

CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY PROJECTS FOR EDUCATION IN TURKEY WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PRIVATE SECTOR AND NGOs

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Abstract

This study handles the social responsibility concept which has become important as a result of minimal state policies, emerged after social welfare state. The state, which has lost its protectionist and inclusive characteristic over public sphere, has remained useless in satisfying basic human rights such as health or education paradoxically, while continuing with its taxation function. The responsibility area of the social welfare state has become smaller together with the globalization. Besides, these fields in which enormous gaps of service exist have offered new profit opportunities to companies through privatization. Health and education services carried on by present public bodies are becoming more and more dependent on money. Class inequalities are more common in the countries like Turkey. Therefore, education stands out as the basic social welfare fields. The private sector who adopts corporate social responsibility is conducting various projects collaborating with Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs). In this study, a descriptive analysis based on the corporate web sites of various NGO's, is performed with a critical perspective. As a result, rather than their limited contribution to the social life, social responsibility projects in the field of education bring added value to the private sector as an output of corporate public relations.

Key words: Corporate social responsibility, education, NGOs.

Öz: Özel Sektör ve STK'lar Arasındaki İlişkiler Bağlamında Türkiye'deki Eğitim Amaçlı Kurumsal Sosyal Sorumluluk Projeleri

Bu çalışmada, sosyal refah devleti sonrası ortaya çıkan minimal devlet politikalarına bağlı olarak önem kazanan sosyal sorumluluk anlayışı ele alınmıştır. Kamusal alan üzerindeki kapsayıcı ve korumacı özelliğini yitiren devletin, vergi toplama işlevine devam ederken paradoksal olarak, sağlık ve eğitim gibi temel insan haklarına ilişkin ödeolarını yerine getirmede işlevsiz kaldığı görülmektedir. Sosyal devletin geniş sorumluluk alanı, küreselleşme politikaları ile küçülmüştür. Buna ek olarak, büyük hizmet boşluklarının doğduğu söz konusu alanlar, özelleştirme yoluyla şirketlere yeni kâr olanakları sunmaktadır. Mevcut kamu kurumlarınınca yürütülen sağlık ve eğitime yönelik hizmetler de gitgide paralı hale gelmektedir. Özellikle Türkiye ve benzeri ülkelerde, sınıfsal eşitsizlikler çok daha yoğun olarak yaşanmaktadır. Bu nedenle eğitim en temel sosyal yardım alanı olarak öne çıkmaktadır. Kurumsal sosyal sorumluluk anlayışını benimseyen özel sektör kuruluşları, Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları (STK) ile işbirliği yaparak çeşitli sosyal yardım projelerini hayata geçirmektedir. Bu çalışmada, eğitime yönelik çeşitli Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları'nın kurumsal web sitelerinde yer alan bilgilere dayanarak, eleştirel

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bakış açısıyla betimleyici bir çözümlene yapılmıştır. Sonuçta, eğitim alanındaki sosyal sorumluluk projelerinin toplumsal yaşama yaptığı sınırlı katkıdan çok kurumsal halkla ilişkiler çalışmalarının bir çıktısı olarak şirketlere katma değer sağladığı görülmektedir.
Anahtar sözcükler: Kurumsal sosyal sorumluluk, eğitim, STK'lar.

INTRODUCTION

'Social welfare state' has turned into a 'minimal state' by transferring public sources to companies in the new world system. States have lost most of their 'social' characteristics due to the globalization policies. Regarding Turkey and similar countries, which are dependent on developed economics, this situation leads to greater problems. In Turkey, making investment in training issues, which is one of the basic human rights, has become impossible upon dissolution of social state.

Vast area of responsibility, left by the state, has been conveyed away to the voluntary cooperation of the minimal state, private sector and non-governmental organizations. Thus, volunteerism principle has replaced obligation.

In this study, the transition process from social welfare state to minimal state is examined and the usage of social responsibility concept by the private sector is discussed as a means of corporate public relations tool. Basic goals and activities of major non-governmental organizations, carrying out educational projects in Turkey, have been scrutinized and a descriptive analysis is made through a critical lens. The intention is to reveal that such projects are very insufficient to provide fundamental solutions to educational problems and they contribute solely to the improvement of corporate image.

