

**SOCIAL POLICY IN THE URBAN CONTEXT:  
CONTEMPORARY TURKISH LOCAL GOVERNMENTS ON  
THE WAY TO THE EUROPEAN UNION**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO  
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
OF  
THE MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY**

**BY**

**M. NERGİZ ARDIÇ**

**IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR  
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE  
IN  
URBAN POLICY PLANNING AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS**

**DECEMBER 2006**

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

---

Prof. Dr. Sencer Ayata  
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

---

Assoc. Prof. Dr. H. Tarık Şengül  
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

---

Prof. Dr. Melih Ersoy  
Supervisor

**Examining Committee Members**

Prof. Dr. Melih Ersoy (METU, CP) \_\_\_\_\_

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Çağatay Keskinok (METU, CP) \_\_\_\_\_

Assoc. Prof. Dr. H. Tarık Şengül (METU, ADM) \_\_\_\_\_

**I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.**

Name, Last Name: M. Nergiz Altinsoy Ardiç

Signature :

## **ABSTRACT**

### **SOCIAL POLICY IN THE URBAN CONTEXT: CONTEMPORARY TURKISH LOCAL GOVERNMENTS ON THE WAY TO THE EUROPEAN UNION**

Altınsoy Ardıç, Nergiz

M.S., Urban Policy Planning and Local Governments

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Melih Ersoy

December 2006

In this thesis it is aimed to explore the new social policy agenda, in which the role of local governments as policy makers has been increasing. In this respect, the contemporary Turkish local government system, and social policies of the municipalities are analyzed by drawing upon the European Union's approach on the social policy in the urban context. Within this framework, the social policies of the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality are studied.

**Keywords:** Social policy, European Union, local government, new-right, globalization, localization

## ÖZ

### KENTSEL BAĞLAMDA SOSYAL POLİTİKA: AVRUPA BİRLİĞİNE DOĞRU TÜRKİYE’NİN YEREL YÖNETİMLERİ

Altınsoy Ardıç, Nergiz

Yüksek Lisans, Kentsel Politika Planlaması ve Yerel Yönetimler

Tez Töneticisi: Prof. Dr. Melih Ersoy

Aralık, 2006

Bu çalışma, yeni sosyal politika gündemini ve siyasa üreticisi olarak rolü artan yerel yönetimleri araştırmayı amaçlamıştır. Bu bakımdan, Türkiye’nin bugünkü yerel yönetim sistemi ve belediyelerin sosyal politika alanları incelenirken, Avrupa Birliği’nin kentsel alandaki sosyal politika yaklaşımı ele alınmıştır. Bu çerçevede, Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi’nin sosyal politikaları çalışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sosyal politika, Avrupa Birliği, yerel yönetim, yeni-sağ, küreselleşme, yerelleşme

To My Family

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Dr. Melih Ersoy for his valuable support and supervision in the realization of this thesis. I am indebted to him, whose criticisms have brought valuable inspirations to this thesis. I would also like to express my gratitude to Assoc. Prof. Dr. Çağatay Keskinok for his support and supervision.

I am grateful to my husband, my father and my mother for their encouragement, support and love all throughout my academic studies. My son, Efehan, was very sympathetic and understanding during this study, otherwise I could not have accomplished it.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

|  |      |
|--|------|
| <b>PLAGIARISM</b> .....  | iii  |
| <b>ABSTRACT</b> .....  | iv   |
| <b>ÖZ</b> .....  | v    |
| <b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b> .....  | vii  |
| <b>TABLE OF CONTENTS</b> .....   | viii |
| <b>CHAPTER</b>   |      |
| <b>1. INTRODUCTION</b> .....   | 1    |
| <b>2. SOCIAL POLICY IN THE URBAN CONTEXT</b> .....                       | 9    |
| 2.1. SOCIAL POLICY .....   | 9    |
| 2.1.1. Discipline of Social Policy .....                                 | 10   |
| 2.1.2. Social Democratic Approach .....                                  | 12   |
| 2.1.3. Marxist Approach .....  | 13   |
| 2.1.4. Conceptual Definitions of Social Policy .....                     | 15   |
| 2.1.5. Welfare and Social Services .....                                 | 17   |
| 2.2. WHY SOCIAL POLICY IN THE URBAN CONTEXT? .....                       | 19   |
| 2.2.1. New-Right Policies .....  | 20   |
| 2.2.2. Globalization .....   | 21   |
| 2.2.3. Localization .....  | 23   |
| 2.2.4. A New Agenda for the Social Policies<br>in the Urban Context..... | 24   |
| 2.2.4.1. Why a New Agenda? .....   | 24   |
| 2.2.4.2. What is the New Agenda? .....                                   | 26   |
| 2.2.5. Concluding Remarks on the Urban Social Policy.....                | 31   |

|   |    |
|---|----|
| <b>3. URBAN SOCIAL POLICY IN THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT</b> .....                         | 33 |
| 3.1. THE SOCIAL POLICY OF THE EUROPEAN UNION.....                                   | 33 |
| 3.1.1. The European Charter of Local Self-Government .....                          | 37 |
| 3.1.2. The European Urban Charter .....   | 38 |
| 3.2. AN EVALUATION ON EUROPEAN APPROACH TO URBAN SOCIAL POLICY .....                | 42 |
| <b>4. CONTEMPORARY LOCAL GOVERNMENTS IN TURKEY</b> .....                            | 45 |
| 4.1. MUNICIPALITIES .....   | 47 |
| 4.1.1. Organizational Structure.....  | 48 |
| 4.1.2. Duties Of Municipalities.....  | 49 |
| 4.1.3. Municipal Revenues.....  | 52 |
| 4.2. METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITIES.....   | 54 |
| 4.2.1. Organizational Structure.....  | 54 |
| 4.2.2. The Duties Of Metropolitan Municipality.....                                 | 56 |
| 4.3. SOCIAL POLICIES OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENTS IN TURKEY: ON THE WAY TO THE EU ..... | 57 |
| <b>5. URBAN SOCIAL POLICY PATTERNS OF ANKARA METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY</b> .....    | 62 |
| 5.1. METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY OF ANKARA.....                                       | 62 |
| 5.2. SOCIAL SERVICES OF METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY OF ANKARA.....                    | 64 |
| 5.2.1. Services for Children.....   | 66 |
| 5.2.2. Services for Elderly.....  | 68 |
| 5.2.3. Services for Women.....  | 69 |
| 5.2.4. Services for Disabled.....   | 70 |
| 5.3. THE RESULTS OF THE CASE STUDY.....   | 74 |
| 5.3.1. The Problem of the Case Study.....   | 74 |

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| 5.3.2. The Aim of the Case Study.....  | 75         |
| 5.3.3. The Assumptions of the Case Study .....                               | 75         |
| 5.3.4. The Method of the Case Study.....                                     | 76         |
| 5.3.5. The Universe of the Case Study.....                                   | 77         |
| 5.3.6. The Limitations of the Case Study .....                               | 77         |
| 5.3.7. The Findings.....   | 78         |
| 5.3.7.1. Demographic Features .....  | 79         |
| 5.3.7.2. Urban Life of the Respondents .....                                 | 83         |
| 5.3.7.3. Municipal Services .....  | 87         |
| 5.3.7.4. Civil Society Organizations .....                                   | 90         |
| <br>   |            |
| <b>6. CONCLUSION.....</b>  | <b>93</b>  |
| <br>   |            |
| <b>BIBLIOGRAPHY.....</b>   | <b>102</b> |
| <br>   |            |
| <b>APPENDICES</b>  |            |
| <b>A. Urban Social Policies on Local Governmental Level in England .....</b> | <b>112</b> |
| <b>B. Sample Questionnaire Form.....</b>                                     | <b>121</b> |
| <b>C. Tables of the Questionnaire Results.....</b>                           | <b>126</b> |

## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

The world has witnessed a transformation process associated with the drastic changes in social, political, administrative and economic spheres, during the last quarter of the twentieth century. This transformation process has been a response to the crisis of capitalist accumulation regime dated back to the 1970's. In this respect, 1980s were of significant value, because since then, provision of welfare by state is highly criticized due to high costs and financial burden. In the European countries, the new-right ideology has introduced, which has brought series of implementations such as narrowing down the activity field of state through privatization. This has been associated with the end of intervention of state in economic and social sphere. All these processes have underlined the end of Keynesian Welfare State. In this process, social policy has been challenged by these structural changes in terms of its theoretical and policy agendas. The social policy has not vanished in the political space, yet it has faced proliferation of the policy makers and policy fields. In fact, globalization itself has contributed to the emergence of new deprived groups; for example, global flow of labor has necessitated social policy to deal with immigrant workers, poverty has become a world wide problem, social movements of women, child, environment and so forth have gained a global feature. Therefore, globalization has itself contributed to the change in social policy agenda by means of affecting the disadvantageous groups. In the light of these contemporary challenges, the literature of social policy points to new debates on the issue regarding the structural changes of globalization, localization and new-right political approaches. These recent debates necessitate posing questions on the issue. Because, "the destructure process and its ideological and eventually political repercussions are not uniform across countries,

social classes, income categories, gender groups, or groups defined by party affiliation, nor do they affect individual components of the welfare state, its programs and institutions to the same extent.”(Offe, 1987, p.528) In fact, the uneven nature of the process, leading to such differences, compels to problematize the contemporary social policy agenda within the social, political, cultural, and economical contexts of the countries.

In this general framework, this thesis is an attempt to address the impact of structural changes on the social policy, which has used to be associated with the welfare state. Although differences between the implementation of the social policies are on the scene, it is also possible to put forward the common premises for this problematic. In this sense, this thesis mainly argues for the increasing attention to social policies in the urban context, and that of local authorities as policy makers. To put it in other words, local authorities have been gaining importance as one of the major social policy makers. In the post 1980 era, the European Union has become one of those important political forces in setting the new social policy agenda. The mold shaped by the European Union corresponds to reconsideration of the social policies within the context of urban policies, thus the local authorities as one of the social policy makers and implementers. In the light of these developments, this thesis proposes the need for considering the new agenda in the name of “urban social policy”. This conceptual reconfiguration also rises due to the changes that have seen in the theoretical approaches to the meaning of “collectivity”. Once the collectivity was described on the bases of citizenship as a total unit within the boundaries of the Keynesian welfare state, now the collectivity has gained new meanings, yet conserving the citizenship parameter. In this sense, new urban social policy addresses different collectivities each of which requires special policies regarding their reasons of deprivation. Therefore, social policy beneficiaries, or the welfare recipients have started to be defined with reference to the local collectivities. In these terms, social policy that emerged from the principle of collectivism has not lost its collectivist nature, but

the content and the context of this collectivism has shifted from the one on the national ground to the one on the local ground. In fact, “in terms of ideology and policy, this strengthened the case for the devolution of decisions to small units, managed according to technical criteria, for the cost-efficient supply for education, health and welfare goods.” (Jordan, 2005, p.158)

The statement of the problem in this thesis is that with the hollowing out of the Keynesian welfare state, social policies have not disappeared, but rather the issue under the scope has found new political areas as such it has articulated to the urban policies in general with a new agenda. This problematic becomes crucial to pay attention when the urban component of the issue is considered. Each and every year urban population increases in the world. Also, this urban population has been under the attack of the uneven development of globalization. For example, the literature points to the increasing urban poverty rates. Moreover, deprived groups in cities might be more easily excluded and marginalized when they are unable to access to the welfare services. Therefore, this research is important in order to understand how the welfare recipients in the cities are affected by these structural changes. It gains importance when the capability of the social policies to improve the well-being of the deprived and even excluded groups is taken into consideration.

In addition to these common developments, each country has its own dynamics, which generates differentiations in this problematic. “Contemporary capitalism seems at crossroads in its historical development and is marked by the emergence of forces –market, technological, social and institutional– which differ from those dominant in the 1960s and 1970s.” (Yücesan-Özdemir, 2003, p.183) In recent decades, neo-liberal principals have been introduced to the political and economic spheres with an attack on the welfare provision by the interventionist state. For Yücesan-Özdemir (2003, p.190), “since the 1980s, social policy in Turkey has been constructed under the so-called ‘structural reforms’ introduced in conjunction

with the IMF and the World Bank.” In fact, for Boratav, Yeldan and Köse (2000, p.29), “these so-called *structural reforms* aim at [elimination] of those institutional elements covering education, health and social security systems –the totality of which is usually referred to as *the welfare state*.” However, they argue, “the gradual dismantling of the welfare state have never attained” in Turkey, yet the gradual changes have been taking place. Therefore, it can be argued that as a response to these macro scale changes in political, economic and societal spheres, social policy has been oriented toward the neo-liberal paradigms. The results of the neo-liberal social policy in Turkey are listed by Yücesan-Özdemir (2003, p.195) as “widespread joblessness, underemployment, the absence or erosion of a state social security net, growing wage polarization, weak trade unionism, and employment insecurity.”

In addition to the effects of global restructuring in recent decades, Turkey has been under the influence of the process of integration to the European Union. Since December 1999, when Turkey was accepted as a candidate state by the Union, the main administrative structures have been required for reinstitutionalization in line with the requirements. This process has been also affecting Turkey to reconfigure her social policy institutions.<sup>1</sup> In fact, Buğra and Keyder (2006) focus on the current transformation of Turkey’s welfare regime in the context of contemporary developments in social policy processes, particularly in Europe. They argue “the transformation, under the constraints of globalization and neo-liberalism, involves

---

<sup>1</sup> In the *Guide to the Main Administrative Structures Required for Implementing the Acquis* (May, 2005), these main administrative structures are listed as 1) free movement of goods, 2) freedom of movement for workers, 3) right of establishment and freedom to provide services, 4) free movement of capital, 5) public procurement, 6) company law, 7) intellectual property law, 8) competition policy, 9) financial services, 10) information society and media, 11) agriculture and rural development, 12) food safety, veterinary and phytosanitary policy, 13) fisheries, 14) transport policy, 15) energy, 16) taxation, 17) economic and monetary policy, 18) statistics, 19) social policy and employment, 20) enterprise and industrial policy, 21) trans-European networks, 22) regional policy and co-ordination of structural instruments, 23) judiciary and fundamental rights, 24) justice, freedom and security, 25) science and research, 26) education and culture, 27) environment, 28) consumer and health protection, 29) customs union, 30) external relations, 31) foreign, security and defense policy, 32) financial control, 33) financial and budgetary provisions.

a change from an inegalitarian corporatism where both the rural population and urban informal sector employees were excluded from the formal social policy security system.” (2006, p.211) According to Buğra and Keyder, change in the social policy agenda in Turkey have been affected by the legacy of state-society relations, conservative liberalism of the AKP government, which has been on power since 2002, international financial institutions, the need for more universalist approaches to deal with new forms of poverty and social exclusion. They further argue that “the relations of Turkey with the EU also affected the balance between conservative-liberal trends and universalist, rights based approaches to social policy.” (2006, p.211)

Buğra and Keyder’s line of argumentation opens a problematic concerning the relationship between social policy and citizenship. Citizenship on the basis of social policy is defined by Barnes (1999) in three broad ways: citizenship as a social right, as a form of agency and practice, and as a relationship of accountability between welfare providers and beneficiaries. Social policy has added the social rights to economic and political rights of citizenship. In the second aspect of the citizenship, Barnes envisages the involvement of the beneficiary groups in the policy making process. With reference to the disabled groups, she argues for their capability to be active agents “making and creating” the services they receive, rather than simply “consuming” them (1999, p.84). The third aspect of citizenship addresses the accountability issue through democratic governance. In this sense, the policy beneficiary groups are not only passive recipients of the services, but by seeing themselves as actors, they involve for the accountability of the service providers.

Corollary, the purpose of this thesis is to attract the attentions on the urban social policy approach in general, and to shed light on the emerging trends in Turkey, in particular. In deed, legislative reforms on local governments in Turkey have been still going on. Palabıyık and Yavaş (2006, p.1) states that these legislative reforms

of restructuring local government system in Turkey have centered on “such generally accepted justifications: reform, effectiveness, efficiency, local governance, participation and accountability.” With respect to social policies in the cities, legal requirements have strengthened the welfare provisions by the local governments within the Turkish public administration structure. In this framework, local governments have gained importance in the improvement of the well-being of the city dwellers, which are now weaker against exclusion and marginalization in the age of globalization.

