revolutionary Iran and Pakistan followed similar policies and undermined their own foundation systems after the First World War (Çizakça, 2000).”*

In summary, Çizakça underlines the importance of building on this important heritage of foundations, and ensuring the operational and economic health of the sector in the future. Çizakça also suggests that foundation law reform and a more enabling environment will be critical in building a more viable environment for philanthropy in Turkey.

In the second chapter ‘**Foundations in the Republican Era: A Historic Overview and Financial Analysis of Tax-Exempt/Public Benefit Foundations in Turkey**’, **Davut Aydın** presents an overview of the major changes to the foundation sector brought about by the establishment of the Turkish Republic, followed by an in-depth financial analysis of tax-exempt foundations. The study relies on balance-sheet and revenue tables of 135 tax-exempt public⁶ and private foundations for 2000, 2001, and 2002

⁶ There are a total of approximately 4706 foundations in Turkey, of which 3667 are established and managed by private citizens and the rest by the state. Of 4706 foundations, only 215 have been able to gain public benefit status, an additional endorsement provided by the state which allows for certain tax benefits.

obtained from the General Directorate of Foundations (GDF, the regulatory authority for foundations in Turkey).

Building on the Çizakça chapter, Aydın presents an account of the significant changes in the foundation sector during the establishment of the Turkish Republic, discussing the key legislative and regulatory reforms undertaken during this period, such as: *“Adjustment of the ban on selling foundation property, increase of provincial spending authority to avoid the destruction of foundation heritage, abolition of the rule preventing foundation movable and immovable assets to be rented for more than 3 years, and transfer of school buildings and plots to the Ministry of Education and Provincial Administration in accordance with the Unification of Education law.”*

Aydın then presents detailed analysis of the financial characteristics of this sample of foundations and highlights several striking outcomes:

- **Foundations are financially vulnerable:** *Inflation is a critical factor in the erosion of foundation equity capital.*
- **Implications for better tax benefits:** *Share of donations and aid to total tax revenues is extremely low for both public and private foundations.*
- **Expenses exceed income:** *25 % of foundations spend more than their revenues.*
- **Distribution of Assets:** *50 % of the total assets of the foundations are in the form of liquid assets. Of these, the most significant asset item is bank accounts. A small number of foundations own a majority of the total assets in the foundation sector.*

In summary, Aydın notes a critical need to re-examine the concept and practice of asset requirements for foundations, which is meant to ensure financial sustainability yet is currently under great threat. He suggests three major policy issues for consideration: 1) ‘Old’ (pre-republican) and ‘new’ (post-republican) foundations’ legislation and regulation should be taken up separately, 2) Tax reforms should create incentives for giving and social investment, and aim to strengthen support for the foundation sector and 3) Development of financial management and accounting / reporting systems (internationally standard).

In the third chapter **“A Qualitative Profile of Foundations in Turkey”**, author **Fatoş Gökşen** shares the outcomes of a rich, in-depth analysis of 30 face to face interviews conducted with foundation managers in different cities of Turkey. Gökşen aims to understand foundations’ organizational and financial structures, stated aims versus actual practices, relationships with the state, beneficiaries, other members of the third sector and international agencies. In addition, this study reveals foundation managers’ perceptions of “philanthropy”, “social justice”, and “civil society”.

Gökşen’s results point to a number of conclusions, many of which overlap with the outcomes of both Aydın’s financial analysis and the survey research with foundation managers undertaken by Ali Çarkoğlu in Chapter 4.

Regarding management structures, Gökşen observes *“a very homogeneous group related to the members’ occupations, backgrounds or political positions. Almost all directors are university graduates and are financially well-off members of the community.”* In terms of establishment, Gökşen observes what researchers in this overall study also highlight in their papers, which is the issue of multiple founders: *“Multiple founders in the establishment stage were almost a norm in the Turkish foundation environment. Fiscal regulations that require a considerable capital accumulation at the set up stage of these*

organizations made it necessary for several founders to come together to be able to finance the foundation.”

Gökşen highlights the issue of financial management in foundations and observes that “the overwhelming evidence of ad-hoc financial structures and weak, unstable financial resources, preventing foundations’ ability to generate resources and deploy them effectively.”

When discussing foundations’ stated aims versus actual practices, Gökşen claims “... official aims of the foundations as stated in their by-laws are more in line with a philosophy of philanthropy which stresses systemic change and seeks to address the root causes of problems. However, when the actual practices and services of foundations are examined, most practices and services are short-term and charity based, directed at practical solutions to daily problems, which may in some cases be related to political motives.”