From Social Welfare State to the Minimal State

The concepts of social welfare state arose so as to reproduce and improve the internal market in the period following the Second World War. Nation-state that took its form with the policies of Keynesian economics has assumed the role of organizing the market in national scale in the formation of distribution of income and aggregate demand.

As Acı (2005: 36) states:

The arrangements of a state depending on demand management in many underdeveloped countries have included such forms of intervention as providing indirect incentive, encouraging private companies to make higher investments by playing with the interest rates, and if necessary making investments using public means. Furthermore, the state has animated the demand on one hand by redistributing the income through arrangements called social wage such as minimum wage, social security, union rights, education and health services free of charge and on the other has complied with the arrangements that bring about the integration of working class with the system.

As a result of the failure of Keynesian economic policies followed until the early 1970s, the system went through a crisis starting with the developed countries. The crisis affected underdeveloped countries much more unfavorably; foreign exchange shortage and cash budget deficit caused a

dramatic increase in the foreign debts as a result. The organizations such as IMF (International Monetary Fund) and World Bank which were founded after the Second World War by the developed countries, put into effect new 'reform' policies for underdeveloped countries so as to collect the debts.

As Acı (2005:73) puts it:

These reforms will expand the economies of underdeveloped countries to foreign market starting the integration process with rapidly internationalizing financial, commercial and instrumental capital, and encompass a series of structural regulations, restricting union activities, reducing the wages, privatization, deregulation and cutting down social expenditures of the state holding the first place.

Underdeveloped countries have turned to export oriented production policies leaving internal market oriented import substitution for industrialization. Production for outside market has been given priority and the demand in the internal market has been made narrower. As a result of structural adaptation and stability programmes carried out by the name of austerity policies, the state has repressed wages of the workers as well.

The neoliberal approaches aiming at the reduction of government expenditure and development of private sector, reshaped the state in order for it to make technological, economic, political and legislative rearrangements which will ensure the free movement of capital. "Today, the reign of capital is more absolute than ever and in many parts of the world social conditions are reverting back to 'those of the 19th century'" (Petras and Veltmeyer, 2001: 45). The traditional role of social state in

public sphere was minimalized in this world of companies. In the speech he made on the oath-taking ceremony in 1981, the ex-president of USA, Reagan stated his attitude towards social state with the following sentence: "The state can not solve our problem in the crisis we are passing through currently; the problem is the state itself" (Wu, 2005: 86).

Function of the market friendly minimal state is determined in accordance with corporate policies. Today, heads of states and government officials attend international meetings together with CEO's representing giant companies of their countries. Serving the companies' interests, the minimal state has left the policies for the wealth of wide masses of people. As August Bebel (1879) stated "the spirit of social solidarity and mutual interest is destroyed by the present system".

The minimal state system which anticipates distribution of public duties among structures such as private sector and NGOs, adopts that social responsibilities should be fulfilled with the principle of volunteerism rather than with a sense of responsibility. Imposing taxes on wide masses directly or indirectly, suppressing the home demand by determining wage policies in favor of private sector, the minimal state represents the capitalist globalization.

Mishra (200:36) states that:

Globalization limits the capacity of nation-states to act for social protection. Global trends have been associated with a strong neo-liberal ideology, promoting inequality and representing social protection as the source of 'rigidity' in the labour market. International organisations like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund have been selling a particular brand of

economic and social policy to developing countries, and the countries of Eastern Europe, focused on limited government expenditure, selective social services and private provision.

The initiative role of social state related with its responsibility in the fields of health, education and art has been rendered obscure by being distributed to various actors in the companies system. The primary role of these actors conducting corporate social responsibility projects with volunteerism principle consists merely of applying an 'alms-giving perspective' anticipated by companies order for the citizens of the minimal state.

What is Social Responsibility?

The word 'responsibility' is defined as a concept relatively attributed to persons. According to the dictionary of Turkish Language Association, responsibility is "a person's assuming the results of his own attitudes or any event that is under his province" (TDK Turkish Dictionary, 1988: 1328). Ali Püsküllüoğlu, however defines responsibility as follows: "The state of giving account when necessary of the works one has to do or has done" (1994: 955). According to the Grolier Webster International Dictionary, 'responsibility' is the state of being responsible; capability of making ethical and moral decisions (Grolier Webster Dictionary, 1975: 818).