In this framework, main questions that drive the research topic of this thesis are the followings:

- 1) How have the worldwide structural changes, such as globalization, localization and new-right policies, affected the social policies in general?
- 2) Why is there a need for an urban social policy approach?
- 3) How has the European Union’s social policy approach led to the institutionalization of the social policy within the urban policy context?
- 4) What is the Turkish case regarding the urban social policies? How has the Turkish local government system faced with the reformation process? What is the impact of these reformations with regards to the urban social policies?

In order to explore the research questions stated above, empirical and theoretical studies in comparative politics has provided the necessary analytical tools. In this study, institutionalist approach has guided in terms of its methodological premises with its assumptions that state and societal institutions shape how political actors define their interests and structure their relations of power to other groups. (Thelen and Steinmo, 1993) According to this approach, institutions exist within political settings performing public tasks. “Also, institutions appear *voile face* to be associated with differences in behavior of individuals and differences in decision-making outcomes. Institutions also help in reducing variance in political behavior

and therefore help to improve the possibilities prediction.” (Peters, 2000, p.14) Institutional approach looks for the intermediary bodies between macro structures and micro components of the political setting, and stresses the relational character of political institutions and the objectives, interests of the political actors. Therefore, institutionalism leaves a room for explaining the variances among countries and even among the cities in the country with respect to urban social policies. In fact, “since the beginning of the 1980s, historical institutionalism has emerged as one of the most influential theoretical perspectives in social policy studies.” (Béland, 2005, p.1) In the light of these premises, institutionalism is thought to be guidance in studying how the new social policy agenda has found a political ground for reinstitutionalizing on the urban level with a special emphasis to local governments.

Within the scope of this thesis, the chapters are organized as in the following: The first chapter introduces the statement of the problem, the research questions, and the methodology used to deal with the research questions. The second chapter reviews the concept of the social policy with reference to different ideological approaches to the concept. In this chapter it is also aimed to address the need for a new framework for social policy in the urban context by focusing on the contemporary structural changes that world has witnessed. In this sense, new-right policies, globalization and localization are thought to be important structural factors, which have forced the social policy approach of the Keynesian welfare state to adopt a new agenda. At the end of this chapter, it is attempted to discuss why there has raised a need for a new agenda and what the new agenda is. The following third chapter devotes to draw the European Union’s approach to the social policies in the urban context, because as stated before, the Union’s requirements in certain issues for full membership have been an important political factor for Turkey in recent years. In this sense, fourth chapter deals with the recent legal and institutional changes made in the Turkish local government system with a particular reference to social policy. In the fifth chapter, it is aimed to understand

how the social policy in the urban context, which has been more articulated with the local governments, has been performed by the Turkish local governments. In this sense, a case study was made regarding the social policies of the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality in general. In particular, a field survey was made with the handicapped, who are one of those welfare recipients. The sixth chapter concludes the thesis by briefly summarizing the overall chapters and with opening up a discussion on the urban social policy and the Turkish case.

In addition to institutionalist approach, the research has continued via following methodological steps. First literature review helped in the construction of the theoretical framework, and provided with the necessary ideas and tools for the realization of the field survey. The field survey was aimed to focus on a Turkish city in order to evaluate the contemporary patterns of the social policy in the urban context. In this sense, Ankara Metropolitan Municipality was hoped to be contributory, because the metropolitan mayor has been on the same post since 1994. Therefore, it was thought that this time period would be helpful to argue for or against chances, or for continuity in the municipal social policy, if there was any. The data about the municipal social policy were collected from the website of the municipality, from the printed magazines and weekly newspapers of the municipality, and from the interviews made with the heads and the personnel of the related municipal departments. The second part of the field survey was devoted to include one of those social policy beneficiaries. Because of practical reasons, such as accessing the handicapped via civil society institutions, the handicapped were included in this part of the field survey. A questionnaire was made with this group in order to explore their relationships with the municipality. In case of data analysis, content analysis helped to deal with the municipality's printed documents, and SPSS was used to analyze the questionnaire results.

## **CHAPTER II**

### **SOCIAL POLICY IN THE URBAN CONTEXT**

The main purpose of this chapter is to touch on the concepts of “social policy” and “social policy in the urban context”. In the first part of this chapter, the emphasis will be on the concept of ‘social policy’ with reference to its emergence as an academic discipline, and its conceptual definition.

In the second part of this chapter, social policy in the urban context will be explored with specific emphasis on the new-right policies, globalization, and localization processes all of which have crucially affected the social policy agenda and the local governments in many aspects.

#### **2.1. SOCIAL POLICY**

In any society, there exists disadvantaged groups whose disadvantageous conditions arise with respect to their physical, psychological, fiscal, racial, ethnic, or religious characteristics. Due to such disadvantages some groups of people are unable to access certain types of services, thus welfare which in turn makes them to be excluded from the society. In this framework, ‘social policy’ stands for a range of actions concerning the welfare and social services. Therefore, social policy has mainly associated with the policies of the welfare state. The scope of the social policy generally includes personal social services including health, social security, education, employment services, community care and housing management; social problems including crime, disability, unemployment, and old age; and social disadvantages as a result of race, ethnicity, gender and poverty. Generally, social policies aim to maintain the social development, social justice, social integration, social peace and social balance/equilibrium.

The emergence of social policy practices preceded the emergence of the subject as an academic discipline. Aftermath of its emergence in academic sphere, the subject gained new approaches, and its definition enlarged. In the following part, the emergence of social policy as an academic discipline, its changes in both theoretical and practical frameworks will be studied with a special reference to the social democratic and the Marxist approaches to the subject. Also, the related concepts of welfare and social services will be touched upon, because they compose an integral part of the theories and practices of social policy.

### **2.1.1. Discipline of Social Policy**

Social policy emerged as an academic discipline in the early twentieth century. It stemmed from the politics of collectivism and the practice of state intervention to deal with the social problems. Although there was a practice of state intervention in the nineteenth century by way of, for instance, public health and education, large-scale acceptance of the arguments for the principle of collectivism did not emerge until the turn of the century<sup>2</sup>. Yet the different political orientations like the liberals, socialists, and the Fabian society, all supported collectivism in different ways (Williams, 1989, p.4). Fabianism<sup>3</sup> was characterized by its proposals for practical policies aimed at social problems. Their objectives were to move gradually to socialism through the state's reforms and/or through a system of provision of welfare and state regulation of economy, which would bring about

---

<sup>2</sup> More information about the state intervention to social living area can be found in the writings of *T.H. Marshall*, discussing the evolution of social policy with a specific reference to the British experience in 'social policy'.

<sup>3</sup> Fabianism is a term used to refer both to a general position within 'socialism' and to the views of a specific group of late Victorian and early twentieth century British socialists. As a general term Fabianism describes a style of socialism expressing the essential arguments of the historical Fabian socialists. As an historically specific term, Fabianism describes the views of the leading members of the Fabian society from the society's formation in 1884 until the late 1930s (D. Miller, pp.145-146).

healthy and good living standards for the working class (Williams, 1989). In so far as the discipline of social policy established itself in the traditions of Fabianism, it rejected other major political traditions of the time. Further characteristics of early Fabianism, which also influenced both the discipline and its policies for welfare reforms, were its ideas about the family and motherhood and about nation and race.

Although many of these characteristics and objectives of early Fabianism were carried into the Post-War discipline of 'social policy', which was dominated until the 1970s, there were different approaches to social policy. Political views on welfare are often divided into 'left' and 'right' wing views. Leftist and rightist perspectives on social policy differ from each other. Main differences between the two are, first, while leftist perspective stands for welfare, rightist perspective is against it. Second, leftist perspective seeks for public provision of welfare, whereas rightist perspective is against to public provision of welfare (Spicker, 1995).

As long as the mainstream social policy was oriented towards the social services, there emerged reactionist approaches to the subject. The impact of these different critiques upon the mainstream tradition of social policy was the fragmentation of new approaches. As far as the discipline of social policy is concerned, the articulation, and in some cases the practice of new and different approaches to the welfare state has paved the way for attempts to develop a theoretical basis for the discipline and move it beyond its empirical orientation; and secondly has started the debates on legitimacy of the welfare state in 1970s and 1980s. That is to say, the discipline of social policy began to be challenged in the mid 1970s by different critical perspectives of the welfare state, in a way losing its empiricist past and starting to have a theoretical base. "At heart these competing perspectives diverge over whether they think we should structure modern societies to meet human needs (Marxism), whether we should free individuals to pursue their own wants

through market mechanisms (neo-liberalism), whether we should try to combine elements of both of the above via the workings of a social market (social democracy). (Lavalette & Pratt, 1997, p.7)

### **2.1.2. Social Democratic Approach**

The social democratic perspective has its own perception of welfare and social policy. As Kearns (1997, p.12) puts it “within this tradition of thought, state is perceived as potentially positive as capable of enhancing the welfare of all the citizens.” Therefore, emergence and growth of welfare state and social policies are the consequences of a set of historical events, processes and ideas like industrialization, democratization, formation of the class system, and voluntarism. “Social democratic ideas about the welfare state are a normative theory in that it seeks to combine individual liberty and democracy in a purposive and positive state. It is also analytical in that it attempt to explore how the welfare state has emerged historically and expose its role and aim in contemporary society” (Kearns, 1997, p.13).

From the social democratic perspective, state became a welfare state, which accepted the primary responsibility for the general well-being of its citizens, as a consequence of the mentioned historical forces and processes. In the late nineteenth century, through a set of reforms, state started to gain importance as a welfare provider in the social context. Social policy practices started in the field of education, and developed with health and housing policies.

In the early twentieth century, these developments were followed up by the introduction of limited systems of health and unemployment insurance, further extension of education provision, a nascent old-age pension scheme, legislation to protect children and the development of a system of labor exchanges to encourage

the more fluid movement of labor and the easing of unemployment (Kearns, 1997).

In the years around the end of the Second World War, state gained the role of providing employment; organizing a social insurance system and social assistance to protect citizens from the risk of poverty; providing a comprehensive health service free; providing education services for all and improvements in housing provision and in general standards of social amenity (Kearns, 1997). These post-war reforms are accepted as the first systematic attempt to find solutions to the social problems.

During the 1950s and 1960s, there was a continuous shift in the direction of social policies towards the expansion of the frontiers of welfare state. Such an expansion was followed by fundamental reconstruction in 1980s and 1990s (Kearns, 1997, p.20). In other words, “the period from the mid-1970s to the early 1990s was one in which the ideas associated with social democratic theory ... have been in retreat.” (Kearns, 1997, p.24) Thus, for Kearns (1997, p.30), this period was “characterized by loss of faith in social democratic approaches to public policy in general and social policy in particular. This was a period in which policy was directed towards disengaging the state from active social intervention in both economy and society.”

### **2.1.3. Marxist Approach**

Marxism is primarily a critique of capitalism and class societies, and an analysis of the production process and social relations this production process creates. In Marxist analysis societies are viewed as ‘social totalities’ that are divided by classes, mainly bourgeoisie and working class with conflicting interests.

The Marxist analysis of social policies and welfare concentrates on relations of power and relations between the bourgeoisie and the working class. As Lavalette (1997, p.63) puts it social policies were introduced and implemented by the state, and social policies emerged as a response to structure of capitalism so as to maintain the reproduction of the labor. Thus in Marxist account, social policies reflect the divisions of exploitation and oppression within society; also, the developments of welfare regimes together with social policies reflect the outcomes of the competing and conflicting class divisions.

Marxist analyses of social policies are made in relation to first the state and second the structure of capitalism. First of all, the state primarily functions to maintain the conditions for the existence and expansion of capitalism as a socio-economic system. According to this Marxist notion of state, "...the state involve the development of social policies to support and discipline particular groups within society, partly to legitimate the present form of society and partly to control those who may threaten the economic workings of society" (Lavelette, 1997, p.64). Neo-Marxists argue that the state has two main functions; "first is to improve the conditions for the accumulation of capital, ...second is to legitimate the capitalist system, by introducing measures (like welfare policies, pensions and health services) which lead people to accept the system as it stands (Spicker, 1995).

Secondly, social policies have developed in response to the problems created by the structure and operation of capitalism in the area of labor reproduction (Lavalette, 1997). Marxist critique argues that social policies and spending on social services and welfare provision are only a part of any state's activity so as to enable existence and expansion of capitalism. Similar to the social democratic perspective, Marxists assume that the development of social policies and welfare provision have been bound up with the consequences, problems and social conditions created with capitalism. According to Marxists, emergence and growth of state social welfare are the result of four conflicting pressures; structural needs

of the system, intra-class divisions, inter-class conflict and the legitimating process.

#### **2.1.4. Conceptual Definitions of Social Policy**

In academic writings, generally, the definition of ‘social policy’ is not primarily stated; rather the boundaries of the subject as well as the relationship of the subject to other academic disciplines are explored. Such an approach arises due to the fact that social policies concern the well-being of citizens of every aspect of life in close relationship with other academic disciplines. Therefore, it is found necessary to approach the subject matter theoretically by means of shaping the boundaries of the subject.

It is not easy to formulate a generally accepted definition of the social policy which seems to be primarily about the outcomes of the decisions both at central and local governmental level. In T.H. Marshall’s terms “social policy is not a technical term with an exact meaning. It is taken to refer to the policy of governments with regard to action having a direct impact on the welfare of the citizens, by providing them with services or income. The central core consists therefore, of social insurance, public or national assistance, the health and welfare services, housing policy” (Marshall, 1965).

In the stated conceptualizing, social policy is considered as primarily oriented towards the provision of social services to individuals. A similar conceptualizing of social policy is made by Rein as “social policy can be regarded as the study of the history, politics, philosophy, sociology, and economics of the social services ... which should at least be broad enough to encompass services such as education, medical care, cash transfers, housing and social work” (Rein, 1970, pp.3-4). M. Rein continues his discussion with the conceptual difficulties in delimiting the boundaries of ‘social policy’ with reference to the different approaches to the

subject matter. In delimiting process, he contributes to the discussions with stating three approaches: Firstly, as he is asking who should have the priority of access to social services, he argues a line of thought stating that the disadvantaged groups should have the power to claim for a more favorable distribution of resources. It is broadly accepted that social policy is concerned with the allocation of limited resources to meet a range social needs. Secondly, given the commitment of social policy to the issues of redistribution and equity within an economic approach, Rein (1970, p.5) defines social policy as “planning for social externalities, redistribution, and the equitable distribution of social benefits, especially social services”. As for the third approach, he centers the social policy on where to draw the boundaries separating policy, planning, community organization, and administration. Briefly stating, “...*administration* is concerned with converting choice into activity, *community organization* with the issues surrounding the process of decision making, *planning* with the substantive decisions, and *policy* with understanding the implicit rationale and value choice surrounding both the process and substantive issues of social services.” (Rein, 1970, p.6) In this sense, Rein (1970, p.18) argues that;

... there are several models which inform the overall purposes of social policy. It may be regarded as allocative justice in which the principles of redistribution are central. Alternatively, policy may be seen as an instrument to achieve other goals such as economic growth, social stability, and physical renewal of cities. It may also be regarded as a social therapy designed to reintegrate individual into communities from which they have become alienated and disengaged. Policy may be all of these.

Additionally, for Titmuss (1975) ‘what is meant by social policy’ is followed by the question ‘whose social policy’?

When we use the term social policy we must not therefore, automatically react it by investing it with a halo of altruism, concern for others, concern about equality and so on. Nor must be unthinkingly conclude that because Britain or any other country has a social policy or has developed social

services, that they actually operate in practice to further the ends of progressive redistribution, equality and social altruism. What is 'welfare' for some groups may be 'ill-fare' for others.

Recently, another definition based on a focus or target group is made by Joseph Scarpaci (1993) broadly as "public actions that protect the vulnerable and poor from adverse changes in the quality of life, especially in the provision of health, education, and housing"

In fact, the conceptual definition of the term social policy has a wide range of spectrum which includes the definitions based on policy beneficiaries and policy fields. The common points in the given conceptualizations are that the social policies are in a sense redistribution process for the disadvantaged groups in a society regarding their well-being or welfare in the broadest meaning. Moreover, it is generally accepted that policies in general and social policies in particular reflect the choices of the political forces even which can shape and alter the character of the policies. Institutional forces are constantly pressing to make policy serve their own interests in this highly organized and complex society (Maxwell, 1975). From this perspective, social policy can be seen as an "intensely political project and, as such, an immensely important arena in which competing ideologies can clash" (Lavalette & Pratt, 1997). Consequently, politics matter a great deal and political activity is afforded a great significance in the policy-making process in particular and the shaping of social policy in general (Ringen, 1986).

