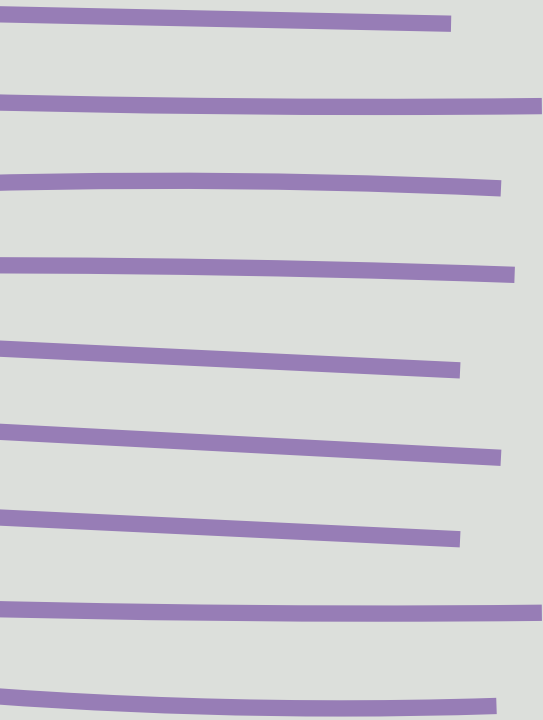
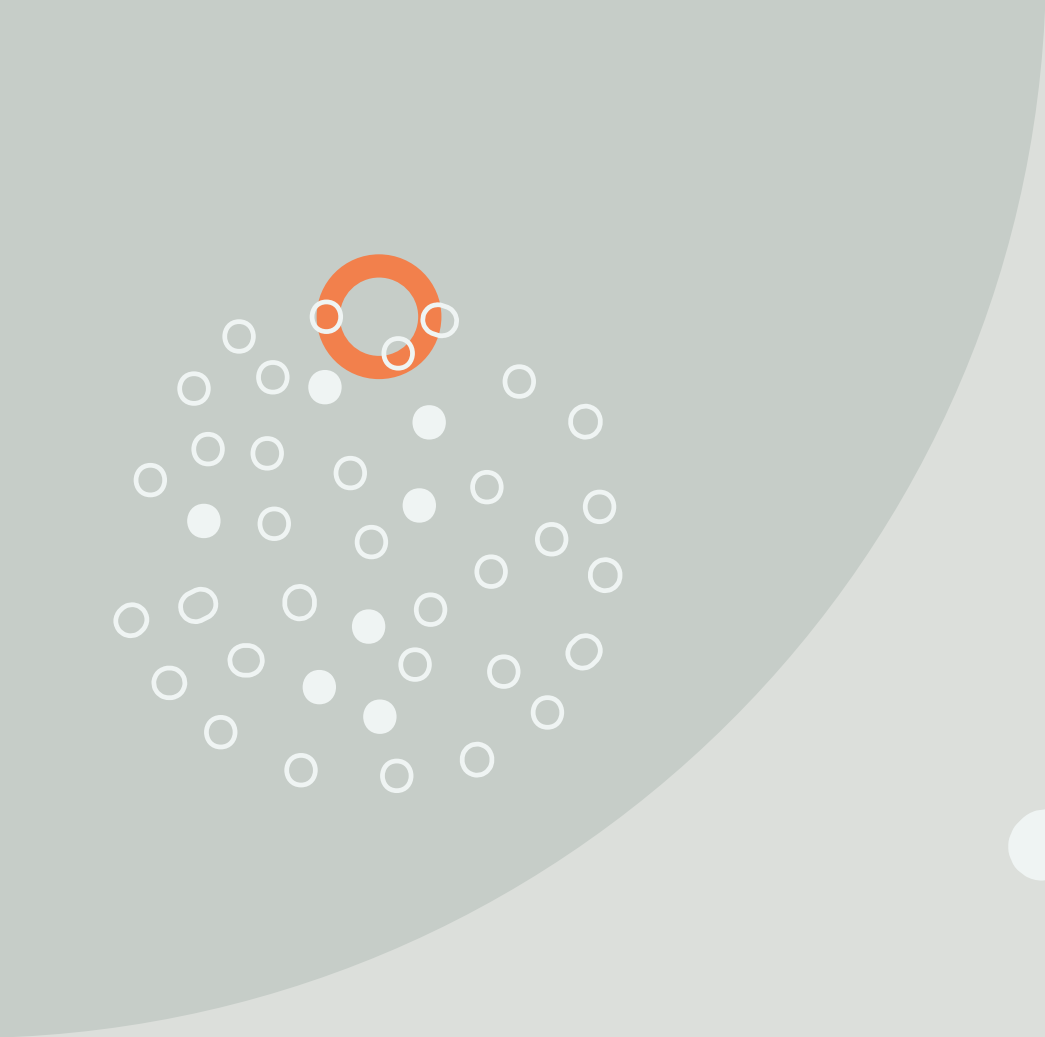


AFTER THE ECONOMIC CRISIS AND FEBRUARY 6TH EARTHQUAKES: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICIES TO COMBAT DISASTER AND POVERTY

April - November 2023



DEEP
POVERTY
NETWORK





RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICIES TO COMBAT DISASTER AND POVERTY



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OPEN SPACE ASSOCIATION (OSA) & DEEP POVERTY NETWORK (DPN) is a non-governmental organization that aims

- to raise awareness about social, economic and urban problems;
- to solidarize with social groups that have difficulty in accessing their basic rights and needs and are subjected to social exclusion;
- to empower these groups through various activities; to support their access to public rights and services;
- to reduce the barriers to their access to basic human rights, including education, health, employment and social security.

Deep Poverty: OSA & DPN consider poverty as a multidimensional phenomenon in which people are not only denied access to their basic rights and needs, but also to their economic, social, political and cultural rights.

HEINRICH BÖLL STIFTUNG TURKEY REPRESENTATIVE OFFICE (2001) It endeavors to support and promote initiatives and work on strengthening the work of democratic actors, the protection of human and minority rights, ecology and sustainable development, and the development of global and regional security policies. For 20 years, Heinrich Böll Stiftung Turkey Office, headquartered in Istanbul, has been supporting civil society initiatives that pursue the principles above and strive for the protection of the democratic social order based on the rule of law principles without discriminating between people based on gender, ethnicity, religion or color.

SPECIAL THANKS...

*We would like to thank **Simge Akkaş, Betül Alp, Bilge Begüm Bay, Yasemin Cura, Büşra Cansel Dalkılıç, Nalan Ergincan, Roysi Florentin, Demet Hakman, Deniz Hallık, Melih Kuran and Meryem Uyaver**, members of the Parliament Watch Volunteer Group, for their support during the Parliament Watch process.*

*We would like to thank the **Heinrich Böll Stiftung Turkey** for supporting our work on tackling poverty with sustainable policies that are not based on the choices and preferences of individuals or a certain group, that are discussed and discussed in the context of fundamental human rights, and that are based on sustainable preventive policies, and for enabling us to realize the project.*

After the February 6, 2023 Earthquake, Disaster and Poverty Alleviation in the Turkish Parliament: Statistical Analysis of Parliamentary Bills

1. INTRODUCTION



Poverty, which was already on the agenda due to the economic crisis and the pandemic, has deepened and spread across the country with the February 6 Earthquake. Concerned about the danger of ignoring a rights-based and multidimensional approach in the fight against deepening poverty, which has been on the agenda of policymakers especially during the election process as the housing crisis and deficiencies in disaster management became more evident after the earthquake, the Deep Poverty Network continues to carry out advocacy and lobbying activities in the relationship between disaster and poverty based on its own experience.



The present study includes recommendations in this context and made within the framework of a parliamentary monitoring study conducted within the scope of “Recommendations for Policies to Combat Disaster and Poverty during the Economic Crisis Period and after the February 6 Earthquake” with the support of Heinrich Böll Stiftung Turkey. In the first part of the study, the trends that emerged from the monitoring conducted with the volunteers of the Deep Poverty Network on the rights-based bills on combating disasters and poverty in the 27th and 28th terms of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA) after the February 6 Earthquake are shared graphically. MPs were then presented with three suggestions on which beneficiaries and right fields they could focus on in the coming legislative year. The first of these suggestions is that policymakers should bring up the potentially deepening economic problems of these groups and propose solutions against the exclusion of beneficiaries who do not participate in full-time employment because they are not considered “productive”. Second, in terms of content and timing, disaster-related legislative proposals should not be focused only on emergency response to immediate crises, but should also be precautionary

and spread over time. Thirdly, rights-based approaches to poverty and disasters should focus on social services such as employment, housing, transportation, energy, education, nutrition, etc. instead of having an individualistic approach and parliamentarians with agenda-setting capacity should have a paradigm-shifting impact.

The second part of the study offers some preliminary indications to civil society and parliamentarians on the possibilities and limits of partnerships that can be established in the production of disaster and anti-poverty policies: In this section, we share the positive approaches of the parliamentarians from different parties that we interviewed in our lobbying work, which we initiated with the belief in the urgency of the need to prepare joint legislative proposals, as a result of our lobbying work based on the identification of a problem regarding the solidarity dimension of rights-based parliamentarism that we realized during our analysis, and based on this, we argue that the 28th term of the TGNA should be a roof with opportunities for joint work between civil society and policy makers. In the last part of the study, we present some model suggestions to policy makers that can be taken as an example in disaster response.



2. EVALUATION OF THE BILLS

2.1 Method and Boundaries

The legislative proposals submitted during the period under review were subjected to three different categorizations in our study: The first one refers to the right-holding agents who are intended to be positively affected by the law, the second one refers to the field of rights that the agents are supposed to have, and the third one refers to the practices that are considered as an instrument to utilize the rights of the agents. While each categorization has main divisions, some of the main divisions also have sub-divisions. The first difficulty encountered in measuring bills is the existence of two separate legislative periods. The period between the February 6 Earthquake and the May 14 Parliamentary General Elections coincided with the 6th year of the 27th Legislative Period, while the period between the May 14 Parliamentary General Elections and September 30, when we ended data collection, coincided with the 1st year of the 28th Legislative Period. Since the distribution of parliamentary deputies by parties in the two periods is different, the graphs presented here limit the analysis of the parties that submitted the bills. As the reader will note, the emphasis is on the categorized rights holders, rights field and practices. Another difficulty encountered in the research is related to the measurement of the categorized amendments.

Although the positive changes to be brought about by various articles of law have the potential to be more comprehensive in terms of their content, in order to reflect the efforts made in the Parliament, the number of articles in each bill was taken as a criterion in the proportions, on the grounds that such studies should be carried out in order to encourage the Parliament to be more active in rights-based law amendments. For example, if there are four articles in a bill on the right to education, that bill was multiplied by four to calculate the ratio. While temporary articles in the bills were also included in the multiplier, the two executive articles in each bill were excluded. In the case of bills that concern more than one category or are jointly submitted by more than one party, the number of articles in the bills was divided by the number of categories or parties they concern in order to make a proper ratio.



Rights Holders

Employee	Private
	Public
Disaster victim	Farmer
	Shopkeeper
	Other
	Self-employed
	Climate
Baby	Earthquake
	General
	Pandemic
Child	
Youth	
Retired	
Woman	
Parent	
Chronically ill - Disabled - Caretaker	
Elder	
Widow - Divorced - Orphan	
General	

Rights Field

Education
Health
Employment
Personal budget
Hygiene
Energy
Communication
Housing
Nutrition
Indiscrimination
Retirement
Transportation
Precaution



Practice	Wage and Salary	Allocation	
		Employer support	
		Improvement	
	Financial obligations: (Taxes - duties - deductions - premiums)	Reduction	
		Exemption	
		Deletion	
	Statualization	Job opportunities	
		Securitization	
		Work conditions	
	Subsidies	Kind	
		Monetary	Subsidies Bonuses
			Improvement
			Allocation
		Technical	
		Social	
	Institutionalization	Regulation	
		Initiation	
	Credit-Debt	Delay	
		Cancellation	
		Interest cancellation	
Authorization			
Execution			

2.2. Focus Suggestions in the Bills

When we observe the legislative proposals made regarding the rights areas related to disaster and poverty during this period of the 27th term of TGNA, which completed its last two months with the extraordinary agenda of the February 6 Earthquake, we see that the YSP made proposals at a high rate (50%) compared to the number of deputies. In the same period, it is seen that CHP followed YSP with 43.33% (See Graph 1.1). On the other hand, in the first four months of the 28th term of TGNA, 70.39% of the proposals were made by CHP deputies. CHP was followed by DEVA Party with 11.18%, İYİ Party with 5.92% and YSP with 4.61% (See Graph 1.2).