When we look at all of the three definitions given above, it can be understood that responsibility renders a person morally obliged for his actions. When we assess the concept in the corporate basis, necessity to do one's work in conformity with the code of ethics arises. When we conceptualize the business code with the term 'ethics', it should be understood that a job is done in conformity with some specific criteria, standards

and moral understanding in effect. For instance, a minister including his son's company in the public tenders misusing his authority or a company knowingly jeopardizing the environment and human health during production is in violation of today's ethical norms.

In liberal extremists' contemplation, responsibility is a concept relating to a company's drawees to which it is directly responsible to. Milton Friedman (1970) claims that only people can have responsibilities; a corporation which is seems an artificial person may only have artificial responsibilities; however 'business' as a whole cannot be said to have responsibilities, even in this blurred sense. According to Friedman, a corporation with its function of acquiring profits is responsible to its absolute stockholders. If corporations are trying to achieve other socially desired aims without maximizing profit, they cause a heavy tax burden on their stockholders to which they are directly responsible.

Socioeconomic approaches brought about against extremely liberal approach which discusses corporate social responsibility outside of social dimension allege that it is necessary for business world to be responsible to the whole society.

As L'Etang (1999: 85) states:

Corporate responsibility's twentieth-century incarnation originated as an American practice and was subsequently adopted in Britain and Europe. The practice was stimulated by the idea that affluent companies could well afford charitable donations to those less well off in society. The sense of obligation was nourished by social activists in the 1960s and 1970s, many of whom criticized the role of large corporations and power elites in society

and argued that political and economic justice could only be achieved through a redistribution of goods and power. These sorts of arguments tend to promote an idea that increased power should bring with it increased responsibility and an obligation not to exploit or take advantage of individuals and small communities.

According to Kitchen (1997; 129), companies are part of society in which they operate and they need to consider their corporate behavior as part of their role in society:

Peach assesses the responsibility of companies under three levels: (Kitchen, 1997: 129)

Level One: Basic

- pay taxes
- observe the law
- deal fairly

Level Two: Organisational

- minimize negative effects
- act in the spirit of the law

Level Three: Societal

- responsibility for a healthy society
- help remove/alleviate society's ills.

The concept of 'mission' found in corporate enterprise literature may be defined as humane and social commitments of a company relating to its profession. The ethical obligations these commitments bring to the company is fulfilled with the support of social responsibility actions. These are within the course of public relations activities done so as to create a good reputation in public esteem. These kinds of activities are done voluntarily and do not have an objective of profit. According to Grunig (1992) corporate responsibility and excellent public relations balance the private interests of the organizations with the interests of publics and of society (cited in L'Etang, 1999: 86).

The concept of corporate social responsibility is different from the concept of 'benevolence' in that it is shaped in line with corporate aims. Put another way, social responsibility as for the company is especially one of the ways of achieving corporate aims and serves to the interests of the corporation.

The chief ethical criteria anticipated for corporate social responsibility actions are as follows (Sorumluluğun Kadar Kurumsun, 2003):

- 1) not to realize any profit from the work directly or indirectly
- 2) to respect the social benefit of the work
- 3) not to turn the compulsory advertisings of the work into an advertisement activity in no way
- 4) to contribute not only in cash but also with persons and ideas to the activity
- 5) to include the widest section of the society and NGOs in the activities, and accomplish the most widespread cooperation.
- 6) to turn this understanding into a culture within the company and not to do the corporate social responsibility activity 'so as just to do.

In public relations literature, Grunig and Hunt clearly see corporate responsibility as central to practice of public relations at a strategic level, they also identify a separate role for public relations in identifying organizational responsibilities. According to L'Etang (1999: 94) it appears that the authors recommend a limited stakeholder-only model of corporate responsibility for primarily practical and self-interested purposes rather than normative and idealistic reasons.

There are criticisms like 'social responsibility practices are done so as to hide the unethical commercial activities of companies'. Which one is important: to be good or to do

something good? Good activities of companies do not always show that they are good. Prepared by United Nations who wants companies to make a promise towards the society, Global Compact, focuses on the concept of corporate citizenship. Relative value of corporate social responsibility practices depends largely on the importance given to the criteria of corporate citizenship.