#### **2.1.5. Welfare and Social Services**

Welfare and social services are much related but different concepts in the studies of social policy. The concept of welfare is generally used to refer to the 'well-being'. According to Spicker (1995), "in welfare economics, welfare is understood in terms of 'utility'; people's well-being or interests consist of the things they

choose to have”. For Spicker (1995), “welfare also refers to the range of services which are provided to protect people who are in need of support due to childhood, sickness, disability and old age”. Within the context of 'well-being', welfare can be individual or social.

Providing welfare for a society is a matter of redistribution. Titmuss (1963) puts forward different kinds of redistributive process, arguing that it is not possible to understand the redistributive impact of social policy without taking them fully into account. He argues for a 'social division of welfare', including three main types of welfare: first, social welfare (the social services); second, fiscal welfare (welfare distributed through the tax system); and third, occupational welfare (welfare distributed by industry as part of employment). This classification is important because it draws attention to different patterns of redistribution, explains that different kinds of redistribution (for example by tax or by benefits) might have similar effects, and broadens the scope of social policy as a subject.

The second concept related with the studies of social policy is the “social services”. Social services are publicly or privately provided services to aid disadvantaged or vulnerable persons or groups. The patterns of social services are not universal, because their range varies from society to society. In general social services include health care, housing policy, employment services, personal social services and education that serve for the vulnerable groups, such as the poor, the disabled, or the delinquent. For Spicker (1995), the majority of personal social services are rendered on an individual basis to people who are unable, whether temporarily or permanently, to cope with the problems of everyday living, such as families faced with loss of income, desertion, or illness; children and youths whose physical or moral welfare is at risk, the sick, the disabled, the frail elderly, and the unemployed.

Social policy is the study of social welfare and social services. Rein (1970, p.17) puts the differences between these concepts as; while “social welfare is the broadest category embracing those forms of collective intervention which are concerned with medical care, housing, education, cash transfer, and personal social services”, “personal social services is one of the sectors within social welfare”.

## **2.2. WHY SOCIAL POLICY IN THE URBAN CONTEXT?**

The review presented above leads to argue that social policies are mainly associated with the state or government policies pursued at the national scale. However, the structural changes throughout the world, which is discussed in the following parts, have necessitated the revival of the social policies in the urban context. However the literature does not point to introduction and development of such a term called “urban social policy”. That is to say, there is little focus on urban problems looking from within the scope of social policy. On the other hand, there seems a huge literature on social problems in cities looking from within the urban policies and urban studies. As Edwards (1995, p.711) argues social policies are not city-specific, but urban deprived groups in the cities maintain their well-being by means of mainstream social policies.

The social policies need to be sensitive to the cities and urban problems. Because urban problems have become much apparent in daily lives, either in tangible forms like informal child-work in streets, crime, beggarhood, or in intangible forms like alienation, fear, exclusion, marginalization. In urban areas, *difference* in question might be seen along religious, ethnic, gender, racial, age axes. The importance of difference stems from the fact that social policy beneficiaries consist of different groups and their difference necessitates the relevant policies directed towards their deprivation. Since nature of deprivation is directly a result of the difference, social policy practices should consider the differences between the policy beneficiaries. “One of the key developments in social policy in recent years has been the

recognition and inclusion of difference and challenging of social divisions.” (Beresford, 2001, p.507) The differences in urban experiences, might lead to the exclusion of some groups. In any case, social policy practices have the potential of maintaining social inclusion of excluded groups if social policy makers are sensitive to the social differences and deprivation in the urban context. Furthermore, Beresford (2001, p.507) argue that social policy as an academic discipline raises issues concerning the questions of identity, vulnerability and social inclusion. Boulding (1976, p.15) also asserts that “by and large is an objective of social policy to build the identity of a person around some community with which he is associated”. Boulding (1976, p.16) continues this argument by stating that “social policy has to concern itself profoundly with questions of identity and alienation”, thus it reflects social integration.

The scope of the social policies and the social policies in the urban context, have gained new perspectives with the tremendous changes in the last decades. In this framework, New-right policies, globalization, and localism processes have had direct impacts on the issue.

### **2.2.1. New-Right Policies**

As it is mentioned in the introduction chapter, the transformation process world has witnessed from the 1980s has associated with the introduction of new policies and practices to the general administrative, political, economic and social agenda so as to find a solution to the economic problems of the 1970s. These new policies, introduced under the name of “new-right”, assumed that the Keynesian welfare state caused a financial crisis because extensive state intervention in every sphere of social life continuously increased the expenditures. That is to say, the crisis in advanced capitalist societies was thought to be the result of Keynesian welfare state which regulated and intervened in economic sphere, provided social benefits,

infrastructure, health, education, housing and income support for the reproduction of the labor (Jessop, 1996).

The principles of New-right thinking lead to the introduction of a new term, namely “governance”, which is primarily emerged in advanced capitalist societies, and then exported to the less developed countries through foreign aid donors and structural adjustment policies. *Governance* defines the rules, processes and practices, which determine how powers are exercised with respect to accountability, visibility, transparency, coherence and effectiveness. The exercise of governance is based on the accountability of the executives to the duly elected bodies and also on the effective involvement of the public in devising and implementing the decisions that concern them.

The important point here is the outcomes of New-right policies and the fact of governance all of which contributed to the changes in social policy agenda on the urban level. Some of the main themes of governance that lead to changes might be listed as the shift from public sector to private sector; redefinition of the boundaries and the forms of public intervention; use of markets and quasi-markets to deliver public services; introduction of new public management techniques; more participation of non-governmental organizations (NGO’s).

To sum up with these changes, one of the crucial points that new-right policies and governance has brought is the emergence of multiple actors specific to each policy field resulting in the provision of social services not only by the central state but also by the local governments, NGO’s and partnerships of these agencies. In addition, Güler (1996, p.2) argues that new-right ideology has strengthened its privatization policies with the globalization. She points to the fact that privatization of the services throughout the national state has emerged at the same time as the globalization.

### **2.2.2. Globalization**

Globalization has seen in every aspects of life including the economic, political, social and cultural spheres. The experiences of globalization have had their reflections on both social policy practices and theories. The effects of globalization have appeared in the social policy literature in the early 1990s. The studies generally point to a shift from social democratic welfare state to new-right ideology and liberalization. The impacts of globalization mostly on social policy are listed by Wilding (1997) as the:

- (a) the increased power and mobility of private capital reduced the power of national state and reduced / limited the power of organized labor,
- (b) the globalization of production and markets has weakened the power of national state to maintain full employment, real wages and historic levels of social expenditure,
- (c) globalization has created new problems and exacerbated the old ones,
- (d) the symbiotic relationship between globalization and neo-liberalism shows that it threatens and weakens collectivist values from which social policy itself was stemmed. As it is mentioned earlier, the emergence of ‘social policy’ as an academic discipline stemmed from the politics of collectivism and the practice of state intervention to deal with the social problems in the early twentieth century.
- (e) Internationalization aspect of globalization contradicts with the national nature of social policy practices.

Yeates also discusses the impacts of globalization process on the social policymaking, implementation and analysis. For Yeates (1999) globalization has changed the political and institutional environment within which social policies have been partly detached from the national welfare state. “Social policy now develops in a pluralistic and multi-leveled institutional framework of global

governance which has altered the political dynamics of social policy.” (Yeates, 1999, p.389)

### **2.2.3. Localization**

Localization has appeared as another restructuring process in association with globalization. This process, which simply means the nations’ developmental dynamics are based on their local dynamics, has also taken place on economic, social, cultural, institutional levels. In other words, global effects have had their reflections on the local mechanisms concerning the various levels. Stren (2001, p.161) defines “the new localism approach looks at the way cities organize and position themselves within the new globalized economic system. Features of the new localism include shifts in central-local relations, more privatization of local authority functions, the rise of local public entrepreneurs, and the construction of new development coalitions.” Under the localism debates there are some common core issues concerning the impacts of localism: First, local policy activism has emerged toward a global economy (Clarke, 1993). As Clarke puts it in her discussion of localization “...the policy implications of this view have been very important in that localities’ abilities to carry out autonomous economic and social policies are limited and thus specific urban policies and many social policies seen as ‘unproductive’ are abandoned”. Second, urban political economy theories have integrated with theories of democratic transition. Third, local political restructuring processes have been redescribed in response to the economic trends and pressures for democratic reform. For Stren (2001, p.164), decentralization, democratic local government, or participation of civil society institutions to local affairs are some of the components of localization that are regulated by the constitutional or legal reforms as a response to globalization.

## **2.2.4. A New Agenda for Social Policies in the Urban Context**

### **2.2.4.1. Why A New Agenda?**

It is obviously so difficult to distinguish the effects of globalization and localization on social policy agenda and on local governments from that of other major trends like New-right ideology, the decline of fordism and the rise of post-fordist mode of production, wide usage of information technology and so forth. Given the focus of this thesis, it is important to assess the changes in social policy theories and practices and to assess the role of local authorities as policy makers especially within the context of transformations that the world has faced through the last decades. In fact, it might be argued that, there has emerged a new agenda for social policy in the urban context. In this sense, firstly the shifts in social policy agenda, secondly the shifts in role of local governments are the main focus of interest in this part.

At first glance, as a result of the restructuring processes social policy understanding has gained both global and local axes with respect to new problem issues and new policy actors. Regarding the global level, some new problem areas have emerged for social policy in addition to the policies concerning the national welfare. These new problems for social policy, like environmental problems, aids, unemployment, poverty, migration require global action via transnational institutions both on national and on supranational levels. The globalization of some problems has implications for social policy in that the evolution of supranational social policy is necessary to tackle with supranational social problems. In this manner, transnational bodies have been acting as social policy makers and implementers. Furthermore, the weakening of the national state's capacity has also weakened the welfare state philosophy. That is, "the 'hollowing out' of the state has clearly affected social policy.... Social policy has clearly become less important concern in this new world and even an obstacle to the

creation of such an environment.” (Wilding, 1997) In addition, traditional social policies have been defined as obstacles to the ideology of global competitiveness. This ideological premise has changed the emphasis to a more productivist social policy directed towards enhancing economic efficiency and development rather than to meet social needs (Jessop, 1994). Although the national states are now less interventionist, local governments have become more effective in the areas of social policies. Therefore, under the highlight of dual developments of globalization and localization, the main local impacts might be listed as the broadening of participation and policy activism. Therefore greater roles are given to local governments and non-governmental organizations in social policy matters.

Secondly, the restructuring trends have had serious impacts on the role and functions of local governments which are mainly responsible for providing the welfare services for the benefit of urban dwellers. Also, within the context of new-right policies and the continuous transformation process of 1980s, the role of the state has begun to be questioned. Following the debates on the legitimacy of central state, new mechanisms and forms of welfare production have introduced both at national and local level. In this sense, new-right ideology has envisaged a set of institutional changes regarding the welfare state. For example, social policy responsibilities have been transferred to the local governments and other local initiatives, besides partnerships between the local authorities and non-governmental organizations have been encouraged. Therefore, while local governments directly provide some local services, some services are partially provided via public and private agencies. Under the public-private partnership debates, in general, whether established by private or public initiative, the tendency is to have local authority input that facilitates the necessary planning consents, infrastructure improvement, and often land, whereas the private sector lends finance and commercial advice and expertise (Chandler, 1993). In addition to the new actors, the governance approach also has had its reflections on the local level. Local governance has necessitated the redefinition of local issues as well as

local participation. In this process, there has emerged and developed dynamic relationships between central governments, local governments, the private sector, and community-based interest groups.

#### **2.2.4.2. What is the New Agenda?**

The scope of urban social policy might be derived through identifying social policies that are devoted to the social problems either caused by the urbanization or are specific to urban life. An important implication of taking the 'urban' aspect or characteristics as the focus of interest is that the social policies, which were national in character, have turned out to be local in nature. Although John Edwards (1995) asserts that these policies are the health, housing, education, income support and personal social services none of which are specifically urban policies, obviously most of these policies have various urban dimensions and have considerable impacts on urban dwellers.

Hill's (1994) focus of interest is looking from the perspectives of the policy makers and policy beneficiaries. For her, social policy in the urban context is concerned with democratic participation of the urban dwellers in service delivery, the function of local authorities as service providers and civil initiatives as a part of policy makers and urban regeneration. Hill (1994) argues that the nature of the problem is that the city is a metaphor for spatial concentrations of the poor, deprived and dependent, which face with the inequalities, injustice, civil unrest, and so on. In this sense, it might be argued that social policies in the urban context are two-dimensional. First, those social policies in urban sphere are to some extent, spatial policies since they stem from the social problems like urban poverty, urban housing, urban transportation and so on, all of which are specific to urban sphere. Second, those policies are made and implemented for the well-being of vulnerable groups, because those groups of urban dwellers are 'multiply deprived' who are extremely excluded or marginalized. Social policies for these

excluded and dependent groups living in urban areas have prescriptions including child-care policy, income support, employment policy, housing, education and health policies, taxation, and various aid/assistance policies. Edwards (1995, p.711) argues this in a different manner in that:

...for inner-city policies, social policies are not city-specific and we would end up reviewing all social policies. The reverse of the coin, however, is that inner-city residents and in particular the urban deprived do receive most of their welfare by way of mainstream programs and we know precious little about the effectiveness of such programs either in targeting the deprived, spatially or otherwise, in providing for the (sometimes) multiplicity of needs or the different additional needs that may be found within individual households.

In an attempt to draw the boundaries of the new agenda of social policy in the urban context, some analytical tools might be dedicated with respect to the questions of “what the boundaries/scope of the urban social policy is”, “who the policy makers are”, and “who the policy beneficiaries, or the target groups of social policies are”, remain to be the initial problem areas.

At first glance, defining the boundaries/scope of ‘urban social policy’ requires the exploration of the term ‘urban policy’. Wolman and Goldsmith broadly *define urban policy* as the outputs of urban politics that include urban political institutions and processes playing an important role in the *well-being* of urban residents (Wolman & Goldsmith, 1992, p.1). And, *well-being* is conceptually defined as the satisfaction of individual derives from the life circumstances, and operationally defined as the amount of monetary income as well as the non-monetary income (e.g. the value of public services provided) (Wolman & Goldsmith, 1992, p.24). Under the scope of this conceptual framework determined from ‘urban policy’ and the related term ‘well-being’, the urban social policy areas might be listed as

- Education,

- Urban poverty,
- Consumer protection,
- Housing,
- Personal social services,
- Transportation,
- Land use, space,
- Crime,
- Urban infrastructure,
- Waste disposal, recycling,
- Fiscal crises,
- Environmental pollution/protection,
- Race relations.

The second concern in defining the new social policy agenda in the urban context is asking who the policy makers and implementers are. Having stated the changes in the social policy arena in recent decades in previous parts, it was shown that policies have taken at different levels of government -like, central and local governments-, local authorities, voluntary agencies, and citizens' initiatives. With respect to different actors as social policy makers, Spicker (1995) outlines the welfare providers as the;

1. Public sector is the provision of services by the state, which may enable minimum standards in welfare provision.
2. Private sector is the provision of services by commercial organizations or individuals for profit. It is the best way of distribution of resources according to liberal thought, because it is accepted as profitable and responsive to needs.
3. Voluntary sector provides services on a non-profit basis. It consists of small local societies, nongovernmental organizations, and professional agencies. This

sector might provide services directly; provide participation or self-help groups, fundraising, and pressure group activity.

4. Mutual aid refers to provision of welfare by solidarity. Co-operatives, self-help groups, and the trades unions are some examples of mutual aid, whereby the participants contribute by paying a subscription, offering labor, or participating in management, and receive support in return on a mutual basis.
5. Informal sector refers to the provision of welfare by friends, neighbors, families, and communities. These informal relations may contribute to well-being, but is not sufficient by it.

As for the third and the last step in defining the subject matter, the question of who the policy beneficiaries, or the target groups of social policies are, is to be answered. Rather a general grouping, the urban social beneficiaries are the ones who are marginalized or excluded from the public life. Those groups may include disabled, the ones in need of protection due to age, poverty, gender, race, and in some cases marginal like homosexuals, and refugees either living in the city centers or in the suburbs.

Having discussed the key point it is now possible to define the '*urban social policy*' as the policies emerging from the local political systems in which central and local governments, local authorities, voluntary organizations etc. are involved in order to protect and maintain the well-being of the excluded urban dwellers.