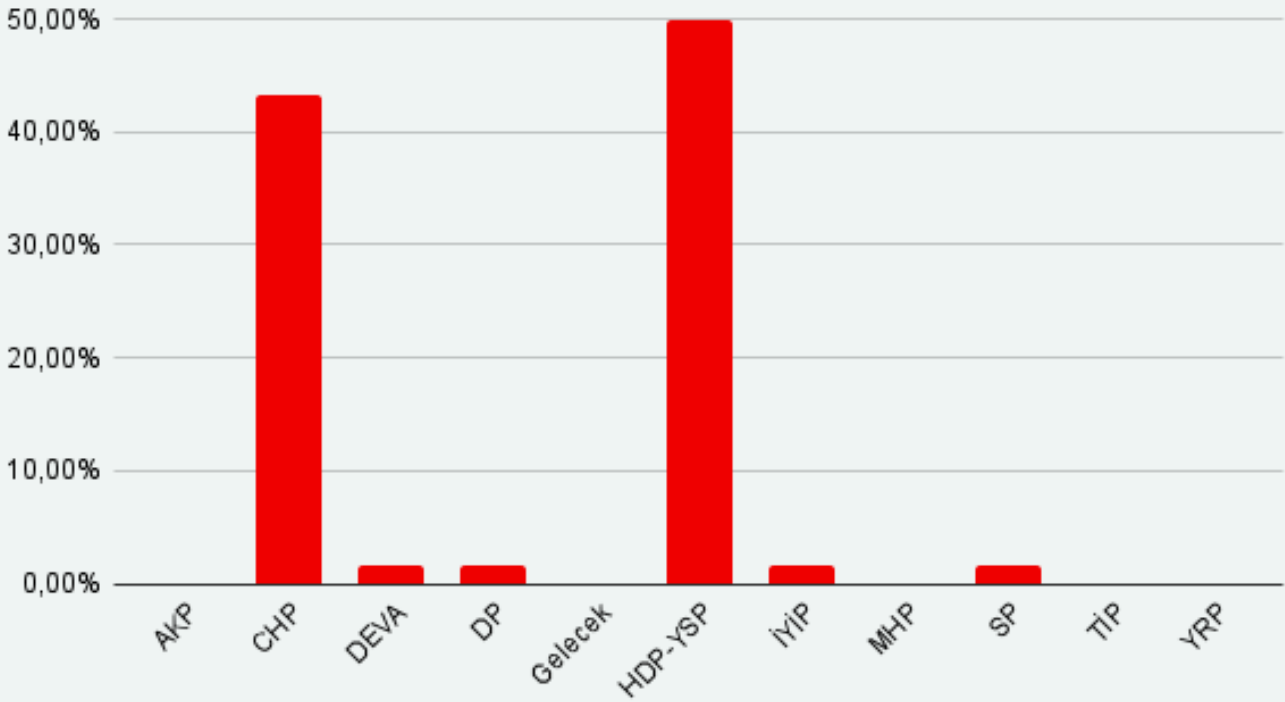


Chart 1.1. Ratio of bills according to drafting parties (6.2.2023-7.4.2023)

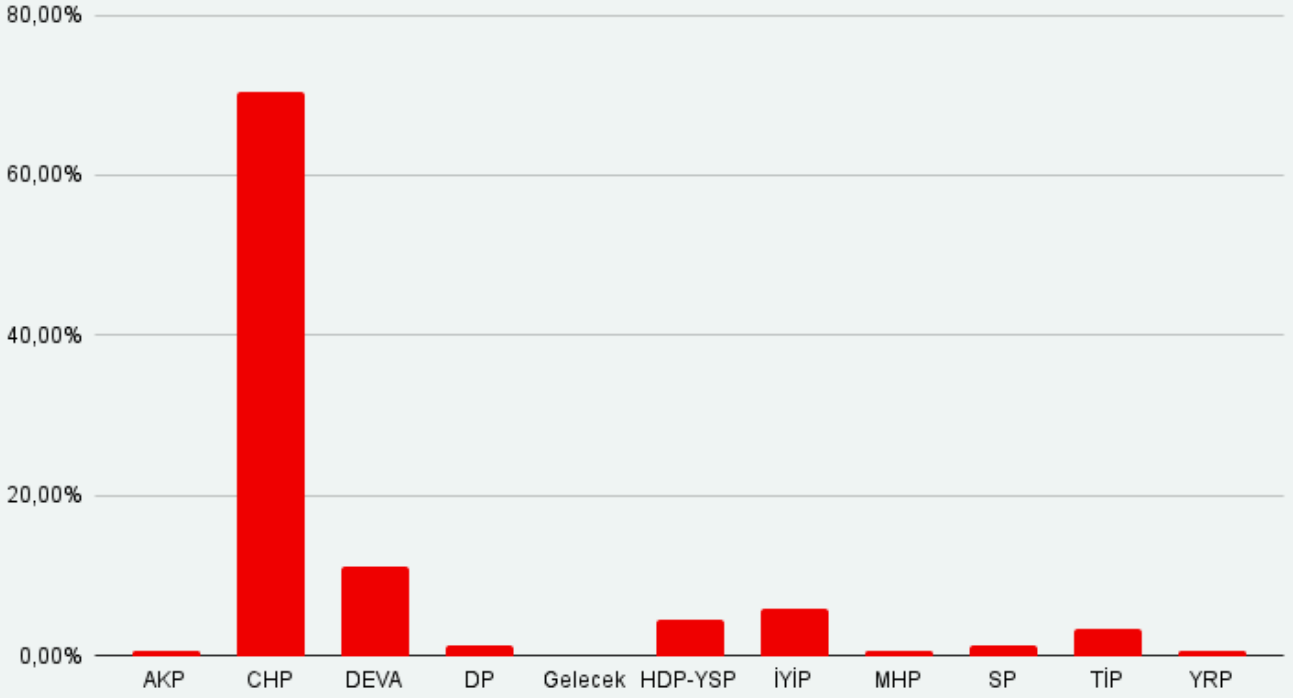


Chart 1.2. Ratio of bills according to drafting parties (2.6.2023-30.9.2023)

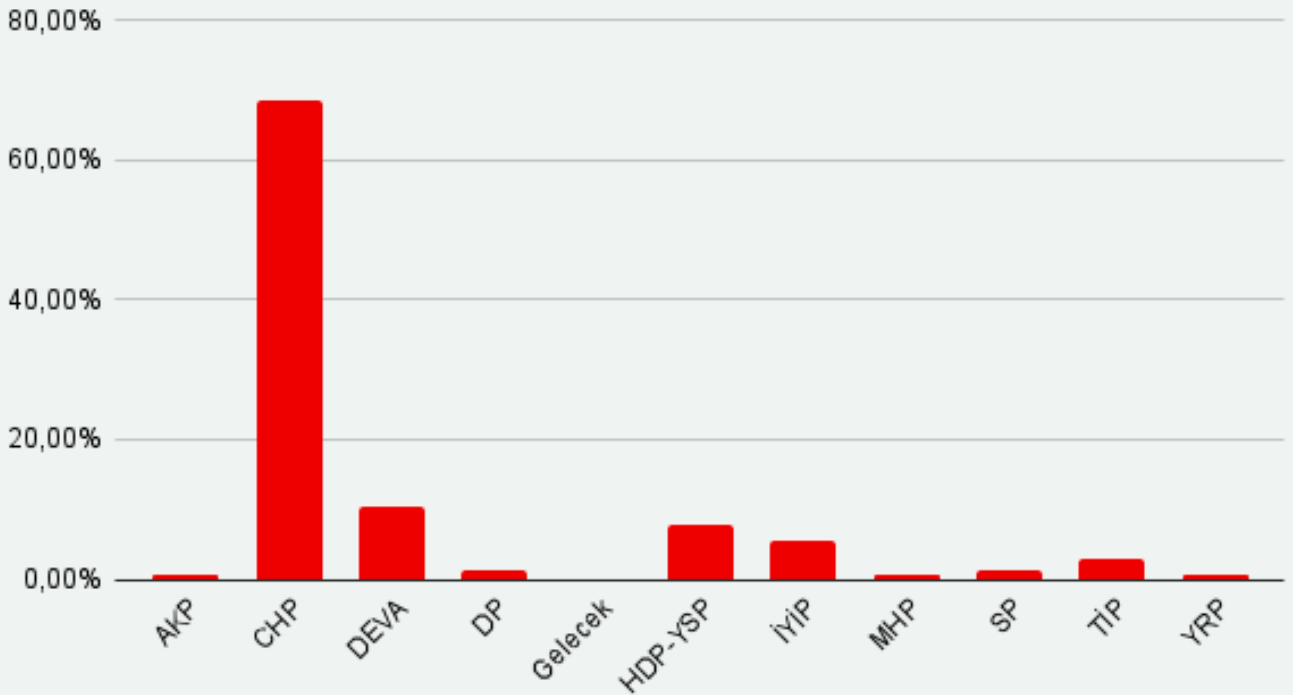


Chart 1.3. Ratio of bills according to drafting parties (Total)

When the party performances are examined on the rights-based bill articles, it is observed that YSP made the highest effort with 44.35% in the 27th term of TGNA. While CHP followed YSP with 16.71%, DEVA Party, DP, İYİ Party and Saadet Party followed YSP and CHP with 9.74% due to their involvement in the common bill numbered 2/1252, which contains 56 articles (See .Graph 2.1)¹. It is noteworthy that in the 28th term, CHP brought more law amendment proposals to the agenda of the TGNA compared to the number of deputies, with 66.39%. Other parties that are currently seen to be making more effort compared to the number of deputies are DEVA Party (6.64%) and TİP (3.32%) (See Graph 2.2).

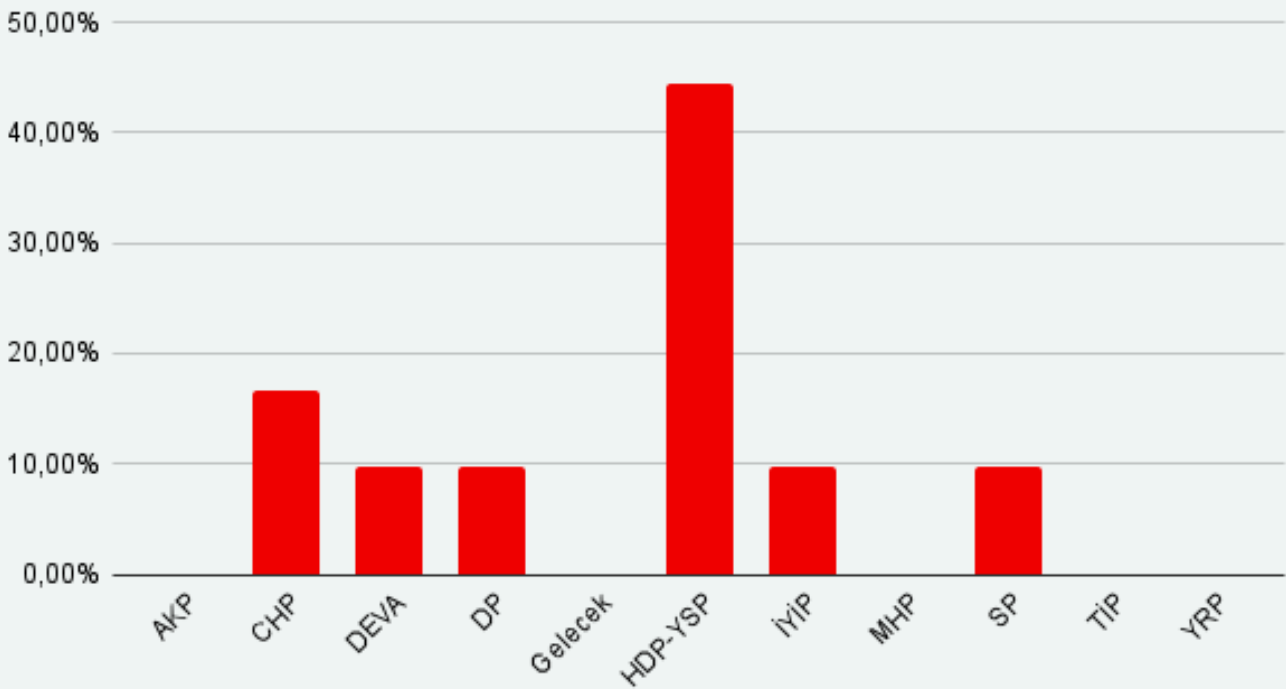


Chart 2.1. Ratio of bill articles according to drafting parties (6.2.2023-7.4.2023)

¹ <https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/Yasama/KanunTeklifi/b3b5bceb-b568-4a59-b09a-0189211c5ffb>

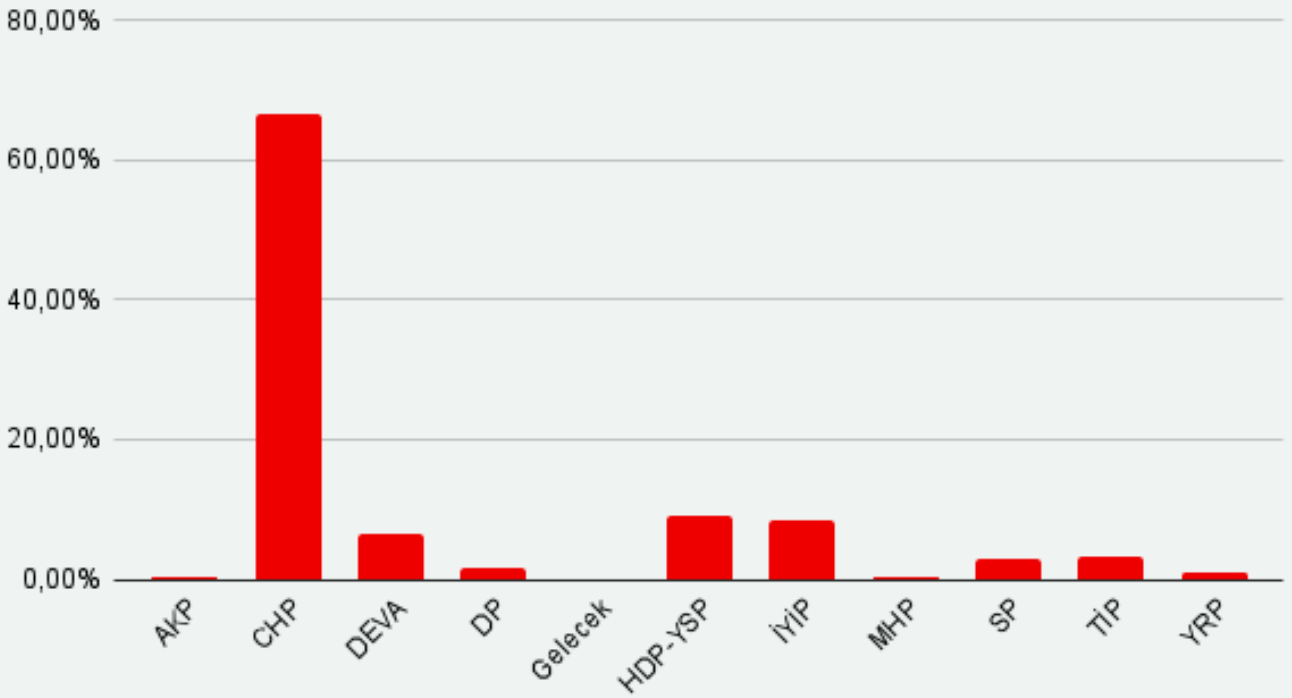


Chart 2.2. Ratio of bill articles according to drafting parties (2.6.2023-30.9.2023)