With regards to relationships with the state, Gökşen concludes “this appears as one of the most complicated issues facing foundations... Autonomy and positioning including clientelistic relationships are two major areas in which foundations find themselves quite unsure as to how to situate their exchanges with the state.”

Gökşen’s account of respondents’ perceptions of “philanthropy”, “social justice”, and “civil society” indicates different views on foundations role and positioning: “This vagueness in the definition of civil society is very clearly reflected in the perception of civil society by foundations. Civil society is often identified with charity and to a certain extent with the provision of social services. Interestingly enough some respondents do not view foundations as an element of civil society”.

In summary, Gökşen concludes “...together with pluralistic and democratic systems of governance and the revival of old forms and also drawing on some international experience, foundations in Turkey have been trying to create new models blending traditional structures and modern forms of organizations and financial management... All the ambiguities observed in the structure, relationships and services of foundations mostly derive from the ambivalent relations between the state and civil society, the Islamic tradition of charity, questionable practices of citizen participation, and the legal environment, which together amount to a special philanthropic culture.”

In the final chapter of this publication, “**Trends in Individual Giving and Foundation Practices in Turkey**”, **Ali Çarkoğlu** presents the findings of survey research on individual giving (via a broad survey of 1536 voting age citizens) and foundation managers (via a survey of approximately 500 foundation managers) in Turkey.

In the first section, Çarkoğlu presents the results of a survey which examines two dimensions: i) Individuals’ attitudes, perceptions and practices regarding philanthropy and civil society, and ii) attitudes regarding social justice, social capital and religiosity. According to Çarkoğlu, individuals are keen to help the needy, but view the state as the primary entity responsible for this cause. Individuals attribute little role to civil society organizations in this capacity, yet on the other hand they express confidence that civil society organizations and foundations can make important contributions to society. Though individuals are generally philanthropic, the amounts they give are small, and overall participation in civil society (as a member, donor, or volunteer) is very limited. A majority prefer to give directly to individuals in need, which Çarkoğlu notes as ‘parochial’ and limited in terms of helping broader communities and society. In looking at attitudes toward social capital, religiosity and social justice, Çarkoğlu highlights that levels of trust and tolerance (two of the three measures of social capital) are

generally low, while attitudes indicate a high regard for social justice (egalitarianism, wealth distribution, etc.). However Çarkoğlu notes no correlation between individuals' high regard for social justice values and their patterns of giving. In spite of their high regard for social justice, individuals display almost no inclination to donate to causes addressing human rights, the environment, and social and economic development.

The second segment of Çarkoğlu's discusses the outcomes of a survey conducted with foundation managers. This study reveals insights about foundation structures, management practices, activities, programs and relationships with beneficiaries and the state. Parallel findings to Gökşen's qualitative assessment and Aydın's economic analysis of foundations strengthen the outcomes of Çarkoğlu's study. As noted above, foundations have great challenges with the restrictive legal framework with regards to all aspects of foundation operation; from establishment and asset management to fundraising, and international relationships. A striking outcome is that a majority of foundations in the sample were established with an average of 35 founders, indicating the changing nature of foundations which in the past were established mainly by individuals and families. Foundations are increasingly a mechanism for groups of organizations and individuals to work together, rather than a vehicle established for the sole purpose of channeling private (individual) wealth for public good. This also indicates a decreasing number of mainly philanthropic foundations (sources of funding) and an increasing number of operating / fund- raising foundations in Turkey. Foundations report undertaking programs which target needy individuals rather than projects which address community or societal issues. As indicated in Aydın's study, Çarkoğlu's study reveals that foundations have a very limited asset base, and an even more limited income base. They rely greatly on donations from individuals, and a very small number have income generating activities. Çarkoğlu concludes that the foundation sector in Turkey is operating under capacity, and with very limited financial, human and technical capabilities. He notes that it would be difficult for foundations in Turkey working under these conditions to adopt a social justice perspective with regards to their objectives.

CONCLUSION

The third sector is undoubtedly becoming one of the main convergence points and vehicles for change as Turkey undergoes a significant era of social and economic development. Traditions, culture and religion clearly provide an important basis for philanthropic endeavors. Yet new perspectives and mechanisms can help direct charitable intentions toward investments in social justice and lasting change. The essential 'next step' in this trajectory is to use the insights from this study to shape the future of the philanthropic sector that will include a broader base of participation, more support, and increased effectiveness and impact to address the root causes of social and economic injustices in Turkey.