Insofar as the urban social policy agenda is composed of a wide variety of the policy fields, the institutional formation of the issue in question gains importance. In urban affairs, a special importance might be given to the local governments among all the other policy makers. Because, local governments might organize the relations between service providers and service beneficiaries. In this way, local governments might contribute to the welfare of urban vulnerable groups in accordance with their needs. The interaction of citizens in deciding issues of

common concern through local government has long been recognized as training for participation in broader public affairs. Within this framework, local governments have the potential and role of identifying needs and gaps in the existing service delivery system by way of contacting with service beneficiaries to learn their needs and aspirations.

Figure 2.1 summarizes the urban social policy process with respect to policy actors, policy aims and policy outcomes.

### **Figure 2.1 Practicing Urban Social Policies**

#### **a) Policy Makers and Service Providers;**

Private Sector (profit-based)

Voluntary Sector (non-profit based)

Mutual Aid (solidarity-based)

Informal Sector (kinship & neighborhood networks)

#### **b) Policy Makers, Service Providers, Consultative Bodies, Regulator of the Actors;**

Public Institutions (Central & Local governments)

#### **c) Objectives of the Urban Social Policy;**

Social development (of disadvantaged groups)

Social justice (among disadvantaged groups)

Social peace (within the urban boundaries)

Social integration (of marginal and vulnerable to urban life)

Social balance (among advantaged and disadvantaged)

**d) Outcomes of the Urban Social Policy;**

Social welfare of urban vulnerable groups

Fiscal welfare of urban vulnerable groups

Occupational welfare of disadvantaged groups

**2.2.5. CONCLUDING REMARKS ON THE URBAN SOCIAL POLICY**

To sum up, introduction and expansion of social policies in urban sphere is inevitable due to the decreasing role of welfare state, which had been the major policy maker in provision of social services and welfare of the individuals and vulnerable groups in any society. However, with the transformation process led by globalization and localization and with the exercise of new-right policies, new policy makers and service providers have been more effective in social policy arena rather than the central government. In this sense, local governments seem to be one of the most important actors in urban sphere in welfare provision. The importance of the local governments arises from the fact that, their organizational formation is based on elected bodies, which are elected by the local residents; and thus these bodies are more likely to represent the interests of the electorate ultimately contributing to the local democracy. Additionally, these bodies are given statutory duties of welfare or social services in general and equipped with sufficient income and with necessary expertise.

Although the role of local governments in welfare provision is indispensable, they are not the only actors due to the fact that scope of the urban social policy might be listed in a wide spectrum of education, urban poverty, consumer protection, housing, personal social services, transportation, land use, crime, urban infrastructure, waste disposal, recycling, fiscal crises, environmental pollution, and race relations. Obviously, the listed action fields of social policy require additional actors as the private sector, voluntary sector, mutual aid, and informal relations all

of which are the parts of welfare providers. Insofar as the local governments are incumbent to social and welfare services, the collaboration of the outlined actors together with the central and local governments are necessary to maintain the social development, social justice, social peace, social integration, and social balance.

## **CHAPTER III**

### **URBAN SOCIAL POLICY IN THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT**

As it has been mentioned in the previous chapter, the role and functions of local governments have faced changes throughout the last decades. In what follows in this section, the European Union's (EU) approach to social policy, two charters, signed by the Council of Europe and that of local governments will be reviewed.

In the European context, European Charter of Local Self-Government and Charter of European Urban Rights are mainly concerned, because, these charters clearly reflect the union's approach to social policy in the urban context. They are also important in that they draw a framework for the member and the applicant states' local government systems. Therefore, the role and functions of European local governments are affected by the common principles in these charters. It is necessary to focus on the European Union, because it is commonly accepted as an important political factor for Turkey. In the Turkish context, integration to European Union (EU) has been a crucial political orientation. Therefore, Turkish administrative system has been under the influence of changes, which have been adopted in accordance with the integration process. In this framework, how the EU perceives social policies and the local governments gains importance.

#### **3.1. THE SOCIAL POLICY OF THE EUROPEAN UNION**

The European Union first emerged with an economic aim of establishing the European free market, and a political aim of European integration. Throughout the decades this international body has included social agendas to its policies. Within

this enlargement and integration process, the Union has gained new agendas concerning the social affairs, environment and health with Social Charter (1990), the Maastricht Treaty (1993) and Amsterdam Treaty (1997). “Once it was accepted that the Community had social objectives distinct from the economic objectives, it became possible to talk about social policy” (Spicker, 1995). The European Union’s approach to the social policies have moulded as a response to “the development of services, the progressive expansion of solidarity, and the insertion of those who are excluded from social living”, therefore it deals with the problem of exclusion of increasing marginal (Spicker, 1995). The impact of globalization on the decline of the national welfare state is another factor for the EU to adopt social policies.

The evolution of the EU social policy has significant points from an historical perspective.<sup>4</sup> In the 1980s, EU began to give importance to the social policies in question. Although social policy was thought to be against the market liberalism and the new right ideology, the EU’s basic argument was that social policy was an essential element in the creation of the internal market. It was not designed to stop the development of the market, but to facilitate its creation.” (Geyer, 2000, p.250) In this sense, the Social Charter (1990) aims to harmonize the work conditions and social policies of the member states. It emphasizes the right of the vulnerable groups including the rights of part-time workers, rights to equal pay, equal opportunity of policy, right to participate in decision-making, and the problem of social exclusion (Mullard, 1997, p.5) This charter was followed by Maastricht Treaty in 1993 by which “social policy was given a fresh impetus through a number of institutional changes” which included “an expansion of the consultative powers of the EU Parliament” together with the new areas of social policy like “health and safety, working conditions, information and consultation of workers,

---

<sup>4</sup> For a Review of evolution of EU’s social policy from a historical perspective please see Robert Geyer. (2000) “The State of European Union Social Policy.” *Policy Studies*, 21(3), pp.245-261.

gender equality, and integration of people excluded from the labour market”. (Geyer, 2000, p.252) In 1997, Amsterdam Treaty introduced some revisions to social policy<sup>5</sup>. The EU’s approach to several policy fields indicates the centralization of policy making in Europe on the basis of European integration and enlarging process (Johnstone, 2003, p. 44). Johnstone puts that the needs of the excluded groups have recently had place on EU’s social policy agenda.

As a result of this evolutionary process, the EU has adopted a dual approach on its contemporary social policy understanding according to Wendon. “On the one hand, it has experimented with new institutional arrangements in order to build up a policy-making framework that lessens the influence of member governments. On the other hand, the Commission has been reshaping the dominant 'image' of EU social policy from one based on social rights to an alternative, which emphasizes that social policy contributes to stable economic growth and job creation. Its strategic ability to understand the way in which policy images and institutional venues interact affects the Commission's ability to develop and expand EU policy.” (Wendon, 1998, p.339) Additionally, Geyer provides with the current map of EU social policy by way of listing the EU social policy areas, which are “free movement, health and safety, employment rights, working conditions, worker participation, social dialogue, gender, anti-poverty, anti-discrimination against racism, public health, elderly, disability, youth/training.” (Geyer, 2000, pp.254-256)

What are the implications of the EU social policy on the member states? Although social policy has universally accepted policy areas, each country has its own way

---

<sup>5</sup> In “The European Union and its Citizens”, Beverly Springer (1994, p.39) argues that the treaties and its protocols gives to “the Union important responsibilities but divides responsibilities for making policies between the institutions of the EC and the member states acting together in political cooperation. Springer (1994, p.46) further argues that welfare state is a characteristic of European countries; however, contemporary social problems are less amenable to national solutions. Therefore, European Union’s treaties reflect the new social policy agenda for the European countries.

of making and implementing the policies according to its own economic, political, social, cultural environments. Therefore, asking whether each European country acts in accordance with the EU's social policy standards gains importance. Mullard (1997) argues that each European country have similarities in addition to the differences in developing their welfare systems. The similarities among the European countries in 1990s arise from the similar economic experiences, the impact of democracy, and the impact of pressure groups. The differences between those countries are seen due to the role of parties, the institutional variations among them and the cultural variations among each country (Mullard, 1997, pp.8-10).

In addition to changes in social policy agenda of EU, the role of the local and regional authorities began to be considered during the last decades. "Nonetheless, the key role played by the local authorities in implementing the social policies has been stressed since the local authorities are the funders of social benefits; managers of welfare services, care for elderly and vulnerable people; champions of both subsidiarity and civil society. In this manner, these discussions were centralized on the notion that local governments already de facto play a major role in social policy in all countries of the union" (Spicker, 1995). In this framework, European Charter of Local Self-Government (1985), Charter of European Urban Rights (1992), the project of "Social policies and the city" by the Steering Committee on Social Policy (CDPS) in 1997, the meetings of the Group of Specialists on Innovative Social Policies in the City, the project on Human Dignity and Social Exclusion in 1998, the establishment of a new European Committee for Social Cohesion (CDCS) have been contributory events of the EU regarding the social policies in the urban context. Finally, another important event was the 12<sup>th</sup> Conference of European Ministers responsible for Local Government, which was held on April 2000 in Istanbul, Turkey. The topics of the conference concentrated on the role of local authorities in the field of local social services.

The results of these meetings and conferences have constituted one of the important foundations for the work of the CDCS from 2000 onwards.

The common points of the social policies in the urban context orient towards the respect for individuals and their rights, the protection of vulnerable groups and the elimination of social exclusion, social security, enabling the vulnerable people to social rights, to employment and housing, policies for children, quality of life of elderly persons and social policies in the city, increasing role and responsibilities of the local governments.

### **3.1.1. The European Charter of Local Self-Government**

The member states of the Council of Europe signed and ratified the “European Charter of Local Self-government” in 1985 by which it was aimed to achieve a unity in the administrative field; to protect right of citizens to participate in the conduct of public affairs at local levels; to provide local authorities with effective and democratic administration; to reinforce the self-government as an important contribution to the construction of a Europe based on the principles of democracy and the decentralization of power (Bongers, 1992). In fact, this charter supports and grants powers to local authorities, and it emphasizes the role of local authorities as primary service providers in the fields of education, training, social housing, social and welfare services, transport, health promotion and the environment.

The principles of this charter are mainly about the empowerment of local governments through constitutional and legal foundation, introduction and practice of the concept of local self-government, appropriate administrative structures and financial resources for the tasks of local governments<sup>6</sup>.

---

<sup>6</sup> Article 3 defines the concept of local self-government, and Article 4 draws the lines of the scope of local self-government. Source: <http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/EN/Treaties/Html/122.htm>,

According to the Charter, the concept of local self-government denotes the right and the ability of local authorities to regulate and manage substantial share of public affairs under their own responsibility and in the interests of local population. Highlighted with this concept, public responsibilities shall generally be exercised by those authorities that are closest to the citizen.<sup>7</sup>

Although the charter has little concern about urban services –specifically urban social services-, the importance of this charter with respect to urban social policies is evident in that it mainly focuses on the assignment of the public responsibilities to local authorities, which are closest to citizens. In other words, principle of subsidiarity is stated in the charter referring that the functions should be carried out at the lowest possible level and could only be transferred to the a higher level of government by consent. Thus, the principle of subsidiarity strengthens the assumption that social policies might possibly be more effective with the introduction and expansion of the role of local governments in urban sphere rather than the central government institutions.

### **3.1.2. The European Urban Charter**

The Council of Europe at the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe accepted European Urban Charter in 1992. In the charter it is stated that local democracy, decentralization, and participation principles accepted by the European Charter of Local Self-Government, have provided the necessary background material for the European Urban Charter<sup>8</sup>. The purposes of the charter are “to provide a practical tool and urban management handbook for local authorities; to provide the principle elements of a possible future Convention on

---

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> [http://www.urban.nl/download%20files/URBAN\\_CHARTER\\_EN.pdf](http://www.urban.nl/download%20files/URBAN_CHARTER_EN.pdf), p.5.

Urban Rights; to provide the basis for an international award scheme for towns who subscribe to the principles of the Charter.”<sup>9</sup> The philosophy underlying the principles of the charter is that “it has a firm local authority dimension, concentrating upon the specific responsibilities of this level of government for urban development.”<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, this charter, which is mainly declaring the responsibilities of local governments, the citizens’ rights, the qualitative aspects of urban development, and the quality of urban dwellers’ life, is composed of a series of principles applicable to almost all countries. The aim of this charter is listed by Ünüsan (1996), as to make a practical book for local governments. The charter is composed of a series of principles about the different aspects of urban development:

1. *Transportation and Mobility;*
  - a) Decrease in the quantity of private transportation,
  - b) Variety in different transportation alternatives,
2. *Urban Environment and Nature;*
  - a) Managing natural and energy resources rationally,
  - b) Prevention of any kind of pollution,
  - c) Protection of open and green areas,
  - d) Social pride in conservation of nature.
3. *Physical form of cities;*
  - a) Protection of city centers,
  - b) Provision of open space,
  - c) Quality of urban scape,
  - d) Right to live in healthy and safe-living environment,
  - e) Balance between urban patterns.

---

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. p.6

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. p.6

4. *Urban Architectural Heritage;*
  - a) Necessity of legal framework for conservation,
  - b) Necessity of sufficient information for conservation,
  - c) Necessity of sufficient finance for conservation,
  - d) Revival of crafts,
  - e) Integration of urban heritage to daily urban life,
  - f) Economic development through conservation.
5. *Urban Housing;*
  - a) Right to decent, adequate, suitable housing,
  - b) Local governments are to provide choice and mobility for citizens in housing,
  - c) Housing market by itself is not sufficient for some classes in urban sphere,
  - d) Security of tenure is to be provided by local governments,
  - e) Care for social fabric in housing.
6. *Urban Security and Crime Prevention;*
  - a) Emphasis should be on crime prevention,
  - b) Urban security policy must be based on updated, statistical information,
  - c) Cooperation between police and community,
  - d) Participation of community members in crime prevention processes,
  - e) Support for the victims,
  - f) Sufficient finance to combat crime.
7. *Socio-Economically disadvantaged and Disabled People in Urban Area;*
  - a) They should have access to all places,
  - b) Policies for them should aim integration, not over-protection,
  - c) Cooperation with and among organizations of these groups,
  - d) Necessity for suitable design of homes and common places,
  - e) Communication, travel, and public transportation should be accessible for these groups.
8. *Sports and Recreational Facilities in Urban Areas;*
  - a) Participation of all urban dwellers to such activities,

- b) Safe and clear provision of such activities,
  - c) Disadvantaged and disabled groups have to have the right to participate in any kind of sports and recreational activities.
9. *Culture in the Cities;*
- a) Right for all urban dwellers to access to cultural facilities
  - b) Cultural formation interacting with social and economic development,
  - c) Collaboration between state, municipality, NGOs and private sector for cultural development,
  - d) Cultural pluralism
10. *Multicultural Integration;*
- a) Non-discrimination policies,
  - b) Local governments should provide the participation of migrants,
  - c) Non-discrimination in culture and education policies,
  - d) Cultural interaction of migrant communities for social and physical integration.
11. *Health in Cities;*
- a) Reliable and sufficient supply of basic needs,
  - b) Community-based health initiatives,
  - c) Cooperation between community-based health initiatives and international programs,
  - d) Cooperation between state, municipality and community,.
12. *Community Participation, Local Administration and Urban Planning;*
- a) Community participation to local/urban politics through elections, and through taking parts in decision mechanisms,
  - b) Referendum in any kind of projects,
13. *Economic Development in Cities;*
- a) Local governments should maintain the local economic development,
  - b) Economic and social developments are closely interrelated,
  - c) Urban area is closely interrelated with its region and hinterland,

- d) Adequate physical and social infrastructure for the productive economic facilities,
- e) Public-private partnership is inevitable for the growth and development of urban economy.

Charter of European Urban Rights is composed of detailed functional responsibilities incumbent to local authorities under the titles of transportation and mobility, urban environment and nature, physical form of cities, urban architectural heritage, urban housing, urban security and crime prevention, socio-economically disadvantaged and disabled people in urban area, sports and recreational facilities in urban areas, culture in the cities, multicultural integration, health in cities, community participation, local administration and urban planning, community participation, local administration and urban planning all of which contribute to form a European urban identity and culture.