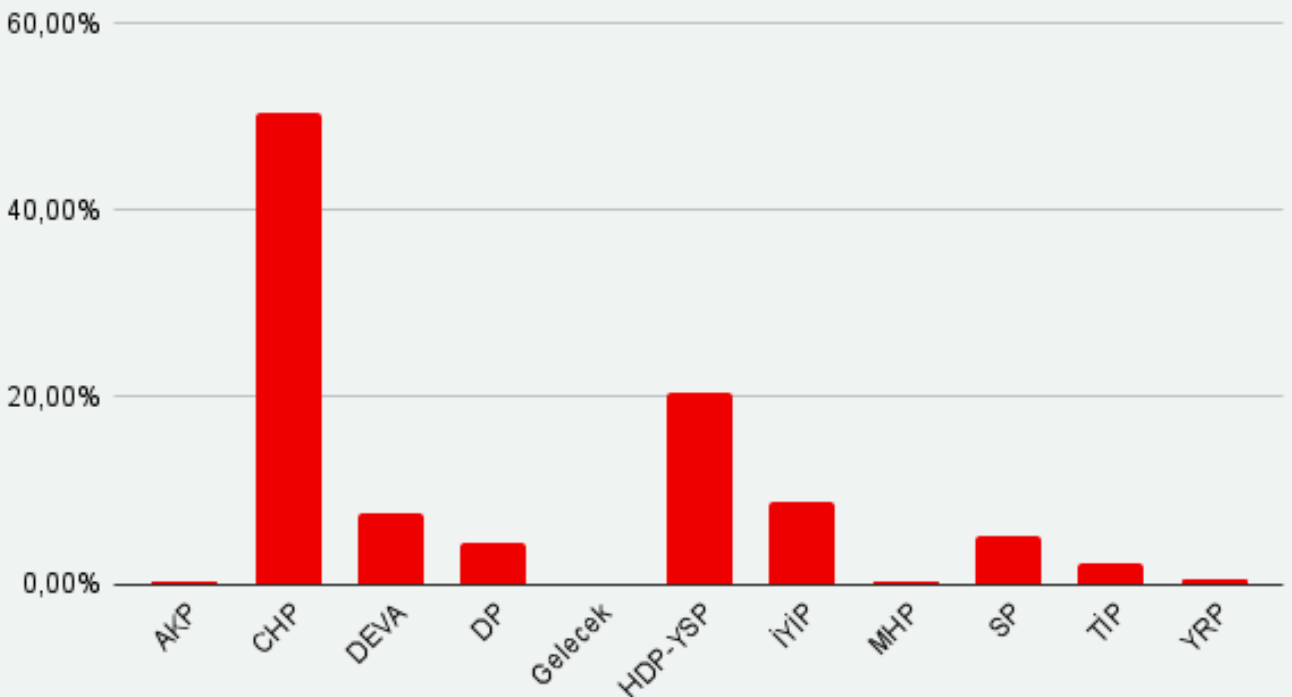


Chart 2.3. Ratio of bill articles according to drafting parties (Total)

In the 27th parliamentary term, when the articles of the bills are analyzed, it is seen that 93% of the beneficiaries are disaster victims (See Graph 3.1). As of the first four months of the 28th term, disaster victims lost their weight to a very significant extent. In this period, 10.16% of the proposed laws on disaster victims remained (See Graph. 3.2). When we look at the total performance of the two parliaments, the weight of paid employees is remarkable (38.21%) (See Graph 3.3).

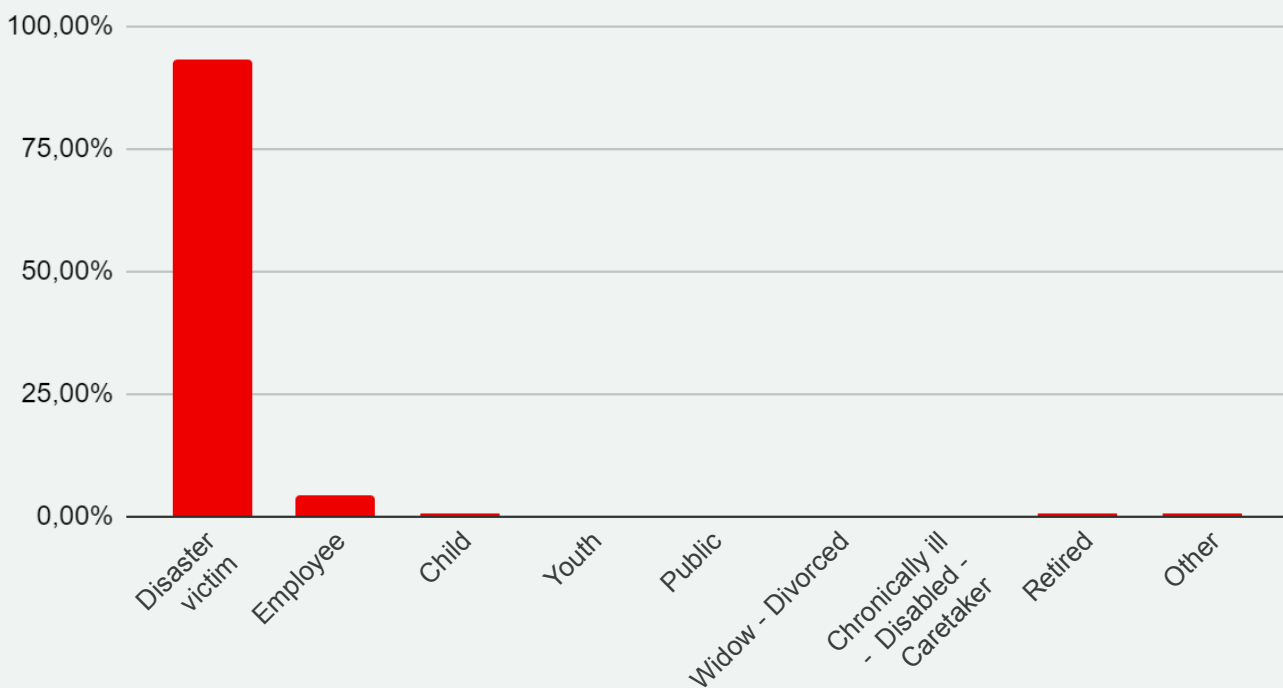


Chart 3.1. Ratio of bill articles according to the related rights holders (Main division) (All parties) (6.2.2023-7.4.2023)



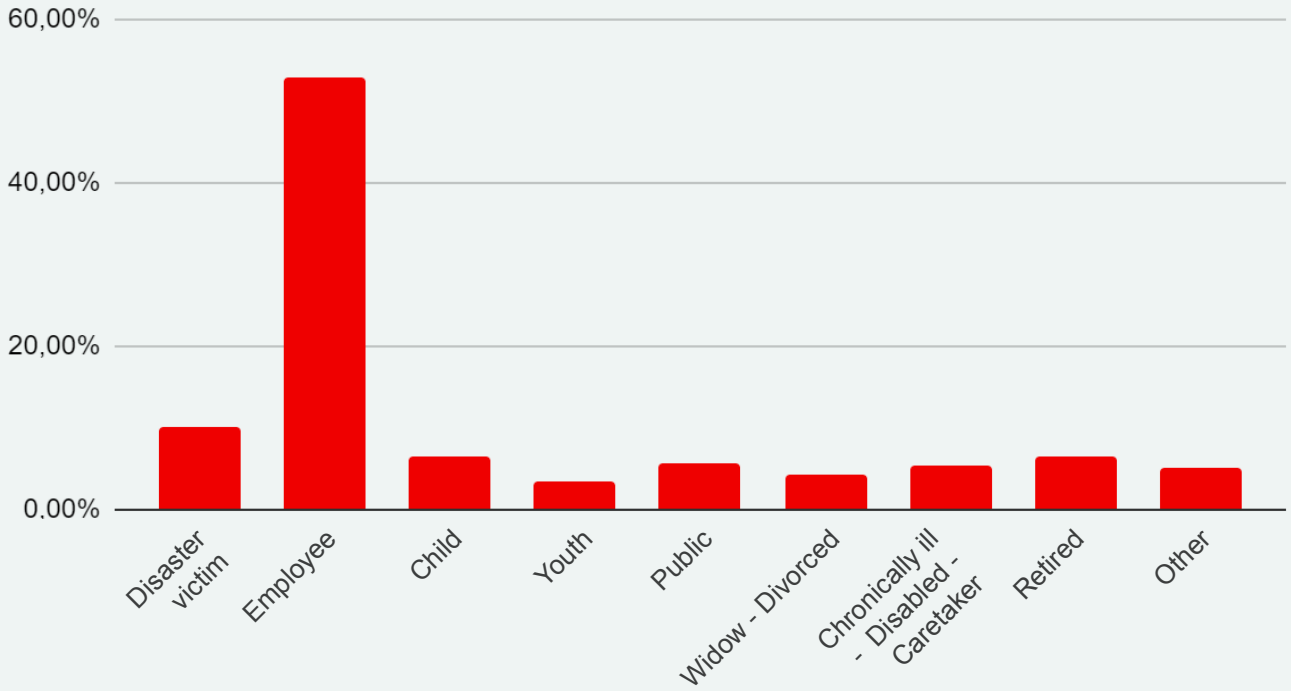


Chart 3.2. Ratio of bill articles according to the related rights holders (Main division) (All parties) (2.6. 2023-30.9.2023)

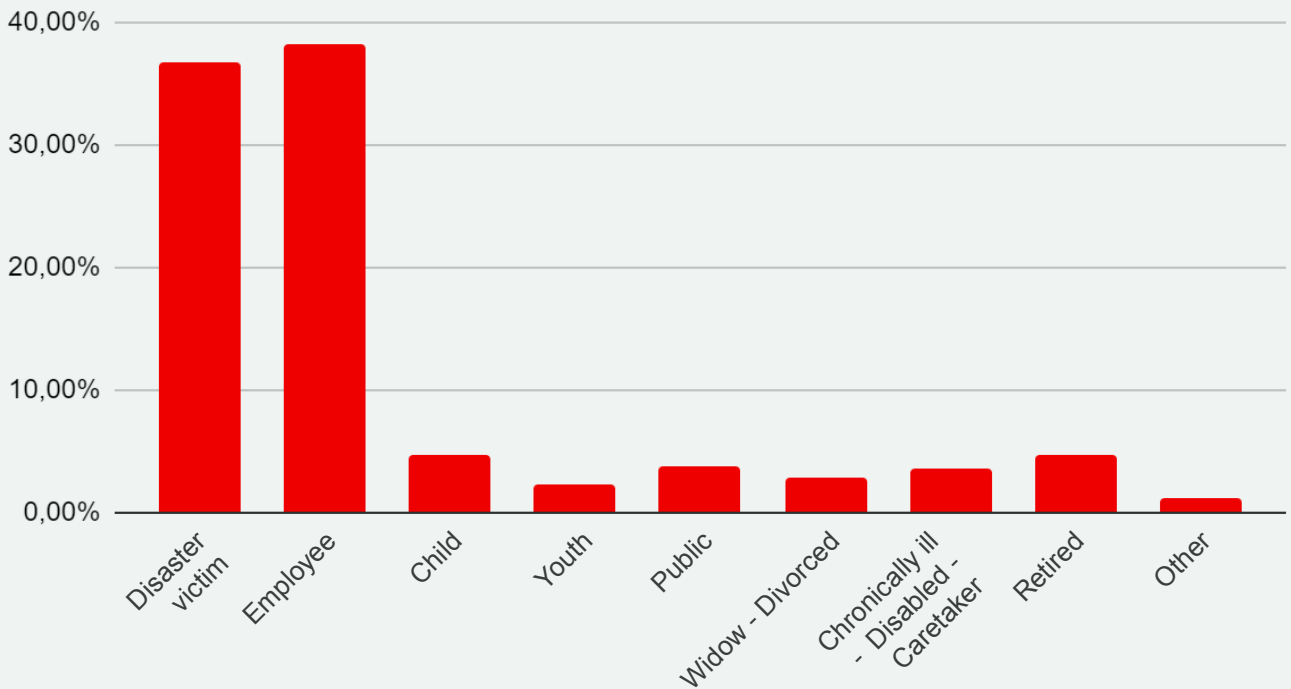


Chart 3.3. Ratio of bill articles according to the related rights holders (Main division) (All parties) (Total)

SUGGESTION 1

The high number of legislative proposals regarding paid employee rights can be explained in two ways. The first of these is the devastating effect of wage/ salaried worker poverty, which has become widespread in Turkey in recent years. While it is important for parties to put the issue on the agenda so that the urgency of working poverty begins to emerge, it also brings with it the danger that vulnerable groups who are not in full-time employment will be left far behind compared to wage earners. In conditions where the distribution crisis will deepen, it will be vital for policy makers to bring up the economic problems of these groups, which have the potential to deepen, and offer solutions, against a selectivity that may exclude groups that do not participate in full-time employment because they are not seen as “productive”.