Global Compact and Social Responsibility Projects as a New Competitive Field

The call for sign to the Global Compact was first made in January 31, 1999, during the World Economic Forum in Davos by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan. The global compact projects which the institutions of the United Nations, unions and NGOs support, actually draw attention to the problems caused by the companies order, and ask the companies to take care of the human and workers rights, to be responsive to the ecological system and to stop malpractice. The main principles of Global Compact, which is prepared to improve the concept of responsible corporate citizenship, are as follows:

Human Rights

Principle 1: Businesses should support and respect the protection of internationally proclaimed human rights; and

Principle 2: make sure that they are not complicit in human rights

Labour Standards

Principle 3: Businesses should uphold the freedom of association and the effective recognition of the right to collective bargaining;

Principle 4: the elimination of all forms of forced and compulsory labour;

Principle 5: the effective abolition of child labour; and

Principle 6: the elimination of discrimination in respect of employment and occupation.

Environment

Principle 7: Businesses should support a precautionary approach to environmental challenges;

Principle 8: undertake initiatives to promote greater environmental responsibility; and

Principle 9: encourage the development and diffusion of environmentally friendly technologies

Anti-Corruption

Principle 10: Businesses should work against all forms of corruption, including extortion and bribery (Unglobalcompact, 2007).

106 of the world's 500 largest companies by market capitalization are Global Compact participants (source Financial Times Global 500 ranking). The economic and social impact of this group of companies is immense, with direct employment of close to

10 million employees, market capitalization of approximately USD 4.9 trillion, and revenues of approximately USD 3,5 trillion recorded in 2005. (Unglobalcompact., 2007) By its nature, capitalism converts the sense of social responsibility to money as well. Within this context, together with the shares of the companies in stock exchange, preferability of their products and services rise, too. Investors are benefiting from making investment in the companies endeavoring in a positive way in social responsibility and demanding new devices to make investments (Argüden, 2002: 57).

As Argüden (2002) states, the world's leading index provider, Financial Times and the London Stock Exchange (FTSE) is guiding other investors and consumers with FTSE4Good that is designed as a social responsibility index. A commercial index, FTSE4Good evaluates social responsibility performances of companies. FTSE4Good inclusion criteria cover the following areas: (Argüden, 2002: 57).

- Working towards environmental sustainability
- Developing positive relationships with stakeholders
- Supporting universal human rights.

In the atmosphere of severe competition, the companies that can expand their profitability only by creating difference are using the social responsibility area for their own corporate interests to this end.

The Foundational Goals of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) Working on the Field of Education in Turkey

In this section, the goal of major NGOs giving support to education in Turkey, as declared in their official websites, will be issued and evaluated.

The primary goal of Sabancı Foundation (VAKSA) of Sabancı Holding, providing scholarship for approximately 1000 students every year, 200 TL (approximately 0,13 \$) per month for a 9 months period between October and June, is as following: "to provide a broad range of services to the public and the youth, and to undertake 'some' obligations of the government by contributing to the social and cultural development of the country" (Vaksa, 2007).

It can not be said that this foundation, stating that it has provided scholarships for

nearly 30.000 students (not approximately 1000; an average of 940 students a year) since 1974, its inauguration year, has provided a 'broad' range of activities as stated in its statement of goal. Sabancı Foundation (VAKSA) regards education as the duty of a state, and implied that it will assume 'some' of the responsibility. It is striking that the words 'broad' and 'some' are used together in the same statement of goal. More than 1 million children start in life every year in Turkey without being educated. As for the girls, 29 per cent of them do not have the chance to attend school. Only 5 per cent of the total workforces are university graduates (CEV, 2007).

When we look at the amount of scholarship provided by VAKSA and the number of students who are getting paid, it can easily be observed that an insignificant part of the requirement is met 'partially'.