### **3.2. AN EVALUATION ON EUROPEAN APPROACH TO URBAN SOCIAL POLICY**

In concluding remarks, European approach to social policy has displayed an evolutionary path in the post-1980 period on the basis of policy makers and policy beneficiaries. Firstly regarding the policy makers, social policy is the responsibility of local, regional and national governments (Vandenbroucke, 2001, p.31). In this sense, it might be argued that the existence of European social policy does not result in the underestimation of each member states' domestic policies. On the contrary, the union draws the framework for the states regarding how to put their policy priorities and how to institutionalize their policy making and implementation processes. Secondly, European social policy has enlarged from a few areas of labor, training, and health to recognition of a number of major social groups such as disabled, elderly, poor, ethnic minorities, children, all of whom

compose the major welfare recipients (Geyer, 2000, p.245). This enlargement has occurred on the basis of deprived groups, who have become more open to and unprotected against marginalization, and exclusion under the structural changes of globalization and new- right policies. In fact, globalization has strengthened the economic roles of the cities, which has accompanied by differentiation and increasing social problems in the cities. By “boosting the emergence of a dual society –the ‘haves’ and the ‘have-nots’ – and, among other things, generating feelings of insecurity” (Berg et.al., 2002, p.1959), this process has lead to stubborn social problems in the cities. As Berg et. al. states (2002, p.1959) “in the cities, large underprivileged groups are continually developing as an inevitable and unfortunate characteristic of changing urban economic and social structures. In response to increasing social problems, European cities have been focusing their attention more on social problems and welfare of the city dwellers. In fact, the union’s approach to the social policy in the urban context is not very different from the contemporary development in the European cities.

Although there are common developments across the Europe, the countries’ experiences and even the cities’ experiences within the same country may vary. These variations might stem from the domestic political, social, cultural and economic dynamics of each case. Therefore, the urban social policy practices in the European countries require to be considered within their own contexts. For example, the United Kingdom<sup>11</sup> has put into affect the neo-liberal principles in recent decades. On the contrary to principles of post 1980 thinking like more decentralization tendencies, England has experienced centralization and weakening of local governments through cutoffs in their revenue and their functions. However, this was not the case for the social services provided by local governments. That is, in England the social policies of local governments have

---

<sup>11</sup> Please see Appendix A for the institutional framework of the local government system in the United Kingdom with a special reference to the social policy.

steadily grown in quantity. Such a development obviously arises due to the fact that social policy is a necessary mechanism for the allocation of resources and services in the whole urban system and is a tool for local governments to maintain local welfare.

## CHAPTER IV

### CONTEMPORARY LOCAL GOVERNMENTS IN TURKEY

The establishment, duties, and powers of local governments are regulated by law. In the 1982 Constitution of the Turkish Republic legal basis of the local administrations is formed by the 127<sup>th</sup> Article stating that:

“Local Administrative bodies are public corporate entities established to meet the common local needs of the inhabitants of provinces, municipal districts and villages, whose decision-making organs are elected by the electorate described in law, and whose principles of structure are also determined by law.

The formation, duties and powers of the local administration shall be regulated by law in accordance with the principle of local administration.

The election for local administrative bodies shall be held every five years... Special administrative arrangements may introduce for larger urban areas.

The procedures dealing with objections to the acquisition by elected organs of local government of their status as an organ, and their loss of such status, shall be resolved by the judiciary...

The central administration has the power of administrative tutelage over the local governments in the framework of principles and procedures set forth by law with the objective of ensuring the functioning of local services in conformity with the principle of the integral unity of the administration, securing uniform public service, safeguarding the public interest and meeting local needs, in an appropriate manner.

The formation of local administrative bodies into a union with the permission of the Council of Ministers for the purpose of performing specific public services; and the functions, powers, financial and security arrangements of these unions, and their reciprocal ties and relations with the central administration, shall be regulated by law. These administrative bodies shall be allocated financial resources in proportion to their functions.”

In Turkish local government system, there are three basic types of local authorities as the Village Administration, Special Provincial Administration, and Municipalities. In addition to these three basic types, Metropolitan municipality was introduced to the Turkish local government system in the post 1980 era for the greater cities. Figure 4.1 shows the local authorities with their internal organizational units.

| <b>Local Authorities</b>                  | <b>Administrative Parts of Local Authorities</b> |
|---|--|
| <b>Village Administration</b>             | Headman  |
|   | Council of Elders                                |
|   | Village Society                                  |
| <b>Special Provincial Administrations</b> | Provincial General Council                       |
|   | Provincial Standing Committee                    |
|   | Provincial Governor                              |
| <b>Municipalities</b>                     | Municipal Council                                |
|   | Municipal Standing Committee                     |
|   | Mayor  |
| <b>Metropolitan Municipalities</b>        | Metropolitan Municipal Council                   |
|   | Metropolitan Executive Committee                 |
|   | Metropolitan Mayor                               |

**Figure 4.1 Local Authorities in Turkey**

Local governments are given various public services and duties vested to them by law; therefore, they have to be donated with sufficient financial and technical resources. In this sense, organizational structure, duties and the financial resources of the local governments in Turkey are considered in this chapter. Given the focus of this study, Village administrations and Special Provincial Administrations are

not taken into account, rather municipal and metropolitan municipal administrations are under the scope.

#### **4.1. MUNICIPALITIES**

The establishment of municipalities in Turkey might be dated back to the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century as in the case of England. The first municipality in Turkey was established in 1855, which was headed by an appointed mayor and function with the 'City Council' of appointed persons.

Reorganization of municipal administration in Turkey was realized with the Municipal Law No. 1580, which was enacted in 1930. According to this law, a municipal administration could be established in localities of more than 2000 population, and a range of duties and responsibilities were assigned to municipalities treating them as a 'local authority' that refers to the democratic governmental organizations established outside the central administration to carry out local public services. This law was in use until November 2004 when the Municipal Law numbered 5272 was enacted. However, Constitutional Court abrogated this law, and then in July 2005 the new 5393 Municipal Law was enacted. This new municipal law has introduced several changes concerning the establishment, duties and revenues of the municipalities.

The number of municipalities has been increasing in parallel with the increase in the urban population that constitutes more than half of total population in Turkey. Given the focus of this thesis, such an increase in the number of municipalities and that of urban population implicitly denotes the increase in the population benefiting from the municipal services that makes the municipal functioning more important. That is to say, municipal services in general and social policies of municipalities in particular have become more important given the increase in the number of policy beneficiaries.

#### **4.1.1. Organizational Structure**

Municipalities function with three organizational units; Mayor, Municipal Council, and Municipal Standing Committee.

*Mayor* is the chief executive who is directly elected by the local electors for a five-year term. “The mayor prepares the municipal budget, enforces municipal ordinances and regulations, executes the decisions of the municipal council, manages public properties and carries other duties assigned to him by the Municipal Council” (Polatoğlu, 2000).

*Municipal Council*, which is composed of at least twelve members, is also elected by the local dwellers for a five-year term. This council being the main decision-making body is to decide the budget, final accounts, reconstruction programs; the classification of streets and the assignments of names and numbers to them; budget changes, transfer of budgeted funds; rates and rations of taxes, dues and charges (Polatoğlu, 2000).

*Municipal Standing Committee* both as a decision-making and an executive body consists of both elected and appointed members. “The basic duties of the committee are listed as: to study budget drafts prepared by the mayor; to control monthly account summaries; to study and approve bidding specifications, contract and bargaining decisions; to submit opinions on final accounts; to decide on appointments, promotions, penalties and rewards of municipality personnel; and to discharge the functions of the municipal council when the council is not in sessions” (Polatoğlu, 2000).

#### 4.1.2. Duties of Municipalities

The 15<sup>th</sup> Article of Law No. 1580 listed the municipal services and functions in details whether being compulsory or optional on the basis of their incomes (Keles, 1994), and stipulated that the municipalities were not obliged to carry out the optional ones until they satisfactorily provide the compulsory ones.

In fact, the provision of revenue criteria in determining the municipal services and duties has lost its validity since the level of revenues in quantity stated rather reflects the conditions of 1930's, but not today. Therefore, since this distinction was made on the basis of size of annual revenues of the municipalities, with the rapid decrease in the value of Turkish Lira all functions now become compulsory (Heper, 1991). In fact, with the law 5393, assigning duties on the basis of the municipal revenue has changed. Article 14 of this law lists the duties and responsibilities regardless of the revenues. All the duties are accepted within the responsibility of all the municipalities, except the municipalities whose population exceeds 50.000 are responsible for establishing houses for the protection of children and women.<sup>12</sup>

In addition to the grouping of municipal duties stated above, municipal services are grouped on the basis of functions by the General Directorate of Local Governments, the Ministry of Interior (*İçişleri Bakanlığı Mahalli İdareler Genel Müdürlüğü*);

- a) “*Duties Concerning Health and Social Aid*: To establish municipal hospitals, clinics, maternity hospitals; to struggle the infectious and contagious diseases; to provide control of both health and cleanliness of places selling food and

---

<sup>12</sup> Source: 5393 Municipal Law accepted in July 3, 2005 accesable via <http://www.mahalli-idareler.gov.tr>

drinks to people as well as goods for usage and of tradesmen and sellers contacting the people on daily basis.”<sup>13</sup>

- b) “*Duties Concerning Public Works*: Mapping, regulation of construction and the issuance of construction licenses, providing the regulations for every kind of land and areas, preparing and approving of the percolation plans, constructing of the urban roadways, bridges and similar plants stated in the construction plan, to provide construction license and supervision of appropriation of these to the legislation and the construction plan, realizing necessary land expropriations for the construction works.”<sup>14</sup>
- c) “*Duties Concerning Culture and Education*: Establishment of libraries and reading halls for the people, providing some courses to train experts of certain professions, establishment of theatres and museums, construction of stadiums and race courses.”<sup>15</sup>
- d) “*Duties Concerning Agriculture*: Renaming of the streets and municipal areas according to the plan and program, implanting trees, constructing green fields, nurseries and parks for children, establishing animal breeding and plant gardens and running them, advising the government on measures to be taken in struggling against the contagious and infectious animal diseases, regulation of meat production places, control of health conditions and cleanliness of animal bazaars and sheds, construction of refrigerated warehouses.”<sup>16</sup>
- e) “*Duties Concerning Economy*: Controlling prices and measuring instruments, construction of wholesaler-to-customer sales-points and public market places

---

<sup>13</sup>“Local Authorities in Turkey”  
<http://www.mahalli-idareler.gov.tr/EnglishPages/Local%20Authorities2.htm>

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. p.11

<sup>15</sup> Ibid. p.12

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. p.12

to improve economic and commercial life in the municipality, organizing fairs and exhibitions, establishing economic and commercial enterprises.”<sup>17</sup>

- f) “*Duties Concerning Welfare*: Providing prosperity and welfare for those living in the municipal boundaries, imposing and implementing prohibitions for this purpose when necessary, issuing municipal decrees, setting and supervising the implementation of municipal police regulations, preparing regulations to govern general health and sanitation inspection practices, taking measures against fire and for the purpose providing tools and instruments as necessary, and keeping these always available.”<sup>18</sup>
- g) “*Various Duties*: Conducting studies on tourism, planning a system of encoding for the streets and numbering the buildings and affording services of public bounties, announces and advertising.”<sup>19</sup>

Within the legal framework, municipalities are assigned to undertake services, which are under the scope of urban social policies that mainly deal with the vulnerable and disadvantaged groups. Urban social policy is, in the broadest sense, the outputs of social policies, which include urban political institutions and processes playing an important role in the well-being of vulnerable or disadvantaged groups living in the cities. In this context, the matter of urban social policy is associated with the fields of health care, education, personal social services, and employment all of which contribute to social welfare, fiscal welfare and occupational welfare of the disadvantaged individuals and groups. As already noted, the municipalities in Turkey are assigned to undertake services regarding health and social aid, culture and education, welfare all of which might be accepted as under the boundaries of urban social policy. However, health and education services are mainly undertaken by the central government

---

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. p.12

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. p.12

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. p.12

### 4.1.3. Municipal Revenues

The revenues in question are much related with the social policies, because social policy is a mechanism for redistribution and allocation of resources and welfare. In the urban context, the fiscal capability of the local authorities is an important factor in the provision of welfare services. The institutional frameworks of the municipal financial system and the municipal revenues have ultimate impacts on the development of social policies in the cities. In this sense, revenues of municipalities are worth studying. In Turkey, municipal revenues have used to be grouped in five; shares from governmental revenues, the municipalities' own resources, state subsidies, extraordinary, revenues, and revenues in the form of fines, fares, rents and the like. The recent municipal law 5393 has introduced little change to this fiscal system. According to these recent changes, state subsidies are replaced by the donations. In this sense the municipal revenues are as following:

- a) *Shares from Governmental Revenues:* The share allotted to municipalities from general budget tax revenues<sup>20</sup>. (In the previous municipal law, this share was determined as 9.25 percent, which was distributed among the municipalities on the basis of their population.)
- b) *The Municipalities' Own Resources:* Among the own resources, there are various taxes, fees, participation of citizens into municipal expenses, fines, operating and institutional revenues, and revenues of rent. Law no 5393 has included the revenues obtained from the municipalities' own enterprises, partnerships, and associations.
- c) *Donations to Municipalities:* In the former municipal law, state was obliged to financially assist by donations, grants-in aid and subventions. This kind of state assistance did not have any indication of the way the

---

<sup>20</sup>Municipal Law No 5393, Article 59-b) Source:  
<http://mevzuat.basbakanlik.gov.tr/mevzuat/metinx.asp?mevzuatkod=1.5.5393>

money is to be spent. In this case, the aim of the assistance is to increase the financial power of municipalities, to eliminate financial crises, to compensate for funds and to remove inequality of tax obligations (Keles, 1994). However, with the new municipal law donations are not restricted to the state, but the municipalities are open to any kind of donations.

- d) *Extraordinary Revenues:* Extraordinary revenues of municipalities consisted of loans taken from various state banks, from the Provinces Bank (*İller Bankası*) –the only institution that extend credits to the municipalities- and from other organizations (Keles, 1994). On the other hand, the new municipality law has no provisions concerning the Provinces Bank. On the other hand, institutions with central government budget and local government budget are required to pay to the municipalities.<sup>21</sup>
- e) *Revenues in the form of fines, fares, rents, and the like:* The fines are availed on the basis of the municipal duties to maintain social order, to implement municipal rules, to safeguard the health and welfare of people, to publish edicts of prohibition. With regards to fares, the municipalities are entitled to be paid for any kind of services requested by the people

The main sources of the municipal revenues fall mainly into the local share from national taxes and municipalities' own resources; however, it is commonly accepted that arrangement of financial means were limited and that the municipal finance was inadequate for the municipalities to undertake the statutory services. Regarding the former, the local shares of national taxes were quite small and inadequate (Heper, 1991). Regarding the latter, although the property taxes are the bulk of the municipal own resources, in many European countries and in Britain, only less than half of the revenue from the property tax was available to municipalities. Also, other own resources like the fees, charges, fine and municipally owned commercial enterprises contributed relatively little to total

---

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. Law 5393 Article59-c)

municipal revenue. However, according to Law 5393, these provisions have changed in the sense that the property tax is now totally available for the municipalities.

## **4.2. METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITIES**

Large cities have been experiencing rapid growth through decades by way of high rates of population increases due to migration. As a consequence of the spread of urban development beyond municipal boundaries, the necessity of a new approach as metropolitan municipal administration was started to be discussed extensively in the 1970s. The constitutional basis for metropolitan administration was introduced with the 1982 Constitution. Metropolitan municipal administration was introduced to the Turkish local government system in 1984 with the Metropolitan Municipalities Act (No. 3030). However, for the cases which are not regulated within this law; regulations of the Municipality Act (No.1580) were applied. In July 10, 2004, a new law number 5216 for Metropolitan Municipality was enacted in order to regulate the legal status of metropolitan municipalities, and to enable them to function with a more planned, harmonized, efficient and effective way.

### **4.2.1. Organizational Structure**

The Act No. 5216 requires an establishment of a metropolitan municipality in places where the urban population exceeds 750.000. Metropolitan municipalities, which are formed to provide municipal services for the metropolitan areas, consist of at least three sub-provincial municipalities within its boundaries. In such an organizational structure, a metropolitan municipality as a superior local body is formed to regulate the entire metropolitan area, and the sub-provincial

municipalities and first-stage municipalities<sup>22</sup> function only within their own boundaries.<sup>23</sup> Therefore, metropolitan cities are administered by two-tier local authorities; one of which is the metropolitan municipality and the other one is the sub-provincial and first- stage municipalities.

At metropolitan administrative level, there are departments and directorates organized under the supervision of the secretary general. These units are established on the decision of metropolitan council and by the approval of the Ministry of the Interior on the basis of the service requirements. The mayor appoints the heads of departments and other personnel.