Since people affected by disasters may face the risk of a wide range of human rights violations², we have included the legislative proposals aiming to make necessary preparations against disasters under the category of “measures”. Another impact of the February 6 Earthquake on the 27th Parliament can be seen in the measures targeted to be taken. YSP submitted 3 bills with 46 articles for the establishment of an Emergency and Disaster Commission in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey³, the establishment of a ministry called the Ministry of Disaster and Emergency Response⁴, and legislative amendments regarding the measures to be taken to prohibit building on active fault lines or zones⁵. Again, in the 56-article bill jointly submitted by CHP, İYİP, DP, SP, DEVA, there are items with priority for measures such as conducting regular inspections on site at least once every five years and imposing administrative fines on those who do not renew their policies in the process of renewing compulsory earthquake insurance⁶. In this period, 40.52% of the articles of rights-based bills in the parliament were targeted for measures (See Graph 4.1). In contrast, at the beginning of the 28th term, there was a sharp decline in the proportion of proposed articles on measures (2.03% See Graph 4.2).

2- <https://www.stgm.org.tr/sites/default/files/2023-03/dogal-afetler-insan-haklari.pdf>

3- <https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/Yasama/KanunTeklifi/c90fae63-0ce3-4aeb-a41d-0189ac20895c>

4- <https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/Yasama/KanunTeklifi/a4520c4a-f16f-4321-99b0-0189ac21123d>

5- <https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/Yasama/KanunTeklifi/21a2b5ca-7e41-42e2-8ad3-0189ac20bd5c>

6- <https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/Yasama/KanunTeklifi/b3b5bceb-b568-4a59-b09a-0189211c5ffb>

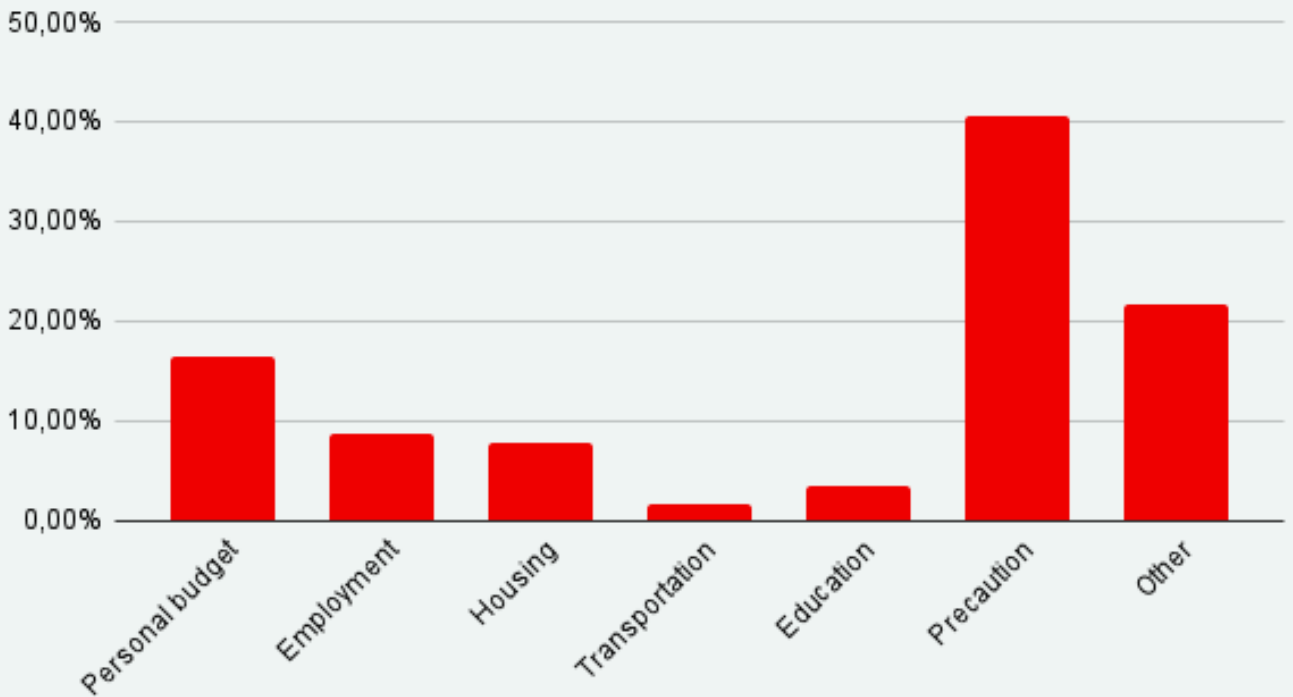


Chart 4.1. Ratio of bills according to the related rights field (Main division) (All parties) (6.2.2023-7.4.2023)

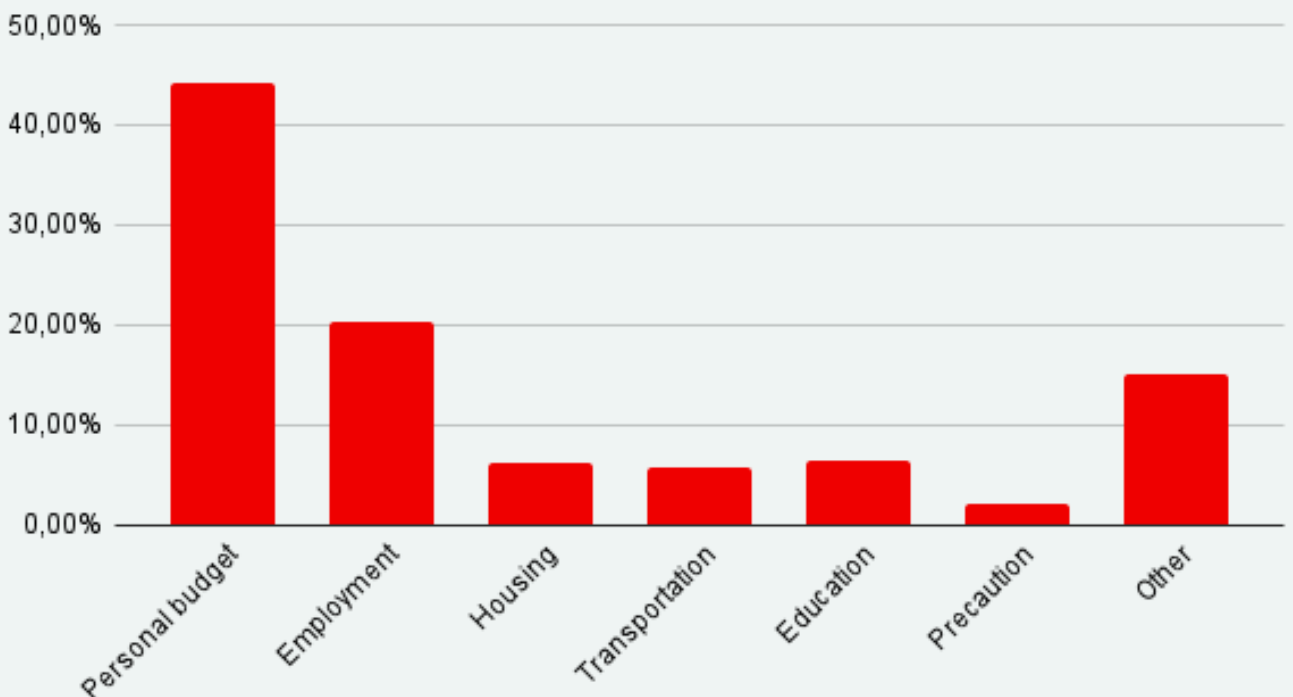


Chart 4.2. Ratio of bills according to the related rights field (Main division) (All parties) (2.6.2023-30.9.2023)

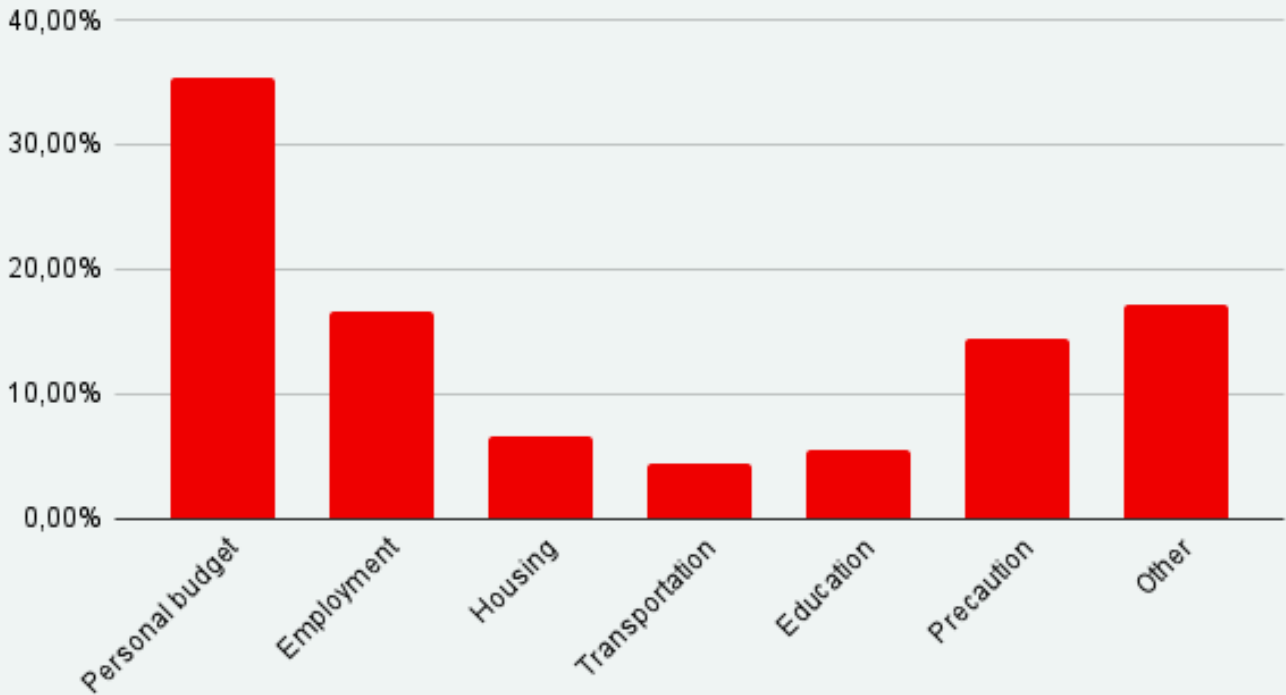


Chart 4.3. Ratio of bills according to the related rights field (Main division) (All parties) (Total)

SUGGESTION 2

While supporting farmers affected by climate change-induced disasters has become more relevant with the food crisis, –just like the practices in the first paragraph of the fifth article, the first and second paragraphs of the twelfth article, the first section of the twenty-first article, and the temporary second section of the twenty-seventh article of the bill numbered 2/1252 of the CHP, İYİ Party, DP, SP and DEVA Party⁷– the practices need to be diversified. In addition, since the drop in the number of proposals on earthquake victims in general in the first months of the 28th term may be perceived as a factor reinforcing the idea that earthquake victims are “abandoned to their fate after the elections”, it is important that the work on this issue, especially taking into account the economic and social situation of vulnerable groups, is again on the agenda of the Parliament in order to provide quick solutions.

7- <https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/Yasama/KanunTeklifi/b3b5bceb-b568-4a59-b09a-0189211c5ffb>

When we look at other areas of rights, we observe that since February 6, 2023, the proposed law items that directly address the personal budgets of the beneficiaries, i.e. allocation or improvement of new cash supports specific to individuals; abolition or reduction of financial obligations such as taxes, fees, deductions or premiums; allocation or improvement of salaries and wages, are even ahead of the items related to disaster measures with 35.36% (See Graph 4.3). Another area of rights that is ahead of disaster measures is related to bills categorized under employment, which include practices such as ensuring safe working conditions, vocational training, and correction of working hours. With a rate of 16.57%, the bill items that envisage the correction of employment-related rights were just ahead of the measures (14.36%) (See Graph 4.3).

When we look at the practices envisaged to be used in access to rights, we can observe the difference in the impact of the February 6 Earthquake between the 27th and 28th periods. Institutionalization ranked first with 31.03%, as most of the articles of the proposed laws envisaged measures to be taken through the creation of new institutions; institutionalization was followed by practices related to easing financial burdens with 20.69% (See Graph 5.1). In the 28th period, items of proposed laws on salaries and wages ranked first with 24.73%, while items of proposed laws on abolishing or easing fiscal burdens ranked second with 23.85% and subsidies ranked third with 19.44% (See Graph 5.2).