The Educational Volunteers Foundation of Turkey (TEGV), founded in 1995 with the leadership of Suna Kırac (second generation representative of Koç Holding) explains its reason of existence as follows: "To contribute to the basic education delivered by the state." (TEGV, 2007). The Educational Volunteers Foundation of Turkey (TEGV) implements projects in the areas of personal development; social life; language, art, communication; history, geography, culture; science and technology for extracurricular time. For this purpose it educates children between ages of 7-16, who come to these well equipped education places with their own will, with its own volunteers. These activities are sustained thanks to the contributions of donors. It is declared that within the course of the projects implemented under the main sponsorship of private sector corporations such as Garanti

Bank, Pfizer, Lafarge and Deniz Bank, 300 thousands of children have been provided with extracurricular education in 8 years (Düşler Atölyesi, 2007)

The 'well equipped education places' created by The Educational Volunteers Foundation of Turkey (TEGV) function as an oasis in a big desert. The projects implemented in the illiteracy desert in which the average education span is 3 years per head (Selçuk, 2006: 2) bear a fake meaning. At this point, the foundation should question its reason of existence and reconsider to whom the 'contribution' to the basic education that 'can not be delivered' by the state is of higher value.

The Turkish Education Foundation (TEV), among the Trustee Committee of which stand some well-known businessmen such as Bülent Eczacıbaşı, Ömer Dinçkök, Aydın Doğan, Ömer Koç, Şank Tara, states that it has provided 142.736 students with scholarships since its foundation in 1967 (TEV, 2007). When we divide this number with 39 years, it is understood that approximately 3660 students are reached every year. And now, let's have a look at the mini-table below to see the amount of money allocated to these scholarships explained for 2006:

Primary-Secondary education	80 YTL/month
Undergraduate	200 YTL/month
Graduate	350 YTL/month
Postgraduate	600 YTL/month

Table 1. Money allocated to the scholarships in 2006
1 USD = ~1,50 YTL
Source: TEV, 2007

The Ministry of Education declared that the number of students in primary and

secondary schools for 2004-2005 academic year is 13,604,833, and based on the 2003-2004 academic year data, it has been stated that the number is 2,073,428 in higher education (MEB, 2007).

In the light of these data it can be observed how 'generous' is the foundation towards primary and secondary education where the student population is concentrated. In parallel with the diminishing numbers of students as the level of education rises, the level of 'generosity' rises as well.

The Turkish Education Foundation (TEV) defines the 'lucky' students who can take this opportunity to win this 'great' scholarship in its goals as: "talented but economically disadvantaged". The same sentence goes on like this: "To support the youth that will contribute to our country and humanity, and the educational systems working to educate such people" (TEV, 2007). As if not knowing the catastrophic situation of Turkish education system today, hoping to succeed in such high goals with some symbolic scholarships provided to those talented but economically disadvantaged youngsters is incompatible with rational thinking.

The Association in Support of Contemporary Living (ÇYDD), which has recently been working in cooperation with TURKCELL in its frequently mentioned project 'Contemporary Girls of Contemporary Turkey' aiming to reach 5000 female students, explains its objectives as follows: "To protect and develop the rights obtained by the reformation and principles of Atatürk, and to attain the modern human and the modern community through modern education". In accordance with this main objective, The Association in Support of Contemporary Living (ÇYDD)

states that it gives voluntary but professional support of education, organization and enlightening to the society in the issues that the state can not reach or is not sufficient, with its experienced, hard working members adhered to his principles (CYDD, 2007)).

Contributing to education in 81 provinces of Turkey and providing scholarships to more than 16 thousands students of primary and secondary schools, the Association in Support of Contemporary Living (ÇYDD) is a long way off contributing to the solution of the main infrastructure problems of education in spite of its sincere efforts. "The issues that the state can not reach", as stated in its foundational goal, should in fact be understood as the state does not reach them owing to its own political preference. It does not seem possible that the gaps left by the state be filled with such kinds of projects as long as they are not created by a political will.

Current Education Projects Conducted with the Collaboration of Private Sector and NGOs in Turkey

Neoliberal policies anticipate that NGOs, called as the third sector, should fill in the gaps left by the diminishing state.

Acı (2005: 84) states that:

The first sector represents general and supplementary budgets and the public sector which fulfills the public services connected with the municipalities and other public budgets; and the second sector represents the profit making private sector which constitutes the base of economic power. In this respect, the third sector is composed of NGOs such as foundations, associations and civilian initiatives that contribute to voluntary participation of individuals to the

realization of basic social services which constitutes the public sphere.