Metropolitan municipality has three organs; metropolitan municipal council, metropolitan standing committee, and metropolitan mayor. The *Metropolitan Municipal Council* the council is a decision-making organ of this body. The metropolitan mayor chairs the council. The *Metropolitan Standing Committee*<sup>24</sup> is an organ of decision taking. The functions of execution and advising the metropolitan municipality were abandoned by the law no 5216. There is no elected member in the committee other than the mayor. The committee is headed either by the mayor or someone to be assigned by the mayor, and the sub-provincial and first-stage mayors are the members of it. The *Metropolitan Mayor*<sup>25</sup> is the head and executive organ of the metropolitan municipality. He is elected directly by the voters in metropolitan municipal boundaries for a five-year term. The mayor is

---

<sup>22</sup> The new law 5216 brings “First stage municipality”. In the law, first-stage municipality is called as “ilk kademe belediyesi” in Turkish. It has the same authority and responsibility as the sub-provincial municipality.

<sup>23</sup> Source: Metropolitan Municipal Act No.5216, which is accessed via <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/kanunlar/k5216.html>

<sup>24</sup> Articles 12, 13, 14. Source is accessible through <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/kanunlar/k5216.html>

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. Articles 17, 18, 19.

responsible not only for performing the duties assigned to him by law, but also for carrying out the execution, co-ordination, representation and supervision of the services between the sub-provincial municipalities.

#### **4.2.2. The Duties of Metropolitan Municipality**

Urban services within the metropolitan boundaries are to be given by both metropolitan municipality, and the sub-provincial and first stage municipalities on the basis of division of labor between them. In general terms, the functions attributed to the metropolitan municipality are related to the overall policy-making and implementation, and the determination of objectives and goals as stated in the Articles 7, 8, and 9 of Law 5216. According to these articles, the duties of Metropolitan Municipalities can be classified as the responsibilities concerning infrastructure, transportation, environment, planning and development, health, social services, cultural facilities, sports, inspection and license, disaster, economic, financial and support activities. Among these duties, the ones, which might be considered within the social policy scope, are listed as the following: Firstly, metropolitan municipality undertakes health services such as operating health centers, hospitals, mobile health units, and constructing buildings and plants for health, education and culture services. Secondly, social services encumbrances are social donations, social and cultural services for the disabled, elderly, children, young people and women concerning the general well-being of the community, managing social institutes, opening vocational and skill enhancement courses. The important provision regarding the social services is that this new law encourages the metropolitan municipalities to cooperate with the state institutions, nongovernmental organizations and universities. Thirdly, cultural encumbrances are to open and operate libraries, museums, to protect local culture, natural beauties, historical texture and places important in terms of the city's history; to maintain and repair those historical buildings. Fourthly, regarding the sport facilities, metropolitan municipalities supply materials for amateur sports clubs

and provide necessary support. They organize sports competitions among amateur teams. They build sports, recreation, entertainment facilities and similar places.

*The Duties of Sub-provincial Municipalities:* The sub-provincial municipalities within the boundaries of metropolitan city are obliged to perform those tasks which are not assigned to metropolitan municipalities although they are among municipal duties. Some duties and powers in metropolitan cities might be transferred between the metropolitan municipality and the sub-provincial municipality or may be carried out in co-operation.

#### **4.3. SOCIAL POLICIES OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENTS IN TURKEY: ON THE WAY TO THE EUROPEAN UNION**

In Turkey, the main organization to undertake social services throughout the country is the Social Services and Child Care Institution (SSCCI) (Sosyal Hizmetler ve Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu). The Social Services and Child Care Law numbered 2828 defines the social services as the systematic and programmed services for the physically, morally and socially deprived individuals and families with the aim of easing deprivation and covering needs of those groups and preventing and solving social problems (Özkaran, 1993). The law 2828 has met with several amendments in 1997, 2000, 2005.<sup>26</sup> These amendments have defined and enlarged the scope of the vulnerable groups. This enlargement seen in the scope and definition of the social policies in the 2000s resembles with the process experienced by the EU throughout the 1980s and 1990s. In this sense, the effect of the EU on the social policy in Turkey has been on the scene.

---

<sup>26</sup>Sosyal Hizmetler ve Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu Kanunu,  
<http://www.mevzuat.adalet.gov.tr/html/614.html>

In addition to SSCCI, social services are carried by the General Directorate of Retired Fund (Emekli Sandığı Genel Müdürlüğü), Prime Ministry Social Aid and Solidarity Fund (Basbakanlık Sosyal Yardımlasma ve Dayanisma Fonu), relevant units of the ministries, municipalities, Social Insurance Institution (Sosyal Sigortalar Kurumu), the Social Security Institution of Craftsmen, Tradesmen and other Self-employed (Bağ-Kur), voluntary organizations, and organizations of private sector.

The Turkish social policy system, likewise in its European counterparts, have been under the responsibility of both central and local governments by envisaging partnerships with the non-governmental institutions like voluntary organizations and private sector. Between these two governmental levels, the latest legal regulations of the central government introduce some decentralization tendencies. As a result of national government policy to become a full member of the EU, local governments in general and municipalities in particular have vested more responsibilities regarding the social welfare in the cities. In this sense, latest local government reforms in Turkey display an important switch for the social policymaking and implementation in the urban areas. In this sense, contemporary local government system and social policy system has been in the process of reinstitutionalization on the way to becoming a full member of the EU.

In addition to common points regarding the recent changes, there are some problematic points of the issue in question. As stated before, each country has been introducing its own social policies due to its varying domestic dynamics in political, economic, cultural and social affairs. Therefore, for Turkey in adopting social policies in the urban context there might be some difficulties to be considered regarding the local governmental system.

Turkish municipal system has been facing with various problems in practice that ultimately lead to insufficient provision of municipal services in general and social

services in particular. Insofar as the municipalities face numerous problems in legislative, administrative and financial contexts, it seems difficult for them to maintain social, fiscal and occupational welfare of its citizens with respect to making and implementing the appropriate social policies.

Regarding the administrative framework, administrative tutelage leads to deficiencies in the municipal system in Turkey. The constitution of Turkish Republic set up the scope of administrative tutelage, which is exercised by the central administration over municipalities. In the constitution it is stated that ‘the central administration has the power of administrative tutelage over local authorities within the framework of principles and procedures set forth by law with the objective of ensuring the functioning of local services in conformity with the principle of the integral unity of the administration, securing uniform public services, safeguarding the public, interest and meeting local needs in an appropriate manner.’ In this manner, central administration has the power to exercise tutelage over decisions, acts and omissions, organs and personnel of the municipalities. Needless to say, this wide range of central control over municipalities is not compatible with the principles of local self-government, which are stated in the European Charter of Local Self-Government. Insofar as the social policies in urban sphere are to be mainly considered as local authorities’ function, whose autonomy and self-government are promoted by the European Union, central control over local governments seem to be a crucial obstacle for the urban social policy practices.

Within the financial framework, financial dependency of municipalities on central government is another problem area of municipal system in Turkey. Although there are various sorts of income, the major source of municipal revenue is composed of grants and transfers from the central government, which constitute 48.86 % of their total revenues. Such a dependency strictly conflicts with the European Charter of Local Self-Government and the Charter of European Urban

Rights both of which foster the notion of financial and administrative autonomy of the local authorities. In accordance with the European Union, funding of especially the personal social services is highly centralized at the local authority level in the case of England. Although approximately half of local government funding comes from the central government, local governments crucially display autonomy on the organization and deployment of social services the low status of which is wanted to be shed and become more acceptable in all sectors of society.

The legal, administrative and financial problems inherent in the Turkish municipal system have used to be obstacles for municipalities to be effective social policy makers. These problem areas have become focus of attention with the process of Turkey's integration to the EU. In this framework, new laws have introduced some rearrangements regarding the municipal system. In the light of these changes, Turkish local government system in general and municipal system in particular might potentially introduce and implement urban social policies for maintaining the well-being of the urban dwellers with special reference to the metropolitan administrations. Legally, municipalities are responsible for the welfare provision of its citizens through a range of social services vested to them by law. However, administrative tutelage as stated above might be accepted as the most important obstacle for the municipalities to function in accordance with the model proposed for the urban social policy practices. Centralization tendencies within the local government system in Turkey ultimately result in the poor local democracy, which might be obtained through the citizen participation to municipal administration. Lack of participation in the municipal administration arises from lack of any mechanisms except local elections for every five years (Polatoğlu, 2000). Local democracy or citizen participation is an inevitable step in the well-being of citizens which requires the information about the needs and aspirations of the policy beneficiaries with reference to the alternative way for urban social policy practices.

In conclusion, Turkish local government system has been facing with various deficiencies in practice that ultimately lead to insufficient provision of urban social services. Since the village administrations and the Special Provincial administration are not placed within the scope of this study, municipal and metropolitan municipal deficiencies are considered regarding the problems stemmed from the municipal law, administrative tutelage, and financial dependency.

To sum up with the Turkish local government system, there is an attempt to donate local governments with necessary financial means and resources. Recently, municipalities have gained importance in the last decades due to rapid urbanization that causes several problems especially for the urban vulnerable groups. In this context, municipalities in general and metropolitan municipalities in particular have to protect and provide social services for the urban social policy beneficiaries who are explored in the previous chapter as physically disabled, in need of protection due to age, the poor, and marginal groupings. Although municipal law designates responsibilities regarding welfare services, municipalities could not able to tackle the increasing problems in their areas because of inadequacy of financial resources and increased control of the center. In this sense, vulnerable groups living in urban areas are more likely to face with double burden, which could be tackled by means of urban social policies.

## **CHAPTER V**

### **URBAN SOCIAL POLICY PATTERNS OF ANKARA METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY**

#### **5.1. METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY OF ANKARA**

Ankara became the capital city of Turkish Republic with the law enacted in 1924, April 20. Then a regulation under the name of “Ankara Şehremaneti Kanunu” numbered 417 brought a municipal administration so as to reconstruct the city in a modernized way. This law kept its justification until the implementation of the Municipal Law of 1580 in 1930. Additionally, in 1984, March 23, a decree, which has an order having the force of law, was conformed in order to regulate the establishment of the metropolitan municipalities. According to this regulation, Ankara Municipality was reorganized under the name of “Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara”. There are currently eight sub-provincial municipalities functioning within the metropolitan boundaries of Ankara; namely, Çankaya, Gölbaşı, Mamak, Keçiören, Altındağ, Yenimahalle, Sincan and Etimesgut. Additionally, with the new law, Ankara Metropolitan Municipality has 15 first-level municipalities; Altınova, Çanlı, Esenboğa, Hasanoğlan, Karaali, Karagedik, Kesikköprü, Kutlu Düğün, Pursaklar, Sarayköy, Sinanlı, Sirkeli, Temelli, Yenikent, Yeşildere.

The organizational structure of the Ankara Municipality is composed of several departments as shown in the figure. Within these departments, relevant lower level directorates function in different problem areas.

### The Departments of the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality

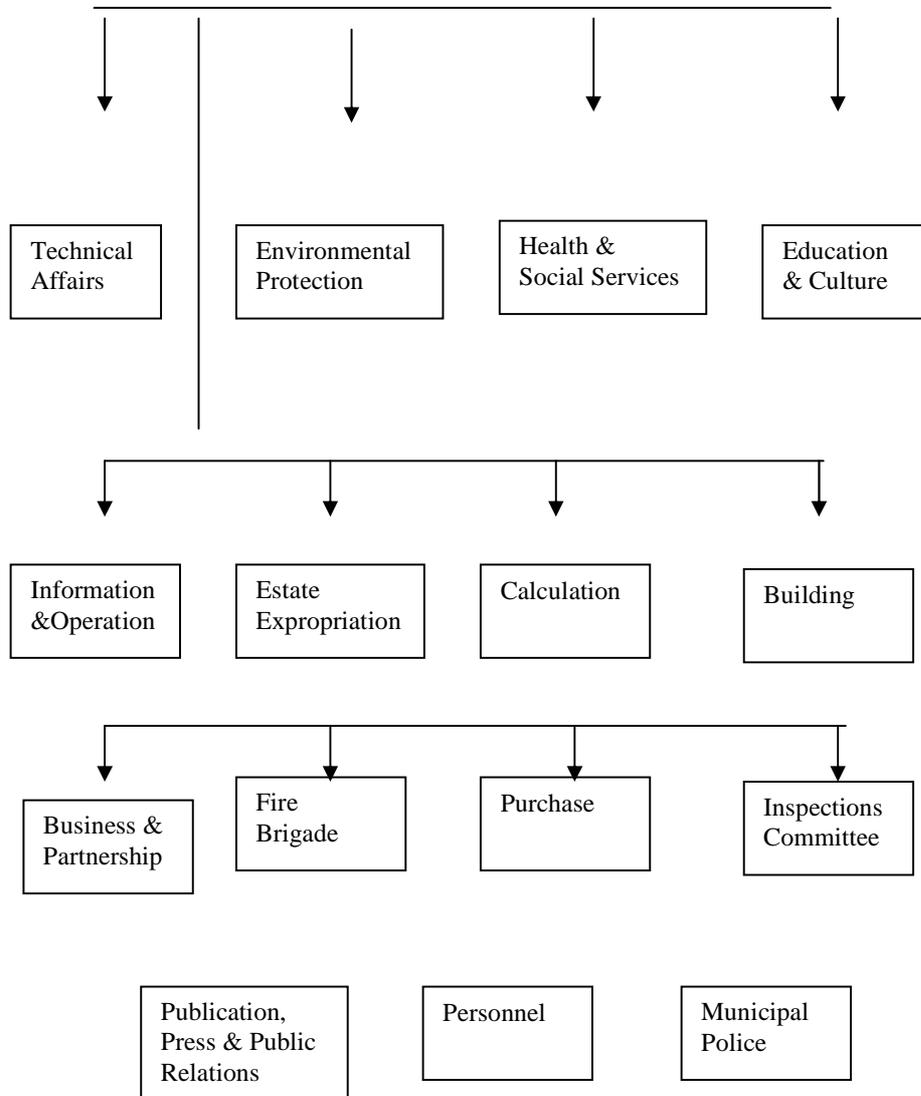


Figure 5.1. The Departments of the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality

These departments might be functionally accepted as the municipal units of policy makers in various policy fields. In this sense, on the basis of the urban social policy fields, which have been explored in the previous chapters, although all the departments are potential contributors to the urban social policies, the “Health and Social Services Department” will be mainly considered within the scope of this thesis.

## **5.2. SOCIAL SERVICES OF METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY OF ANKARA**

Within the organizational structure of the municipality until the year 2000, the Health and Social Services Department (Sağlık ve Sosyal Hizmetler Dairesi) was the unit to make social policies for the vulnerable and deprived groups living in Ankara. This department consisted of various sub-directorates established on the basis of the policy beneficiaries and policy field. However, between 2000 and July 2006, the social services branches of this department namely, Libraries, Cultural Facilities, Family and Child Services, Handicapped, Elderly Services functioned under the organizational structure of Education and Cultural Facilities Department (Eğitim ve Kültür Hizmetleri Dairesi Başkanlığı) within which the sub-directorates of Public Education, In-service Training, and Leisure Activities also operated. In the recent practice, social services branches break from the Education and Cultural Facilities Department, and organized as a different department under the name of Health and Social Services Department. The following table shows the organizational structure of the relevant departments.

**Table 5.1: Social Services Units in between 2000-2006**

| Ankara Metropolitan Municipality (2000- 2006)            |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|--|
| Department of<br>Education and<br>Cultural<br>Facilities | In-service Education Directorate       |  |  |
|  | Public Training Directorate            |  |  |
|  | Educational Center Directorate         |  |  |
|  | Planning and Coordination Directorate  |  |  |
|  | Tourism and Presentation Directorate   |  |  |
|  | Publications and Libraries Directorate |  |  |
|  | City Orchestra                         |  |  |
|  | Cultural<br>Facilities<br>Directorate  | Social Services                            |  |
|  |  | Family and Child<br>Services               | Women's Clubs<br>The Children's Assembly |
|  |  | Center for Elderly Services                |  |
|  |  | Information Center for Disabled            |  |
|  |  | Center for Children Working in the Streets |  |
|  |  | BELTEK Technical Training                  |  |
| BELMEK Vocational Training                               |  |  |  |

**Table 5.2: Social Services Units by July, 2006**

| Ankara Metropolitan Municipality (by July, 2006) |   |
|--|---|
| Department of Health and<br>Social Services      | Social Services and Coordination Directorate    |
|  | Elderly and Compassion Houses Directorate       |
|  | Child and Youth Services Directorate            |
|  | Disabled and Rehabilitation Centers Directorate |

In the theoretical and practical considerations of the social policies, which were touched upon in the previous chapters, the groups of policy beneficiaries were

listed. Therefore, in this part the social services for the children, elderly, women, poor, and handicapped are the focus of interest.