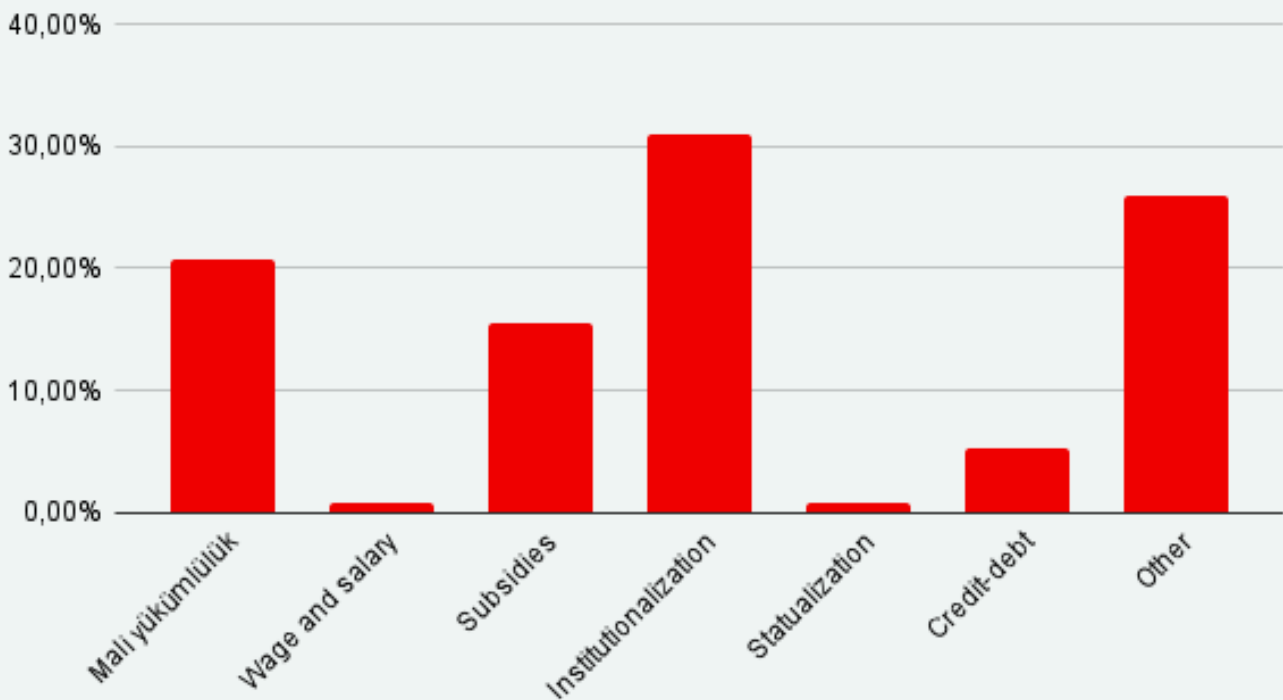


Chart 5.1. Ratio of bills according to practices (Main division) (All parties) (6.2.2023-7.4.2023)

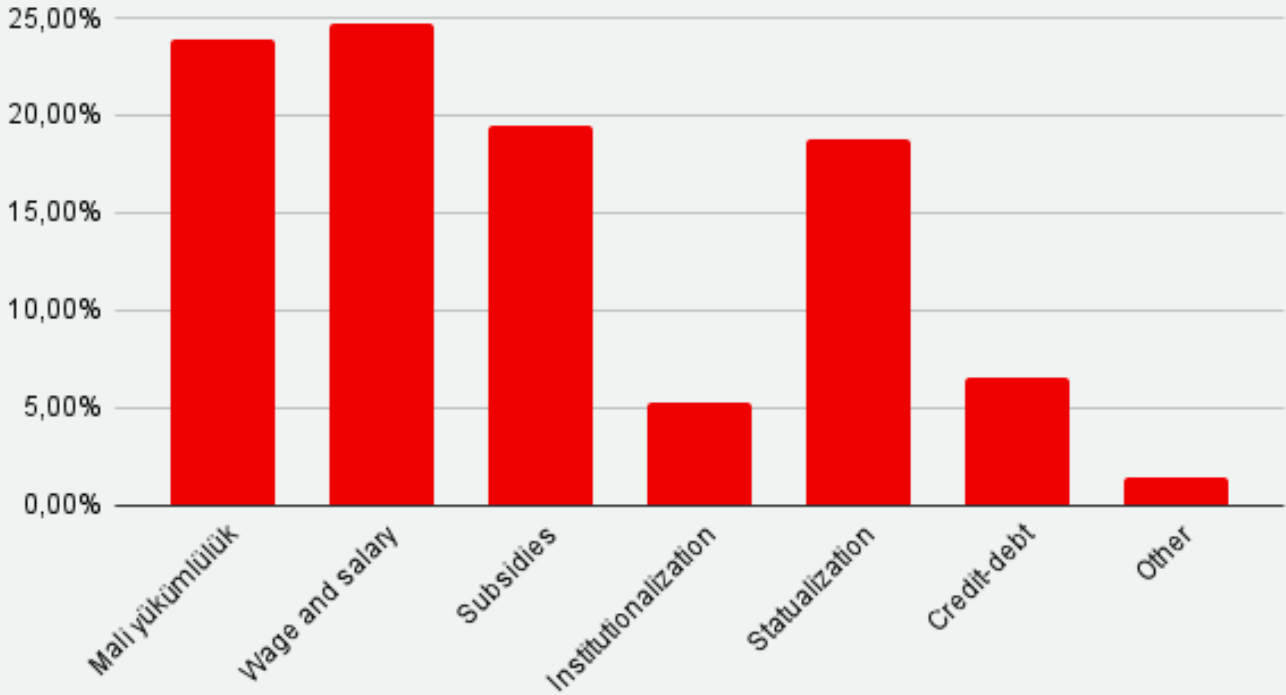


Chart 5.2. Ratio of bills according to practices (Main division) (All parties) (2.6.2023-30.09.2023)

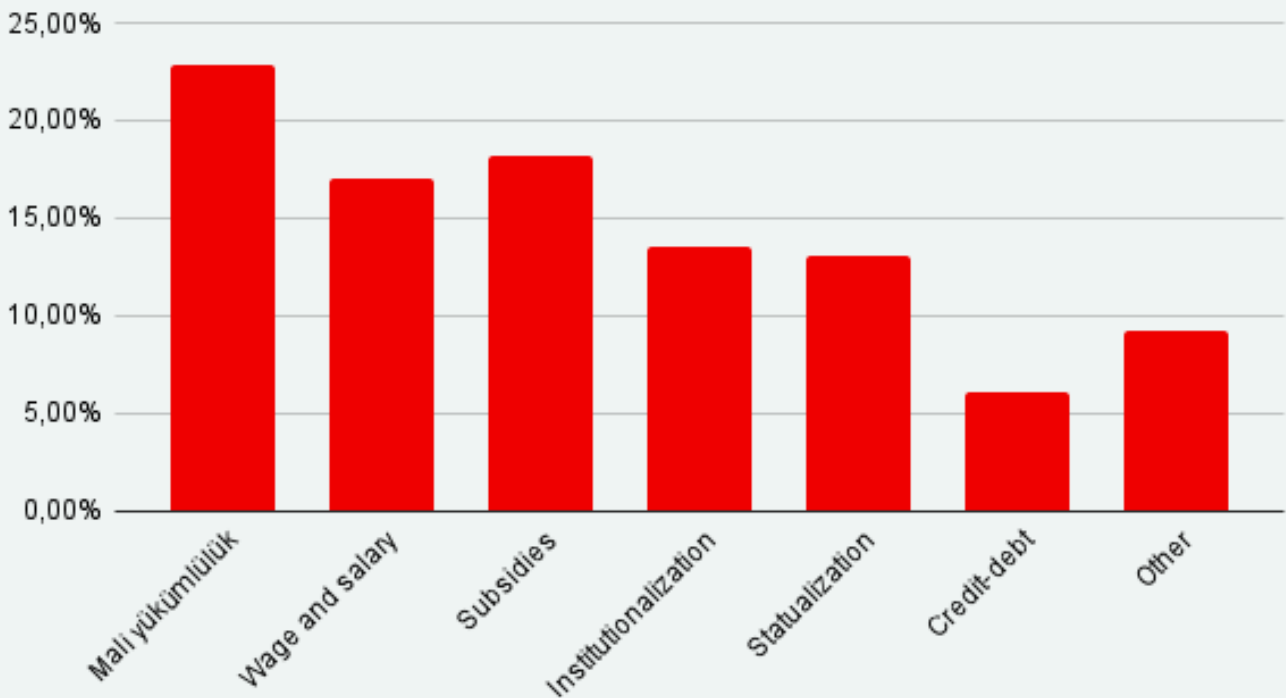


Chart 5.3. Ratio of bills according to practices (Main division) (All parties) (Total)

As a result of the observations we made, we observe that exemption from financial obligations was the most preferred practice with 14.64% in the 27th and 28th terms with 14.64%. The second most preferred practice with 14.57% was salary and wage increases. The creation of new institutions was the third most preferred practice with 13.52%, while cash support was the fourth most preferred practice with 11.42% (See Graph 6.3).

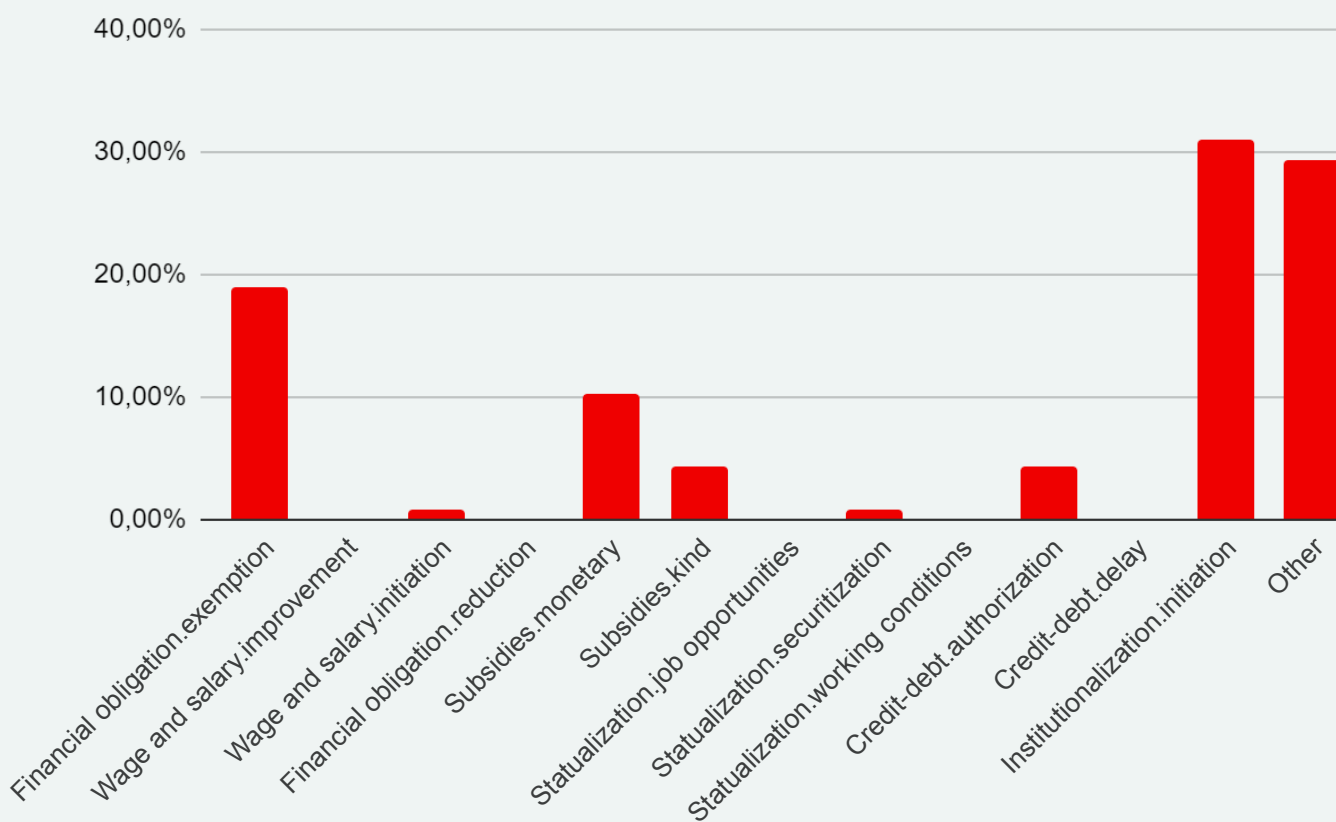


Chart 6.1. Ratio of bill articles according to practices (Sub-division) (All parties) (6.2.2023-7.4.2023)

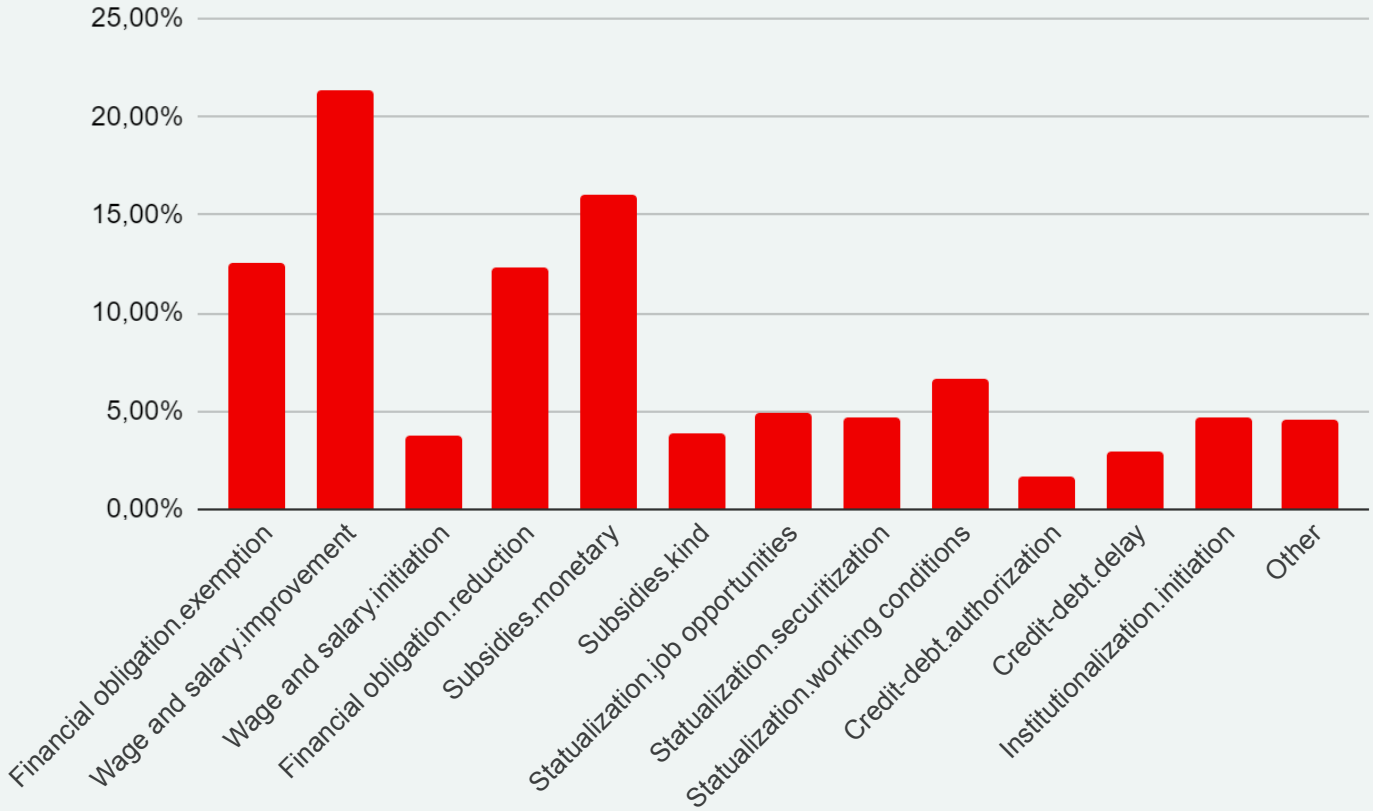


Chart 6.2. Ratio of bill articles according to practices (Sub-division) (All parties) (2.6.2023-30.9.2023)