As stated in the preceding section, most of the NGOs (VAKSA, TEGV, etc.) are founded by the partners or managers of giant corporations representing the second sector. It is known that these kinds of NGOs have organic relationships with founding companies and a great portion of their resources comes from the companies of the groups in question. These kinds of NGOs which have the legal right to collect donations receive support by either going into project collaboration with other private sector corporations, or implementing campaigns for charitable citizens. On the other hand, some NGOs such as the Association in Support of Contemporary Living (ÇYDD) founded by the intellectual opinion leaders, is supported by both private sector corporations and charitable citizens in project terms. One of the most important tools for prestige of private sector, social responsibility projects are conducted in collaboration with specialized NGOs. In this respect, it will be useful to evaluate some of the contemporary social responsibility projects going on in collaboration with the second and third and sometimes even the first sectors by numbering them briefly:

a) The purpose of the education Project named 'small steps, grand future' carried out in collaboration with Ministry of Education, Procter&Gamble and Community Volunteers Foundation (TOG) is determined as "to enable the children at the age of primary and secondary education to grow up with the awareness of social responsibility". (It will not be inappropriate to regard this as a project conducted in the aim of loading the

social responsibility to the children, instead of the state.)

b) Within the context of Brand 2006, in collaboration with Yürekli Education Consultancy, Mother Child Education Foundation (AÇEV) and the main sponsor Yapı Kredi World, '2006' children are provided with preschool education support. In addition, it is expected that people will donate to AÇEV for the Project. (2006 children owe a great deal to the year 2006, there are 1000 children to be glad that we are not in the year of 1006 and to be sorry that we are not in the year of 3006.)

c) SIF Automotive, the Turkey representative of JCB- Branded working machines, gives scholarships to 50 vocational high school students selected with the collaboration of ÇYDD throughout their education life. (Remembering that vocational high schools offer an education life of two years!)

d) With the collaboration of HSBC, ÇYDD and Bogazici University Foundation, 1100 students with inadequate means are provided with scholarships. In this campaign it is stated that each 500 abstracts will meet the scholarship need of a student with the slogan of "every abstract taken just via e-mail will contribute to education" (Kurumsal Sosyal, 2007) (It meets the need for scholarships, though it does not meet the need for education! Furthermore; to what extent does it cover the mail expenses of HSBC?)

e) It is stated that since the year 2000, with the Project of "Snowdrops" 10.000 students have been provided with scholarship; and since 2002-2003 academic year within the second stage of the Project, it has been

started to offer scholarships to the students which passed the university entrance exam. In the third stage of the Project, with an action carried out by Turkcell jointly with TED College İstanbul and ÇYDD, 26 'Successful Snowdrops', selected from Siirt, Şanlıurfa, Van, Batman (relatively underdeveloped cities of Turkey) and Bolu after certain exams, has been attending to TED College İstanbul for three years. (While a great number of children are sidelined because they do not have humane living conditions, miraculous successes are awarded! In addition, getting scholarships is not enough for the "snowdrops" to be a part of the social life. According to Bourdieu, education for sustainable development should also cultivate within students the 'need' to live sustainable (cited in Karol, 2006:9). It is also possible for them to become isolated among their friends coming from relatively wealthy families by feeling the class distinction much more.)

On the other hand, the Law No: 4842 has enabled the beneficients to have 100% of their expenses counted as attributable expenditure. (MEB, 2007). This situation significantly alleviates the tax burden of the corporations, while multiplying the loss of tax of the state as much.

The Role of the Social Responsibility Projects in Solving the Problems of Education

The provision that nobody can be deprived of the right of teaching and schooling takes place in Turkish Constitution. According to the studies of OECD, it is determined that in Turkey, among the youngsters between the ages of 15-19, 44.3 % of the girls and 22.6 % of the boys are not attending a school. Nearly half of the girls and quarter of the boys are deprived of the education right. (Gençler Ne Çalışıyor, Ne Okuyor, 2006)

This situation indicates that a great majority is not attending school especially after elementary education. According to a report titled 'The Higher Education Strategies of Turkey' launched by Higher Education Institution (YÖK), though 50 students of every 100 nominees at the age of highschool graduation take the university entrance exam, merely 10 out of those can pass the examination. In addition, 7 students out of these can register for the school, only 3 of them can complete their university education and 2 of them can find a job. (Yüzak, 2006:13).