### 5.2.1. Services for Children

Similar to the case in England, the municipalities in Turkey are obliged to protect and to care the children who are in need of help due to their self and environmental factors as well as the supportive aids for them. In this respect, the municipal activities might be explored as the educational support, health, sports, library, psycho-social support and help in-kind:

**Table 5.3 Municipal Services for Children**

| <i>Services</i>             | <i>Children in Number</i> |             |             |             |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
|                             | <i>1999</i>               | <i>2002</i> | <i>2003</i> | <i>2004</i> |
| <i>Educational Support</i>  |                           |             |             |             |
| Educational materials       | 1125                      | 57.000      | 100.000     | 90.000      |
| Scholarships                | 75                        | 30.000      | 20.000      | 20.000      |
| <i>Health</i>               | 1471                      |             |             |             |
| <i>Sports</i>               |                           | 4523        | 1585        | 1823        |
| <i>Library works</i>        | 25-30/day                 |             |             |             |
| <i>Psychosocial support</i> |                           |             |             |             |
| Social individual work      | 60/month                  |             |             |             |
| Social group work           | 60-80/month               |             |             |             |
| Help in-kind                | 465 (family)              |             |             |             |
| Fieldwork                   | 50/month                  |             |             |             |

Source: Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi, Faaliyet Raporu, 1999, 2002, 2003, 2004.

In addition to these services there is *The Children's Assembly*, established in 1995, in order to let children to articulate their problems and aspirations, and to participate to their own problem solving. This assembly consists of various commissions like Education, Culture and Art, Environment and Health, Assistance, Sports, Press and Publication, Children's Rights, and it facilitates trips,

celebrations of special days, aid campaigns, research studies, and various publications. For example, "Say No to Smoking" campaign was executed; "Keep the Children off the Streets " project which met the complete school needs of 50 children was supported; Children Books Festivals were organized; Children's Right Day was celebrated; with the aim of providing solidarity with Bosnian Children, visitations took place; 'Çocukça' magazine was published.

Additionally, there are *Child Clubs*, which were first established in 1991. Until 1997, UNICEF financed these clubs. The aims of these clubs are supporting the social and cultural development of the children who live in poverty-stricken areas, and protecting those children from drug addiction, crime and child abuse. There are clubs recently functioning in Şentepe, Keçiören, Aktepe, and Mamak, Altındağ, Yenimahalle, and Eryaman, which has served in the fields of computer, health, chorus, theatre, chess, painting, handicraft, fine arts, diction, folk dances, sports, language (English), and guidance. Additionally, in recent practices these clubs has enlarged their services regarding psychosocial and cultural support, health, and sports. Every year, the membership rates increase gradually.<sup>27</sup>

Within the municipal services regarding the deprived children, *Center for Children Working in Streets* might be accepted as the most important institution for the children who are in need of help due to poverty and child abuse. This center was established by the contributions of International Labor Organization (ILO) in 1992 in order to assist the children of 7-16 years old that are working in the streets as informal child labor. The financial support of the ILO was cut; therefore the center has been continuing its functions by its own resources. The aim of this center is to assist to children's domestic and environmental problems, to support them at least for primary education, to support them by means of occupational training, to inform them about the risks of streets, to protect them from any kind of

---

<sup>27</sup> According to the municipality's annual reports, in 1999, 2000 children; in 2002, 1893; in 2003, 6469; in 2004, 9900 children has received services from the Child Clubs.

exploitation or child abuse. In the recent years, the center has gradually developed its approach from a more personal service oriented one to more social policy oriented one. It has defined its policies on the basis of social and cultural facilities, supportive education services, health services, services concerning nutrition, and psychosocial services. According to municipality's weekly news bulletin, this center aims to prevent the children working in the streets from criminal actions and to support them to continue their educations, and to observe them within their social environments (Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi Haftalık Haber Bülteni, 2005). In addition to these qualitative changes, the children benefiting from the center has been increasing in quantitative terms.

### **5.2.2. Services for Elderly**

Since 1994, 'Center for Elderly' continues its functioning for the elderly over 60 years old. Municipality serves to elderly regarding health, rehabilitation, psychological guidance, cleaning services, and repairment. The members of the center have right for free check-up services in the municipality's hospital. Additionally, Municipality provides free transportation cards for the ones over 60 years old. In 2004, 150.000 elderly used this service (Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi Haftalık Haber Bülteni, 2005, p.17).

**Table 5.4 Number of Elderly Benefiting from the Municipal Services by Year**

| <i>Year</i>  | <i>Elderly (in number)</i> |
|--------------|----------------------------|
| 1994         | 1.804                      |
| 1995         | 5.448                      |
| 1996         | 4.369                      |
| 1997         | 2.823                      |
| 1998         | 2.027                      |
| 2002         | 32.550                     |
| 2004         | 26.061                     |
| <i>Total</i> |                            |

Source: Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi, Faaliyet Raporu, 1998, 2002, 2004.

### 5.2.3. Services for Women

Ankara Metropolitan Municipality provides services for women like opening occupational training courses (Belediye Meslek Edindirme Kursu-Belmek), provision of employment. Belmek is mainly for the benefit of women since 1995, and it contains courses of embroidery, sewing, handicraft, fabric, tricot, lace, pinking, copper crafts, tile-making, marbling, painting, miniature, carpet, housekeeping and the like. In 1995-2000, there were 70 course centers, which have reached to 114 course centers recently. Table 5.3 gives the number of beneficiaries in 1995-2005 education semesters. Additionally, the municipality has given psychosocial assistance for women living in squatter areas, as well as the educational courses for illiterates.

**Table 5.5. Number of Women Benefiting from the Municipal Services**

| <i>Years</i> | <i>Women (in number)</i> |
|--------------|--------------------------|
| 1994-1995    | 8.269                    |
| 1995-1996    | 5.272                    |
| 1996-1997    | 6.518                    |
| 1997-1998    | 7.866                    |
| 1998-1999    | 6.949                    |
| 1999-2000    | 8.788                    |
| 2000-2001    | 11.877                   |
| 2001-2002    | 9.179                    |
| 2002-2003    | 11.760                   |
| 2003-2004    | 11.402                   |
| 2004-2005    | 12.758                   |
| 2005-2006    | 10.112                   |
| <i>Total</i> | <i>111.750</i>           |

Source: <http://www.ankara-bel.gov.tr/birimalt.asp?birimkategori=019>

#### 5.2.4. Services for Disabled

In 1995, sub-directorate for disabled was established under the Health and Social Services Department which was followed up by the establishment of the *Information Center for Disabled* in 1996 (Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 1996). In 2000, it has begun its functioning hierarchically under the Education and Cultural Facilities Department. This sub-directorate was functioning with the decision of Municipal Assembly and its legal foundation was not accepted by the Council of Ministers, which causes many deficiencies in practice. The center continued its functioning till 2003, and then its name changed as *The Service Center for Disabled* in 2003. During the years, when the center had no legal status, this unit had no power of sanction and control over the service providers, and more importantly there was a lack of technical personnel like social service experts, psychologist, and lawyer all of whom would have necessary contributions to the effective provision of social services for disabled. Therefore, there existed organizational deficiencies regarding the revenue, division of labor, and lack of personnel both in quantity and quality; thus, it continued its functioning as a voluntary organization. However, as long as it gained a legal status, it gained an important role as a policy maker and service provider for the handicapped. It might be argued that the center has become more functional. The following table exemplifies the increasing number of members.

**Table 5.6. The Membership by Years**

| <i>Years</i> | <i>Number of Members</i> |
|--------------|--------------------------|
| 2002         | 11.480                   |
| 2003         | 12.123                   |
| 2004         | 14.201                   |

Source: Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi Faaliyet Raporu 2002, 2003, 2004.

Service Center for Disabled provides services, which might be grouped as the educational services, employment provision, social and financial aid, social and

cultural activities, and psychosocial support. In Turkish case, unlike the case in England, education is under the responsibility of the central government where municipalities in general arrange courses for occupational training. Within this context, Ankara municipality has provided occupational training courses for disabled like sock knitting, and tricot courses. The municipality has employed disabled by giving shop windows to 500 disabled, and has employed 50 of them at the Disabled Commerce Center, which was established in 1999. As it can be seen in the following table, in which various aids in kind (given to poor disabled) are shown, municipality has not been providing aids regularly by years. The municipal's contemporary practice avoids the aids-in-kind such as food, cloth, and fuel.

As for the social and cultural activities, a football team is formed as well as the free ice-skate and hockey chance. Concerts and picnics are continuously organized for this beneficiary group.

One of the most important responsibilities of any municipality is to make easy the urban life for disabled through the construction of roads, traffic lights and the mass transportation suitable for the handicapped. In fact, by means of arranging mass and pedestrian transportation in suitable standards, social exclusion problems of the handicapped might be solved and their integration to urban social life might be obtained. In this manner, the municipality has constructed various slopes at pedestrian roads available for the usage of wheelchair. However, as the former Information Center for Disabled and recent Service Center for Disabled have no statutory power to control the quality of the constructed slopes, which are not constructed in accordance with the European standards which have caused serious transportation problems to beneficiary groups

**Table 5.7. Number of Disabled Receiving Aids by Year**

| <i>AIDS IN-KIND</i>  | <i>1998</i> | <i>1999</i> | <i>2000</i> | <i>2001</i> | <i>2002</i> | <i>2003</i> | <i>2004</i> | <i>TOTAL</i>  |
|--|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| <b>Wheelchair</b>  | 20          |             | 194         | 34          | 26          | 9           | 7           | <b>290</b>    |
| <b>Chargeable wheelchair</b>                                     | 2           |             | 21          | 1           | 10          | 3           | 1           | <b>38</b>     |
| <b>Motorized wheelchair</b>                                      |             |             | 3           |             |             |             |             | <b>3</b>      |
| <b>Hearing aid</b>   |             |             | 13          |             |             |             |             | <b>13</b>     |
| <b>Talking watch</b>   |             |             | 60          |             |             | 515         | 133         | <b>708</b>    |
| <b>Clothing aid</b>  | 230         |             | 200         | 1745        | 606         | 2065        | 2500        | <b>7.346</b>  |
| <b>Scholarship</b>   | 95          |             |             | 1410        | 1204        | 1465        | 2070        | <b>6.244</b>  |
| <b>Food aid and cleaning utensil Aid</b>                         | 120         |             |             | 1177        | 3462        | 3936        |             | <b>8.695</b>  |
| <b>Fuel aid</b>  | 50          |             | 77          | 1159        | 3866        | 3936        |             | <b>9.088</b>  |
| <b>Card at a discount</b>  |             | 509         | 3002        | 2552        | 1473        | 1099        | 1410        | <b>10.045</b> |
| <b>Free card</b>   | 434         | 658         | 1118        | 1410        | 879         | 876         | 861         | <b>6.236</b>  |
| <b>Banderol for free card</b>                                    |             |             |             |             | 3254        | 912         | 310         | <b>4.476</b>  |
| <b>Shop window</b>   |             |             |             |             |             | 300         | 200         | <b>500</b>    |
| <b>Sock knitting course</b>                                      | 18          |             |             |             |             |             |             | <b>18</b>     |
| <b>BELTEK computer course</b>                                    |             |             |             |             |             | 62          |             | <b>62</b>     |
| <b>White walking stick</b>                                       |             |             | 218         |             |             | 413         | 146         | <b>777</b>    |
| <b>Handicapped elevator</b>                                      |             | 26          |             |             |             |             | 2           | <b>28</b>     |
| <b>Number of handicapped used the elevators</b>                  |             |             |             | 837         | 882         | 902         | 917         | <b>3538</b>   |
| <b>Number of handicapped supported with psycho-social aid</b>    |             |             |             |             | 3065        | 585         | 1117        | <b>4767</b>   |
| <b>Number of handicapped used cleansing services</b>             |             |             |             |             |             |             | 1292        | <b>1292</b>   |
| <b>Number of handicapped served by house-repairment</b>          |             |             |             |             |             |             | 196         | <b>196</b>    |
| <b>Number of handicapped benefited from health services</b>      |             |             |             |             |             |             | 587         | <b>587</b>    |
| <b>Number of handicapped whose social investigation has done</b> |             |             |             |             |             |             | 1640        | <b>1640</b>   |
| <b>Number of handicapped benefited from Internet Café</b>        |             |             |             |             |             |             | 630         | <b>630</b>    |
| <b>TOTAL</b>   |             |             |             |             |             |             |             |               |

Source: Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi 2004 Faaliyet Raporu.

The Charter of European Urban Rights, which declares the responsibilities of local governments and the citizens' rights, is composed of a series of principles regarding the socio-economically disabled people living in the cities. This charter declares that the disabled in urban area should have access to all places, policies for them should aim integration, not over-protection, cooperation with and among organizations of these groups should be maintained, homes and common places should be designed in a suitable way, communication, travel and public transportation should be accessible for these groups. In case of England, local authorities are charged to carry out wide range of social services regarding the handicapped in compatible with the principles of the stated charter. On the legal basis, there are mechanisms for the protection of the handicapped rights. As the charter puts, integration of these groups to social life is maintained by the specially trained social workers. Also, the local authorities coordinate with and among the increasing actors of voluntary and private sector as well as the informal relations like relatives of the disabled, and also they directly and indirectly support the voluntary sector (including organizations of these groups) in financial terms. Unfortunately, when compared with England, Turkish local governments in general and Ankara Metropolitan Municipality in particular do not make policies for the well-being of disabled in compatible with the principles of the Charter of European Urban Rights. Above stated services of the municipality -like the vocational training courses, employment, various aids, and cultural activities- contribute only to the over-protection of the disabled, yet not to the integration of them to urban social life. As can be seen in the findings of the case study, municipality does not design the homes and common places in a suitable way, and does not maintain the accessibility of communication, travel and public transportation for these groups.

### **5.3. THE RESULTS OF THE CASE STUDY**

#### **5.3.1. THE PROBLEM OF THE CASE STUDY**

In general, the studies on social policy and social services emphasize the national character of the subject, since such policies are practiced by the welfare state understanding on the national level. In this sense, the literature is very limited when social policy in the urban context is considered. Besides, the dual developments of globalization and localization have introduced new problem areas with new policy beneficiary groups and policy makers at local scale where developing countries have faced with double burden.

In developing countries, where formal social services are generally under-resourced, traditional networks of informal care are the main source of assistance for the vulnerable. High rates of migration and unplanned urban growth, however, have weakened these networks of informal care and led to limited public services in cities and towns.

Together with the definitional problem of the social policies in the urban context, the role of local governments as one of the major policy makers at the local level is the main concern of this study.

#### **5.3.2. THE AIM OF THE CASE STUDY**

In the given context of the problem area, the main purpose of the case study is to look from the viewpoint of one of those deprived groups, or welfare recipients. Looking from within their perspective to their deprivation, to their life as one of the easily marginalized groups, and their relationship with the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality and its policies is found very important for accomplishment of this thesis. This is because, the case study is hoped to shed

light on the relational character of the problematic in the sense that policy makers and policy beneficiaries are not mutually exclusive parts of the welfare, on the contrary, they are the main parts of the same process of partnership. The unique character of this study is the acceptance of local governments as an important part of policy makers at urban level, whereas most of the studies held about social policy makers focus generally on central government at national level.

### **5.3.3. ASSUMPTIONS OF THE CASE STUDY**

As local governments are indispensable parts of social policy in the urban context, they should be donated with necessary legal, administrative and financial means and procedures so as to introduce implement and expand social policies for the well-being of the vulnerable groups in the cities. In Turkey, as a so-called developing country, local governments can not cope with the social services especially in urban areas which suffer from high rates of migration and unplanned growth leading to increase in number of disadvantaged groups who are strongly in need of social, financial and occupational welfare services. These disadvantaged groups are composed of handicapped, children, women, elderly, and urban poor who constitutes important layers of the urban life with respect to the urban social policy beneficiaries. Handicapped which constitute an important proportion of the whole society is one of the most sensitive layers of these disadvantaged groups. Any approach to solve the problems of handicapped in urban areas should consider the integration of them to social life. Thus, the problem of social integration to urban life necessitates introduction and implementation of urban social policies.