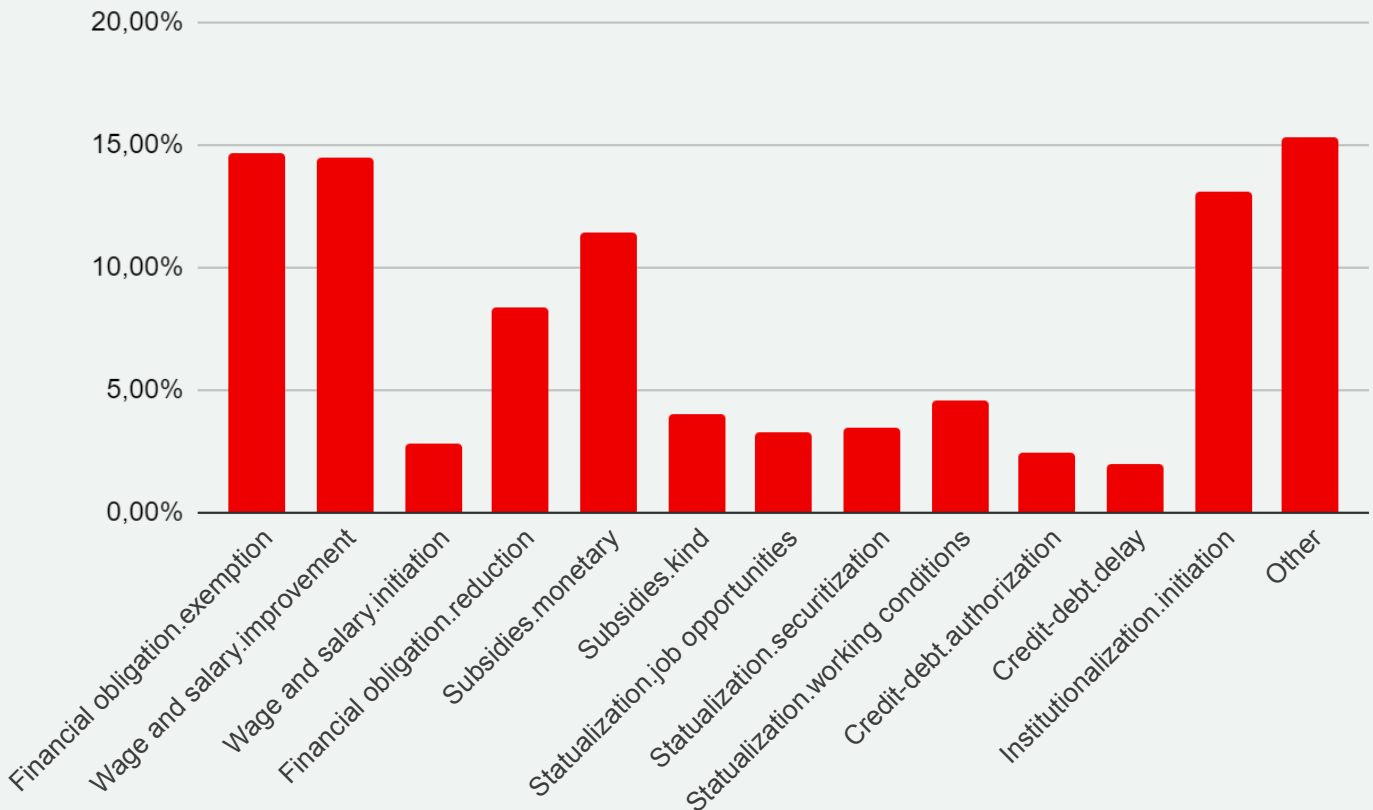


Chart 6.3. Ratio of bill articles according to practices (Sub-division) (All parties) (Total)

Another noteworthy aspect of the bills directly related to disaster victims is the types of disasters. In the 27th term, 65.74% of the bills related to disaster victims were related to earthquake victims, while the rest of the bills were inclusive of all disaster victims (See Graph 7.1). (See Graph 7.1). In the 28th period, those affected by disasters caused by climate change ranked first with 48.15% (See Graph 7.2). It should be noted that almost all of the bills on disasters caused by climate change are related to the postponement of farmers' loans and debts.

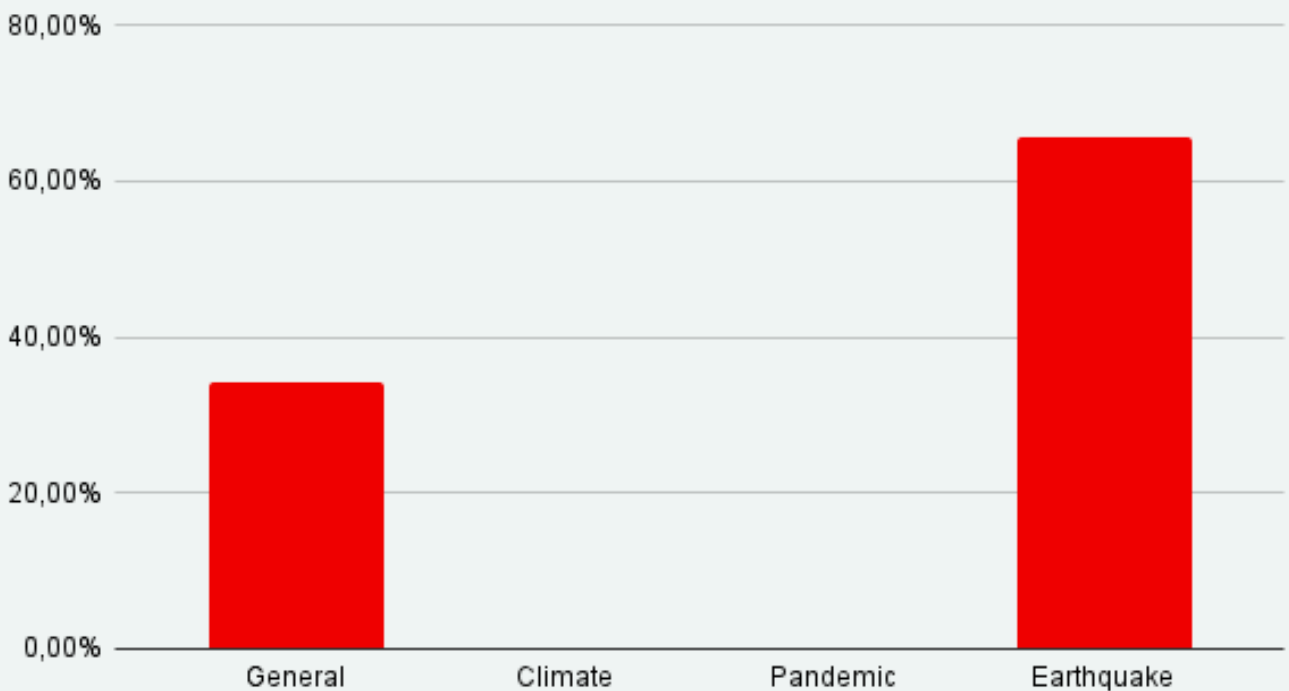


Chart 7.1. Ratio of the bill articles on disasters according to the related right holders (Sub-division) (All parties) (6.2.2023-7.4.2023)

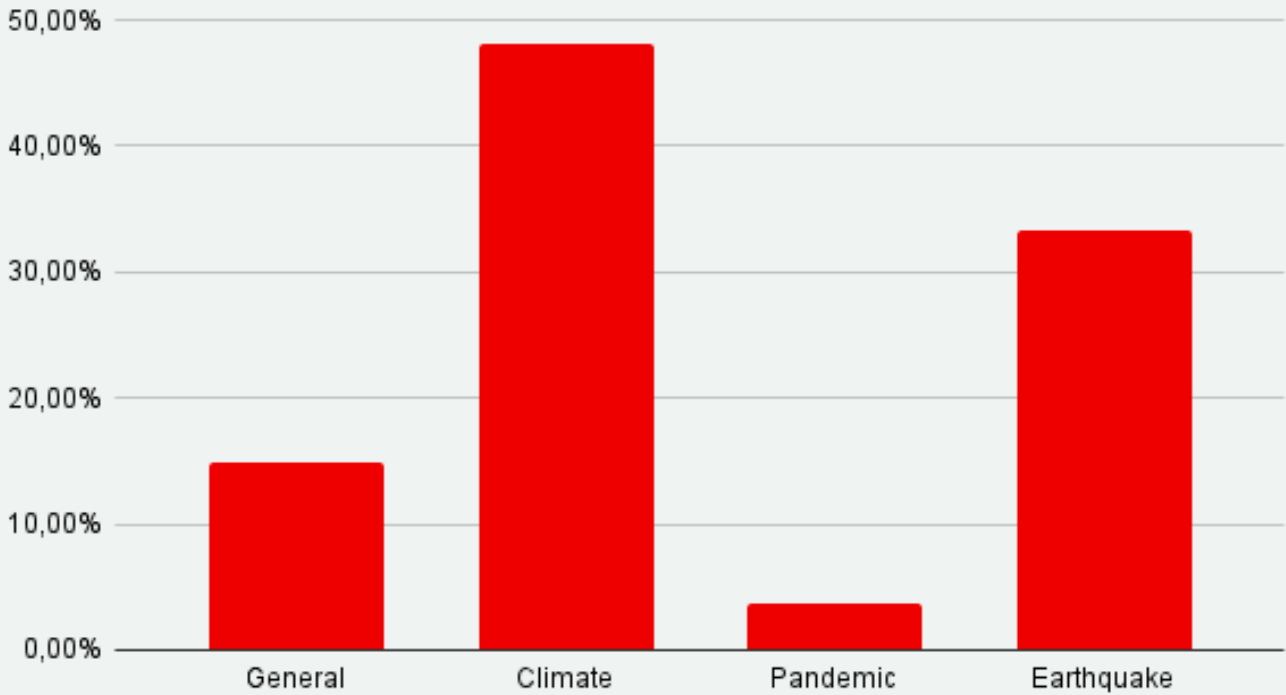


Chart 7.2. Ratio of the bill articles on disasters according to the related right holders (Sub-division) (All parties) (2.6.2023-30.9.2023)

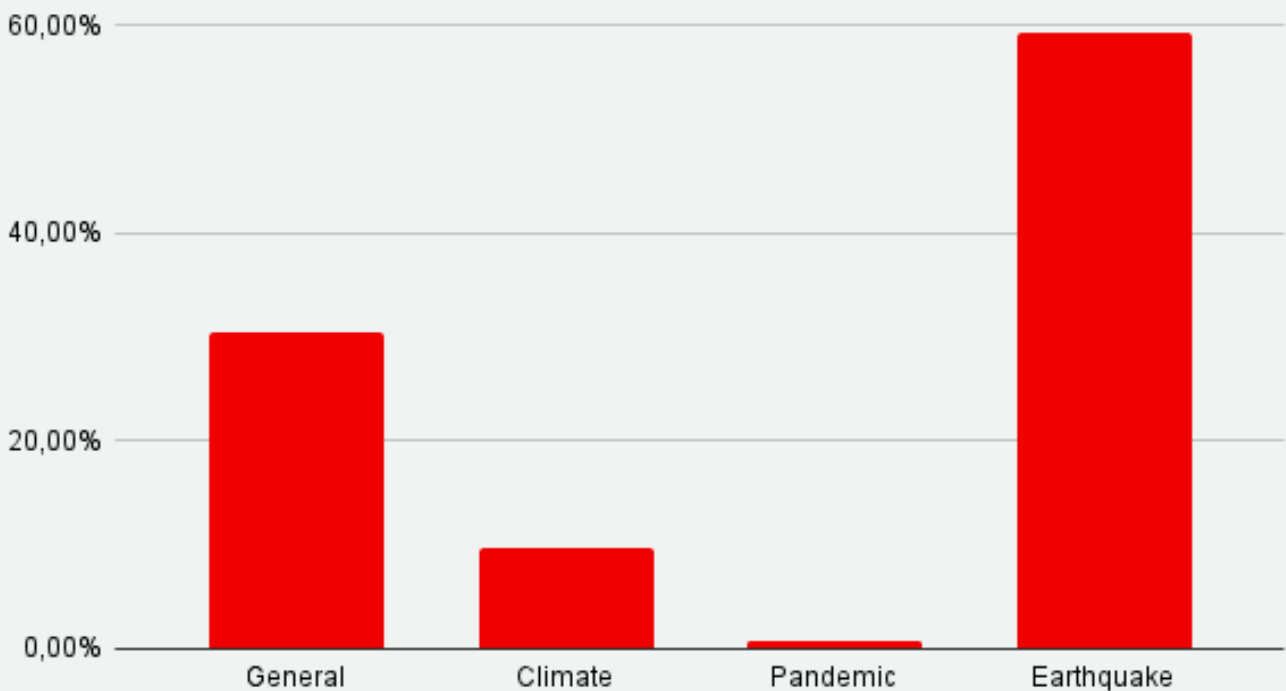


Chart 7.3. Ratio of the bill articles on disasters according to the related right holders (Sub-division) (All parties) (Total)

Two other issues that we tried to observe in more detail were the distribution of the articles of the draft laws on disasters according to the areas of rights and practices. Among the areas of rights, measures were more prominent in the 27th period (43.52%) (See Graph 8.1), while improving personal budgets was prioritized in the 28th period (44.44%) (See Graph 8.2). When the sum of the two periods is analyzed, it is seen that, with 37.78%, the measures are ahead of the bill articles regulating citizens' personal budgets (22.96%) (See Chart 8.3). A rough breakdown of implementation also shows that in the 27th period, institutionalization (33.33%) and easing financial obligations (22.22%) were the most prominent (see Chart 9.1), while in the 28th period, supports (36.37%) and loans and debts (28.96%) far outpaced institutionalization (11.11%) and financial obligations (7.41%) (Chart 9.2).