In practice, social responsibility policies of the minimal state system cause the social exclusion. Social exclusion is defined in the Social Work Dictionary as the "marginalization of people or areas and the imposition of barriers that restrict them from access to opportunities to fully integrate with the larger society" (Barker, 2003:403). Thus it can be argued that the source of social exclusion lies in the structured inequality of the labour market and the state, which disadvantages particular groups in society" (Morris,1994, cited in Power 2006:2). Indeed, majority of young population can be named as 'disadvantageous particular groups' in Turkey. On the other hand, according to the human development indicators published by United Nations (UN) in the year 2006, Turkey ranks 92nd among 177 countries with medium human development level. Cuba, as a socialist country, ranks 50th in the same ranking by having a statue of high human development countries (UNDP, 2007).

Education indicators such as proportion of adult literacy, the percentage of registration to primary, secondary and high schools have

been regarded as human development criteria. According to these numerical facts, it can be said that there are significant deficiencies in the field of education in Turkey. However; it is out of the question to supply these deficiencies by the collaboration of non-governmental organizations and private sector, taking the data given in the table below into account.

Sources of Financing	Total Amount of Expenditure	Percentage
Central Government	13.062.138.408.263.000	64,81
Local Administrations	141.042.192.628.948	0,70
Natural and Legal Persons and Establishments	313.006.080.551.370	1,55
Household	6.620.064.983.244.140	32,85
International Sources	18.956.004.037.845	0,09
Total	20.155.207.668.725.300	100,00

Table 2. Turkey's Amount and Distribution of Education Expenditures According to Sources of Financing in 2002

Source: TÜİK, 2007

Despite their inconsiderable contributions (1,55%), natural and legal persons and establishments creates an illusion among the public as if they had the main roles in solving the education problems by using successfully the marketing communication techniques. The 'Snowdrops Project' earned ÇYDD and Turkcell the prize of 'Excellence Awards' for the high social sensitivity it bears from Institute of Public Relations (IPR) which is one of the defenders of the neoliberal globalization policies. The fact that there are 480.000 girls not acquainted with education in Turkish Republic as it is stated in the official records (Kardelenler, 2007), raises our doubts about this prize. According to an old Turkish tradition, the one who helps the poor does conceal his

identity! However; today those who make donations make their identities public on all occasions because they want to take the advantage of these donations.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The reason why the state has reached a level that requires relief is that public sources have been transferred to companies via privatizations. The transformation of the social state into a minimal one has caused most of the citizens to become deprived of the fundamental human rights such as education and health. The contribution of private sector to these fields is minimal. IMF has been exerting pressure intensely on Turkey to reduce the current public expenditures of the minimal state much more. The purpose of the projects carried out by NGOs and some other charitable projects supported by the government is not to undertake the duty of the state, but to contribute to it. In actual fact, the magnitude of the area that the state leaves empty trivializes the contributions made. The minimal state forsakes its social responsibilities as it serves to private sector more than it does to public.

In this context, while such nominal contributions made by the name of social responsibility projects to education, make a

splash among the public, actually they serve the maintenance of the prestige of the private companies which is the life insurance for them.

The NGOs, which are consciously or unconsciously adopted by the intellectuals of the neoliberal society, have become the means of confession for the capitalist system. The NGOs serve the capitalistic globalization process as more recessive actors than the social democratic parties which are the symbols of a social welfare state period. From the Second World War until 1970's, the social welfare state concept was one of the illusions that capitalism has used. However, today, in terms of the social responsibility projects that the companies carry out through the NGOs, capitalism has put forward the notion of governance as a new means of illusion. The NGOs cooperating with the Ministry of National Education of the government applying the IMF policies are indirectly supporting the transfer of the public resources to 'socially responsible' corporations. Consequently the tax loads of the companies who put their contributions in the loss section of their balance sheets have considerably been decreased. As a result, this kind of support legalizes social exclusion rather than ensures equal opportunity in education.

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