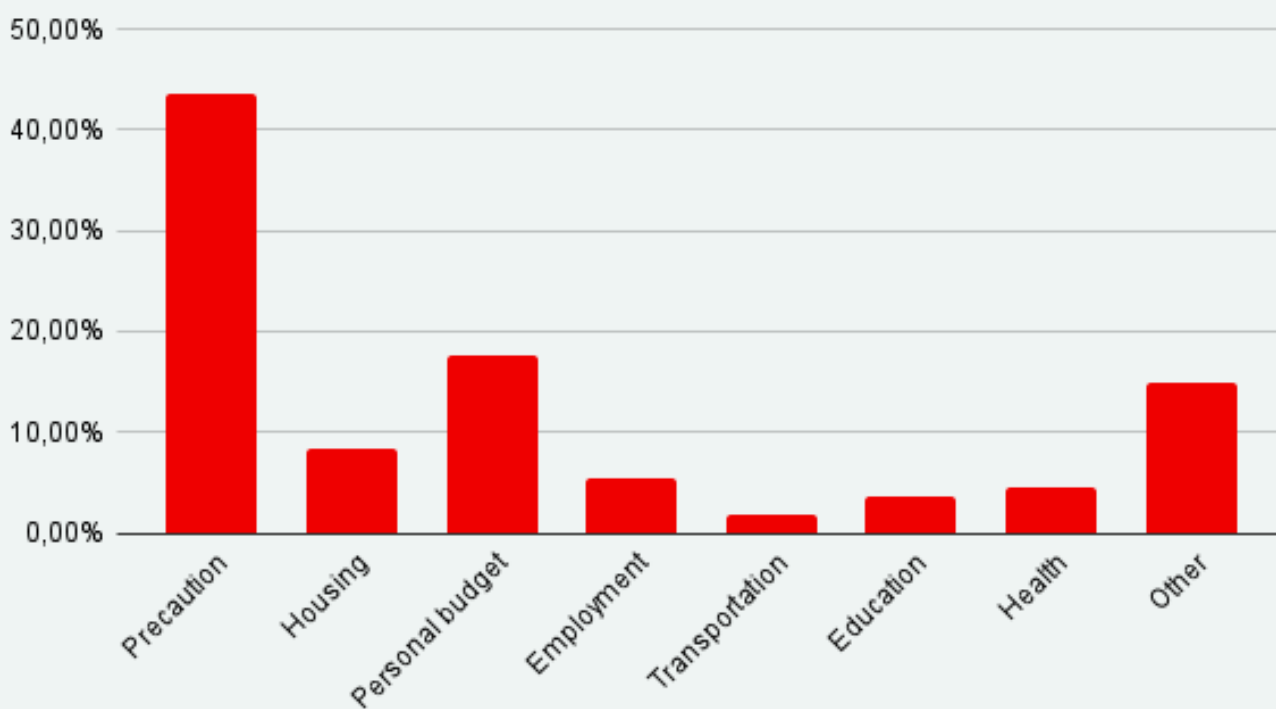


Chart 8.1. Ratio of the bill articles on disasters according to the related rights fields (Sub-division) (All parties) (6.2.2023-7.4.2023)

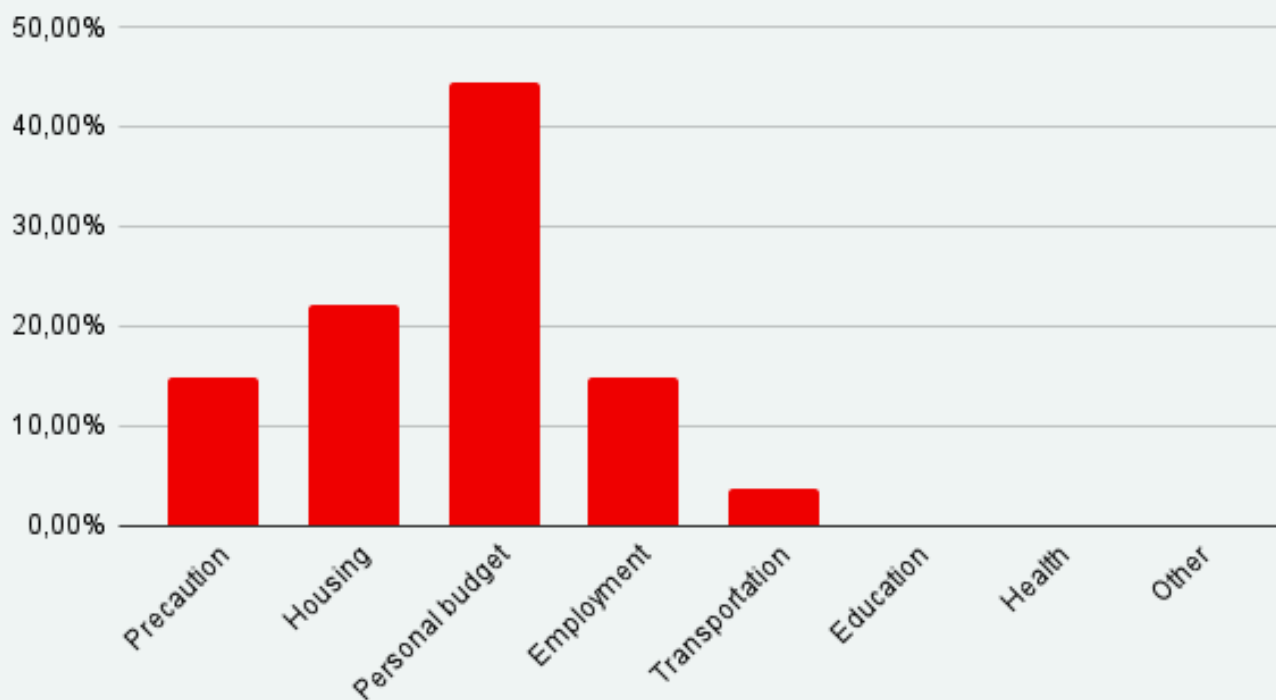


Chart 8.2. Ratio of the bill articles on disasters according to the related rights fields (Sub-division) (All parties) (2.6.2023-30.9.2023)

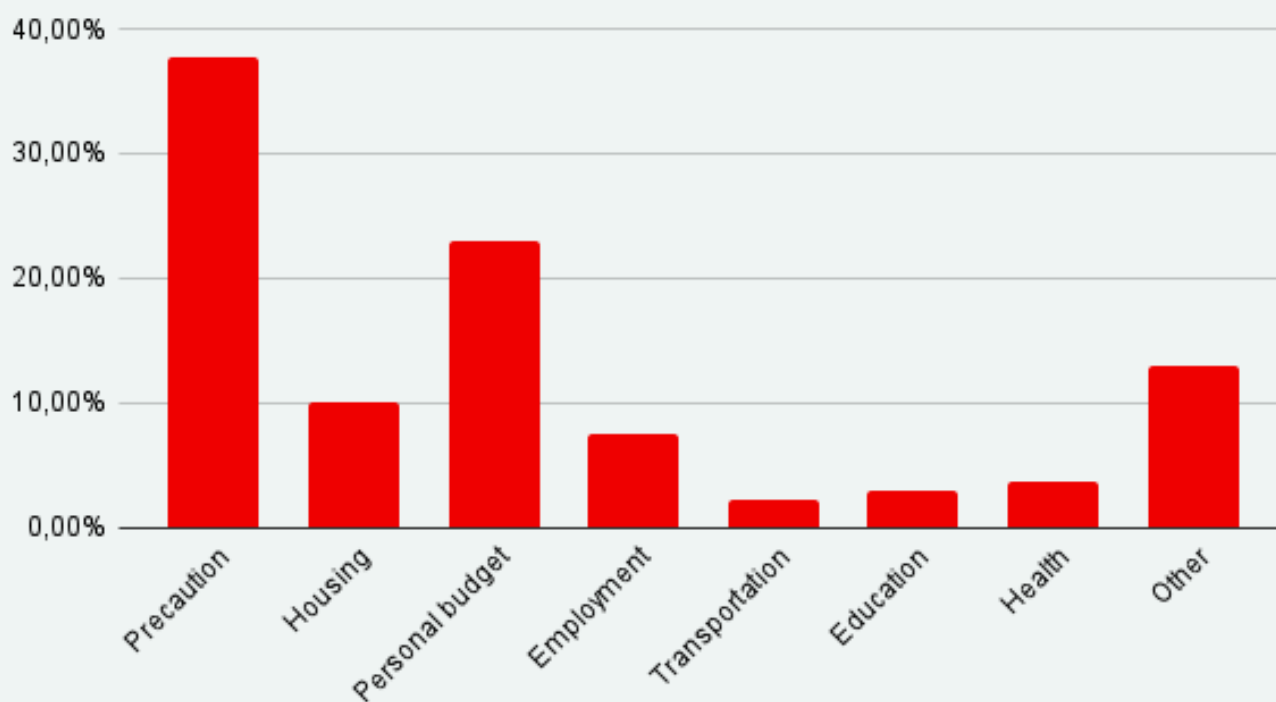


Chart 8.3. Ratio of the bill articles on disasters according to the related rights fields (Sub-division) (All parties) (Total)

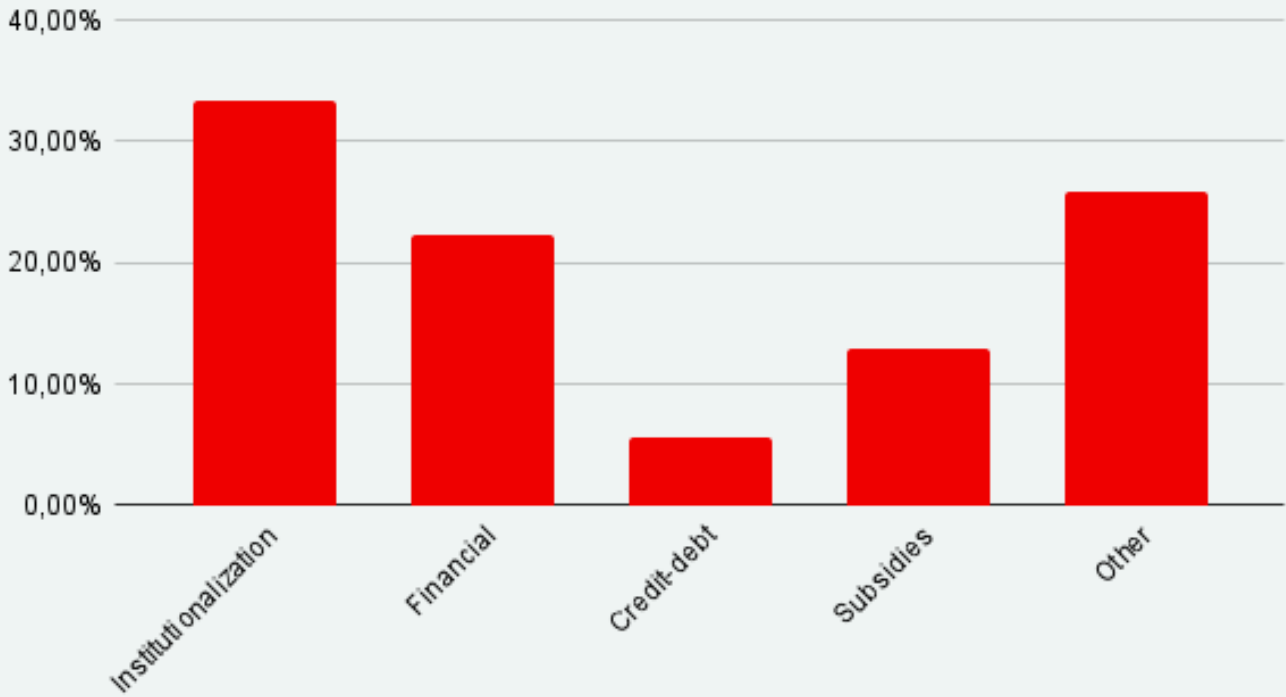


Chart 9.1. Ratio of the bill articles on disasters according to practices (Main division)
(All parties) (6.2.2023-7.4.2023)

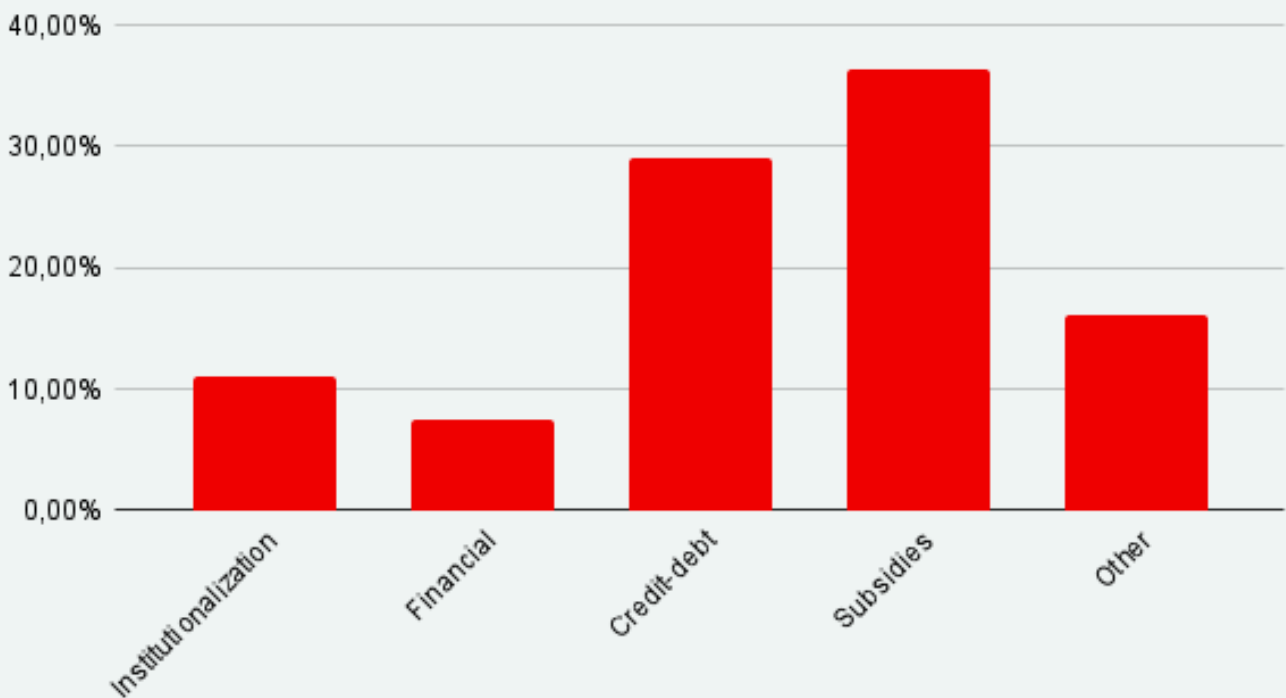


Chart 9.2. Ratio of the bill articles on disasters according to practices (Main division)
(All parties) (2.6.2023-30.9.2023)

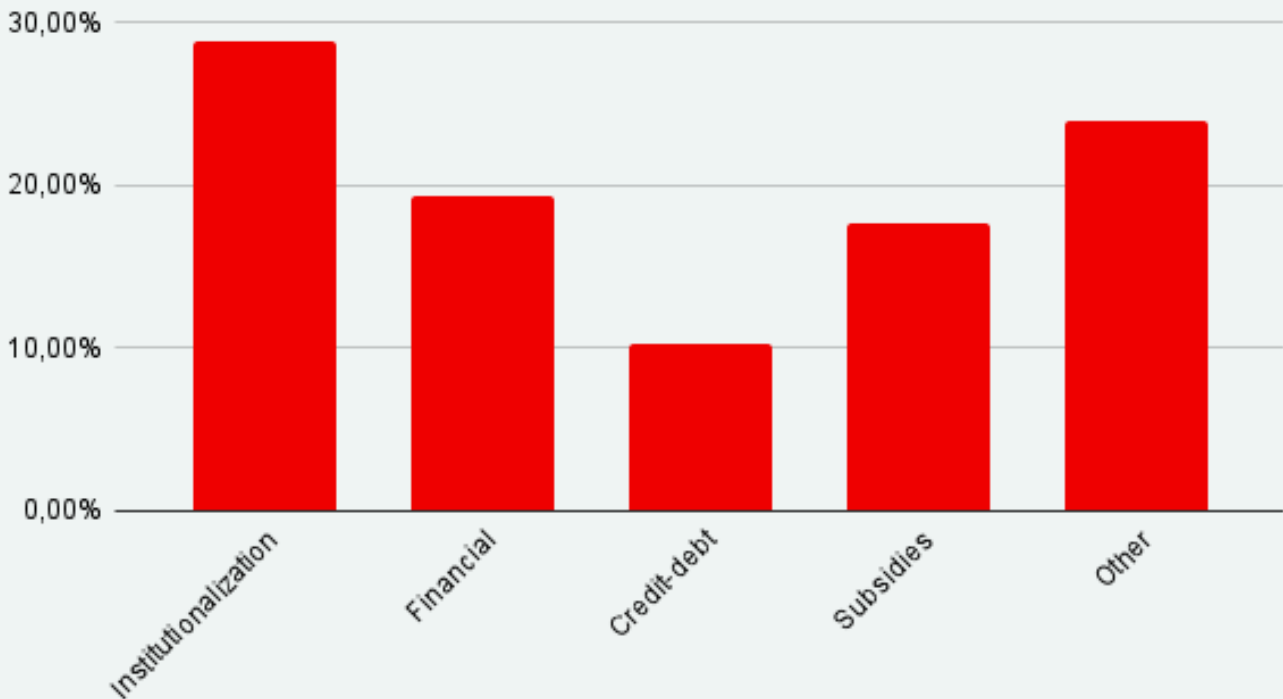


Chart 9.3. Ratio of the bill articles on disasters according to practices (Main division)
(All parties) (Total)

SUGGESTION 3

The preponderance of personal budgets among the areas of rights can be read as an important indicator that rights-based approaches to poverty and disaster in the TGNA are individual-oriented rather than community-oriented. In this sense, increasing the weight of social service-oriented legislative proposals such as employment, housing, transportation, energy, education and nutrition may enable parliamentarians with agenda-setting capacity to have a paradigm-shifting impact.

3. LOBBYING IN THE PARLIAMENT

Prior to the May 14, 2023 Parliamentary Elections held between the two legislative periods we examined, we launched a social media campaign with the hashtag “We are looking for MPs who will fight deep poverty: We call on all parliamentary candidates to fight deep poverty” with the hashtag #iwillstruggle. Our calls in the campaign include free and qualified kindergarten education for 0-6 year olds, free school meals, access to well-being rights for mothers with disabled children, free access to menstrual hygiene and sexual health products for women, medical care and emotional empowerment of mothers before and after childbirth in line with rights-based policies to fight poverty, We drew the attention of parliamentary candidates and voters to various areas of rights, such as meeting the care needs of newborns, access to economic and psychosocial support mechanisms for single parents, accessible legal counseling for the poor, and access to safe and healthy working conditions where workers receive equal pay for work of equal value.

After the elections, the first legislative year of the 28th Legislative Term ended on July 15 and the second legislative year started on October 1. On October 2-3, 2023, we paid a visit to the parliament to exchange views with 28th term MPs from all parties and to identify possible collaborations. Our six MPs, YSP Şırnak MP and member of the Constitutional Commission Ms. Ayşegül Doğan Dağlı, CHP Denizli MP and Deputy Speaker of the Grand National Assembly Ms. Gülizar Biçer Karaca, YSP Kars MP Ms. Gülüstan Kılıç Koçyiğit, Gelecek Party Antalya MP Ms. Serap Yazıcı Özbudun, DEVA Party Vice President for Nature Rights and Environmental Policies, Van MP Ms. Evrim Rızvanoğlu and CHP Ankara MP Dr. Aylin Yaman hosted our association staff in their offices.

All of the MPs we met sincerely emphasized their readiness to cooperate with the Deep Poverty Network. They expressed that they would welcome our contributions in the form of questions and research motions, press conferences and speeches in the plenary session of the parliament. Areas of particular interest to our MPs during our meetings were the poverty of single women, the elderly and children, the reopening of women’s health centers, the fight against drugs, the establishment of free water and nutrition programs in schools, the climate crisis and the adaptation of housing ergonomics to the needs of the elderly. Our MPs requested our association to prepare more fact sheets in these areas for use in parliamentary activities and to organize our database according to their interests.

As an association, we made two requests to our MPs, which they responded positively to. First, in our conversation where we invited them to the field where we work, they even volunteered to write some of the field observation notes themselves. Secondly, they also approached us warmly to propose a law together to implement school water and nutrition programs in many countries around the world as a non-partisan issue in our country.

4. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR TACKLING DISASTER RISKS

Although initially designed to be used in the context of development, the human rights-based approach is increasingly being referred to in the context of natural disasters.⁸

In this respect, it can be said that the February 6 earthquake caught the government, the opposition and civil society organizations at a time when this approach was just gaining widespread acceptance and acceptance. Since the human rights-based approach to disasters is new, it can also be seen as an opportunity to be utilized.

In this respect, the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction, signed by 187 UN member states in 2015, emphasizes the need for sustainable cooperation especially for developing countries to develop policies appropriate to their own conditions; sharing the responsibility for disaster risk reduction among central governments, national authorities, sectors and stakeholders; taking gender, age, disability and cultural factors into consideration in social participation; making information and data-based decisions and targeting policies and practices in line with sustainable development goals; and empowering local authorities to ensure coordination among institutions.⁹

One of the most important pillars of this approach is to consider the situations of vulnerable groups in reducing disaster risks. Children and the elderly stand out among the vulnerable groups most affected by the February 6 Earthquake. For this reason, it is of great importance to take as an example models that respect the rights of these groups and provide them with capabilities in disaster response.

The performance of the “Chile Grows with You” program in the Chilean Earthquake of 27 February 2010 is noteworthy in this respect, as it provides a successful model for taking children’s needs and rights into account. ChCC, which was established three years before the earthquake, established the mechanisms that enabled disaster response through the joint networks it built between institutions at national and local levels. The exchange of information between groups enabled all agencies to have a more complete picture of the health situation of children. Thus, the health status of children who were unable to go to the health center immediately after the earthquake could be ascertained, and the program made possible the coordination of agency officials who would otherwise have been overwhelmed by their own responsibilities in the aftermath of the earthquake.¹⁰

8- Karen da Costa & Paulina Pospieszna. “İnsan Hakları Hukuku ve Afet Riskinin Azaltılması: Tartışmaya hukuki Perspektif Getirmek”, s. 6.9-

9- Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015-2030, s. 13-14. https://www.preventionweb.net/files/43291_sendaiframeworkfordrren.pdf

10- Mary Catherine Arbour, Kara Murray, Felipe Arriet, Cecilia Moraga, Miguel Cordero Vega, Şili Depremi’nden Çıkarılan Dersler: İnsan Hakları Çerçevesi Afet Müdahalesini Nasıl Kolaylaştırır? <https://derinyoksullukagi.org/belge/sili-depreminden-cikarilan-dersler-insan-haklari-ercevesi-afet-mudahalesini-nasil-kolaylastirir/>

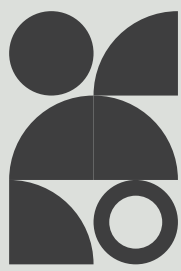
The inclusion of the elderly, another group disproportionately affected by disasters, stands out as another issue that should not be ignored. Some of the measures that need to be taken into consideration can be summarized as having an inclusive structure in which elderly people are included in disaster relief organizations, providing access to early warning systems to prepare elderly people for disasters, taking into account the characteristics of elderly people such as mobility, visual, hearing and mental disabilities in the preparation of evacuation plans, ensuring that disaster supplies and stocks are suitable for the needs of elderly people, organizing trainings to prepare elderly people for disasters, mapping the capacities of elderly people themselves and ensuring the participation of NGOs in all these processes.¹¹

5. CONCLUSION

Despite the extraordinary conditions brought about by the earthquake and the election agenda, rights-based legislative proposals were submitted in both sessions of the Parliament. However, the need for diversity in the subjects, areas and practices that the proposals focus on is striking. Another noteworthy issue is that almost all of the relevant legislative proposals came from the opposition and these proposals were either pending in commissions or rejected. Considering that in the fifth legislative year of the 27th term, no bill from a political party other than the AK Party was adopted, this situation is unlikely to change. We are also in a situation where NGOs find it almost impossible to establish contact with MPs from the ruling party. However, the fact that parliamentary questions and research motions, press conferences and speeches in the plenary session of parliament can still be effective in shaping the political agenda, or that the value-added tax rate on sanitary pads was reduced for a period of time, or that free school meals were provided in kindergartens, even if only for a semester, shows that the parliament is still important for NGOs. Accordingly, in the upcoming third year of its strategic partnership with Heinrich Böll Stiftung Turkey, the Deep Poverty Network is considering establishing different national and transnational stakeholders, lobbying the parliament, as well as continuing its parliamentary monitoring work with periodic and more comprehensive scans with the support of its volunteers.

¹¹- Afet Risklerinin Azaltılmasında Yaşlı Bireyleri Kapsayıcı Araç Seti <https://derinyoksullukagi.org/belge/afet-risklerinin-azaltilmasinda-yasli-bireyleri-kapsayici-arac-seti/>

¹²- TBMM 27. Dönem 5. Yasama Yılı Performans Raporu https://www.mecliste.org/dosyalar/file/27_donem5_yasamayiliperformansraporu.pdf



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