In the framework of these facts, this case study was made with the following assumptions: First, handicapped would be the disadvantaged group that the researcher would access more easily. Because, the handicapped is the only disadvantaged group that have their own civil society organizations. Additionally, every state institution is required to employ handicapped, so accession to the

handicapped through their workplaces would make this research realizable. Second, since the handicapped have various civil society institutions, it is assumed that they would be informed about the municipal services via those institutions, thus they would access the services easier. Thirdly, it is assumed membership to one of those organizations and/or inclusion to the labor force would enable the handicapped to be more sensitive to their own stubborn problems, which stem from living in a metropolitan city with handicapped identity.

#### **5.3.4. THE METHOD OF THE CASE STUDY**

This case study as descriptive in feature was materialized through a questionnaire in order to find out the views of the disabled groups about the municipal services peculiar to them. Since it was only possible to come into contact with the handicapped, Disabled Information Center of the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality (Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi Özürlü Danışma Merkezi), disabled foundations and associations as well as the public sector institutions were chosen as the case. In the whole case areas, the questionnaire was held among 150 respondents 145 of which were evaluated.

The questionnaire study was undertaken in June, 2000 at Disabled Information Center (Özürlü Danışma Merkezi), General Directorate of Highways (Karayolları Genel Müdürlüğü), and various handicapped civil society organizations (Altı Nokta Körler Derneği, Türkiye Körler Vakfı, Türkiye Sakatlar Konfederasyonu, Türkiye Sağır ve Dilsizler Derneği Genel Merkezi, Türkiye Sakatlar Rehabilitasyon Derneği). While applying the questionnaire, it was possible to observe the handicapped that are benefiting from the services of the Disabled Information Center, who are member of a civil society organization and who are employed in a public sector institution.

The results of the questionnaire were evaluated by using SPSS statistical software, utilizing a computer.

### **5.3.5. THE UNIVERSE OF THE CASE STUDY**

In the theoretical framework of this study, it is argued that social policies in practice have shifted from national level to local level with the introduction of the socio-economic and political restructuring. In urban sphere, local governments have a tremendous role in the welfare provision of the city dwellers although the roles of local governments have been narrowed as in the case of England. Likewise, in the case of Ankara, municipalities have been more functional in provision of welfare services for vulnerable groups in recent decades.

The research universe of the survey constitutes a huge proportion of the total population in Ankara. Although, there is no statistical data for the number of disabled living in Turkey in general and Ankara in particular, according to the Center for Disabled of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, there are almost 300.000 handicapped living in Ankara which constitutes almost the 6% of the whole population of Ankara residents.

### **5.3.6. THE LIMITATIONS OF THE CASE STUDY**

Although the proportion of the disabled groups are huge, it was not possible to contact with those who are not engaged with any kind of occupation in public sector or who are not a member of a civil society organization. Thus, the case study is realized through the disabled foundations among a relatively small number of subjects who might probably represent the interests of those foundations regarding the relations with municipality. Also, the subjects working at the public sector are engaged to the social security system. Thus, these subjects might be assumed to know the mechanisms for access to services and resources

maintained by the municipality. In this sense, it was not possible to reach to those who are relatively poor and living in poverty stricken areas.

### **5.3.7. THE FINDINGS**

In this part, the findings about the sample of the case study will be discussed under the headings of the demographic features, urban life, municipal services, civil society organizations with emphasis on the variables containing;

a) *demographic features:*

- sex of respondents,
- age of respondents,
- kind of disability,
- educational level of respondents,
- job,
- social security institution,
- total household income,
- household size;

b) *urban life:*

- period of living in Ankara,
- reason of living in Ankara,
- difficulties of living in a metropolitan city,
- advantages of living in a metropolitan city,
- prefer living in rural to living in urban;

c) *municipal services:*

- effects of municipal services,
- informed about municipal services on time,
- kind of municipal services,
- sufficiency of municipal services,
- expected municipal services;

- d) *civil society organizations*:
- membership to disabled organizations,
  - attention to disabled organizations,
  - effectiveness of disabled organizations.

### 5.3.7.1. Demographic Features

Demographic profile of the universe of the case study is drawn by the indicators of sex, age, kind of disability, educational level, job, social security institution, total household income, and household size.

In the case study, as can be seen in the Table 5.8, 62.8% of all subjects are male and 37.2% of all subjects are female. Although there is no limitation in sex and questionnaire is applied to both sexes, most of the respondents are male, since women are generally less likely to be a member of civil society organization and they are less likely to attend to the activities. Also, of all 37.9% are blind, 34.5% are physically disabled, 24.1% are deaf, 3.4% are disabled due to various reasons.

**Table 5.8 Sex of Respondents**

|              | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent %</i> |
|--------------|------------------|------------------|
| Male         | 91               | 62,8             |
| Female       | 54               | 37,2             |
| <i>Total</i> | <i>145</i>       | <i>100</i>       |

Most of the respondents are between 20 and 40 ages old which is assumed to be the ages for active participation to employment together with the social and cultural activities. %9.7 of them are up to 20 years old, 43.4% of them are between 21-30 ages, 31% of them are between 31-40 ages, 9% of them are between 41-50 ages, and 6.9% of them are more then 50 ages old (Table 5.9).

**Table 5.9 Ages of Respondents**

| <i>Age groups</i> | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent %</i> |
|-------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Up to 20          | 14               | 9,7              |
| 21-30             | 63               | 43,4             |
| 31-40             | 45               | 31,0             |
| 41-50             | 13               | 9,0              |
| More then 50      | 10               | 6,9              |
| <i>Total</i>      | <i>145</i>       | <i>100</i>       |

Education is one of the most important problems for the disabled groups especially among the blind and the deaf who requires special schools. Among the respondents, there exist 3.4% illiterate, 24.5% primary school graduate, 16.6% secondary school graduate, 44.1% high school graduate, 20% university graduate, and 1.4% postgraduate (Table 5.10). Assuming that there would be a strong relation between the level of education and the kind of disability -due to a need for special schools- there is no such a meaningful relation when the level of education and the disabled groups are compared. However, it is important to note that while the education level increases, the proportion of the respondents who are a member of a civil society organization increases.

**Table 5.10 Educational Level of Respondents**

|              | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent %</i> |
|--------------|------------------|------------------|
| Illiterate   | 5                | 3,4              |
| Primary      | 21               | 14,5             |
| Secondary    | 24               | 16,6             |
| High school  | 64               | 44,1             |
| University   | 29               | 20,0             |
| Postgraduate | 2                | 1,4              |
| <i>Total</i> | <i>145</i>       | <i>100</i>       |

The results showing the occupation of the respondents proves the fact that handicapped are disadvantaged groups in the labor market. Nearly half of the

subjects with the percentage of 47.6% are employed in the public sector, due to the statutory obligation for public institutions to employ handicapped. As can be seen from the Table 5.11, the percentage of public sector is followed by the 15.2% of unemployed, 9.7% of housewives, 7.6% of students, and 6.2% of disabled working in informal sector. According to the percentages count within the unemployed, 45.5% of all unemployed are blind who are more likely to engage with informal sector.

**Table 5.11 Occupation of Respondents**

|                 | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent %</i> |
|-----------------|------------------|------------------|
| Unable to work  | 5                | 3,4              |
| Unemployed      | 22               | 15,2             |
| Public Sector   | 69               | 47,6             |
| Private Sector  | 6                | 4,1              |
| Own Business    | 3                | 2,1              |
| Informal Sector | 9                | 6,2              |
| Retired         | 6                | 4,1              |
| Housewife       | 14               | 9,7              |
| Student         | 11               | 7,6              |
| <i>Total</i>    | <i>145</i>       | <i>100</i>       |

Likewise the rates of the respondents' occupation, the rates of engagement to a social security institution prove the fact that handicapped are disadvantaged groups in the labor market. In this context, nearly half of the individuals with percentage of 45.5 (Table5.12) lack of any social security; while 36.6% of them are related to the Retired Fund (Emekli Sandığı) and 15.9% to the Social Security Institution (Sosyal Sigortalar Kurumu,). The percentages of the occupation and social security make stronger the assumption that the handicapped are more likely to suffer from double deprivation due to their disability and insufficient employment chances which ultimately result in various difficulties in access to resources and services especially in urban life.

**Table 5.12 Social Security Institution of the Handicapped**

|                              | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent%</i> |
|------------------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| None                         | 66               | 45,5            |
| Social Insurance Institution | 23               | 15,9            |
| Retired Fund                 | 53               | 36,6            |
| Bag-Kur                      | 3                | 2,1             |
| <i>Total</i>                 | <i>145</i>       | <i>100</i>      |

The total household income varies between wide spectrums of minimum 60 million TL. to maximum 1.250.million TL with the average value of 289 million TL which are counted within 134 respondents since 11 of them refused to answer this question (Table 5.13).

**Table 5.13 Household Income of Respondents**

|                          | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent %</i> | <i>Valid Percent %</i> |
|--------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------------|
| Up to 200 million TL     | 38               | 26,2             | 28,4                   |
| 210-300 million TL       | 57               | 39,3             | 42,5                   |
| 310-400 million TL       | 27               | 18,6             | 20,1                   |
| 410-500 million TL       | 6                | 4,1              | 4,5                    |
| more then 500 million TL | 6                | 4,1              | 4,5                    |
| <i>Total</i>             | <i>134</i>       | <i>92,4</i>      | <i>100</i>             |
| <i>Missing</i>           | <i>11</i>        | <i>7,6</i>       |                        |
| <i>Total</i>             | <i>145</i>       | <i>100</i>       |                        |

The household size varies between the ranges of 1 person to 7 persons, with the average of 3.78% persons per family which mostly consist of 4 persons Per household (Table 5.14). When household size is evaluated together with the household income, average monthly income per family is 289.000.000 TL and average monthly income per person is 76.000.000 TL. It is important to note that, most of the respondents are living at the absolute poverty level according to income indicators.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup> According to the research made by Turk-İs in March 2000 the absolute poverty level is determined as the 300.000.000 TL monthly income Per household, and 75.000.000 TL monthly income Per person.

**Table 5.14 Household Size**

|                | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent %</i> | <i>Valid percent %</i> |
|----------------|------------------|------------------|------------------------|
| 1              | 10               | 6,9              | 7,5                    |
| 2              | 14               | 9,7              | 10,4                   |
| 3              | 31               | 21,4             | 23,1                   |
| 4              | 40               | 27,6             | 29,9                   |
| 5              | 2                | 17,2             | 18,7                   |
| 6              | 8                | 5,5              | 6,0                    |
| 7              | 6                | 4,1              | 4,5                    |
| <i>Total</i>   | <i>134</i>       | <i>92,4</i>      | <i>100</i>             |
| <i>Missing</i> | <i>11</i>        | <i>7,6</i>       |                        |
| <i>Total</i>   | <i>145</i>       | <i>100</i>       |                        |

### 5.3.7.2. Urban Life of Respondents

The indicators of period of living in Ankara, reason of living in Ankara, difficulties of living in a metropolitan city, advantages of living in a metropolitan city, and preference of living in rural to living in urban are used to assess the urban life of respondents.

Table 5.15 indicates that most of the respondents have been living in Ankara for more than ten years, which might be obviously accepted as an appropriate duration for integration to urban life. Of all handicapped respondents, 47.6% migrated to this city in order to find employment which is the major migration reason for all migrants in general, and 16.6% migrated for education, whereas 34.5% have been living in Ankara since they born here (Table 5.16). It is clear that for most of the migrants; most important reason for migration is economic concerns independent from their disability.

**Table 5.15 Period of Living in Ankara**

|                    | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent%</i> |
|--------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| 1-5 years          | 16               | 11,0            |
| 6-10 years         | 9                | 6,2             |
| 11-15 years        | 20               | 13,8            |
| 16-20 years        | 44               | 30,3            |
| more then 20 years | 56               | 38,6            |
| <i>Total</i>       | <i>145</i>       | <i>100</i>      |

**Table 5.16 Reason of Living in Ankara**

|                                     | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent %</i> |
|-------------------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Born in Ankara                      | 50               | 34,5             |
| Employment (as a survival strategy) | 71               | 48,9             |
| Education                           |                  |                  |
| <i>Total</i>                        | <i>145</i>       | <i>100</i>       |

Given the focus of this case study, advantages and difficulties of living in a metropolitan city for disabled are important indicators to asses the urban life of these groups. Most of the respondents have been living in Ankara for a long period, Table 5.17 and Table 5.18 displays the advantages and difficulties of living in a metropolitan city. Most of the handicapped (52.4%) suffer from the insufficient mass transportation and pavements for pedestrians which make their daily life more difficult. 12.4% of all think that they are socially and physically isolated from the urban social life due to insufficient public transportation vehicles which are not designed available for physically disabled. In addition to transportation problems, 3.4% of all find the infrastructure insufficient. However, only a small proportion of the respondents accept that there are no such difficulties of living in a metropolitan city.

As for the advantages of living in a metropolitan city, access to health (1.4%) and education services (11.7%), and sports, cultural and social facilities (7.6%) the employment opportunities (13.1%) and existence of civil society organizations (14.5%) are mostly ranked. While 33.8% of all respondents ranked all categories as the advantages of living in a greater city, 17.9% of all think that there are no advantages of living in a greater city (Table 5.18).

**Table 5.17 Difficulties of Living in a Metropolitan City**

|                                    | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent %</i> |
|------------------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| None                               | 8                | 5,5              |
| Mass and pedestrian transportation | 76               | 52,4             |
| Infrastructure                     | 5                | 3,4              |
| Unemployment                       | 6                | 4,1              |
| Social/physical isolation          | 18               | 12,4             |
| All                                | 32               | 22,1             |
| <i>Total</i>                       | <i>145</i>       | <i>100</i>       |

**Table 5.18 Advantages of Living in a Metropolitan City**

|                                       | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent %</i> |
|---------------------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| None                                  | 26               | 17,9             |
| Education                             | 17               | 11,7             |
| Health services                       | 2                | 1,4              |
| Sports/cultural and social activities | 11               | 7,6              |
| Civil society organizations           | 21               | 14,5             |
| Employment opportunities              | 19               | 13,1             |
| All                                   | 49               | 33,8             |
| <i>Total</i>                          | <i>145</i>       | <i>100</i>       |

It is important to note that the stated difficulties like the transportation and infrastructure are under the responsibility of the municipality whereas the stated advantages like health and education services are under the responsibility of central government. That is, the problems peculiar to urban life of disabled are mainly under the responsibility of municipalities.

It is an interesting finding that although the difficulties of living in a greater city are highly ranked, 67.9% of all prefer living in a city, and the rest prefer living in a rural area (Table 5.19). Among disabled groups, more access to resources and services is the main reason (29.7%), and the existence of disabled foundations is the secondary reason (17.8%) of living in a metropolitan city (Table 5.20). 24.8% of disabled believe that daily life would be more easier in a rural area, while 5.5% believe that daily life would be more cheaper (Table 5.21).

**Table 5.19 Preferring Rural Area to Metropolitan City**

|                          | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent %</i> |
|--------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Prefer rural area        | 44               | 30,3             |
| Prefer metropolitan city | 101              | 69,7             |
| <i>Total</i>             | <i>145</i>       | <i>100</i>       |

**Table 5.20 Reason to Prefer Living in a Metropolitan City**

|  | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent %</i> | <i>Valid percent %</i> |
|--|------------------|------------------|------------------------|
| Advantages of urban<br>(more access to services) | 43               | 29,7             | 42,6                   |
| Organized relationship<br>among disabled groups  | 25               | 17,2             | 24,8                   |
| All  | 33               | 22,8             | 32,7                   |
| <i>Total</i>                                     | <i>101</i>       | <i>69,7</i>      | <i>100</i>             |
| <i>Missing</i><br><i>(Not relevant)</i>          | <i>44</i>        | <i>30,3</i>      |                        |
| <i>Total</i>                                     | <i>145</i>       | <i>100</i>       |                        |

**Table 5.21 Reason to Prefer Living in a Rural Area**

|   | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent %</i> | <i>Valid percent %</i> |
|---|------------------|------------------|------------------------|
| Easier daily life                       | 36               | 24,8             | 81,8                   |
| Cheaper daily life                      | 8                | 5,5              | 18,2                   |
| <i>Total</i>                            | <i>44</i>        | <i>30,3</i>      | <i>100</i>             |
| <i>Missing</i><br><i>(Not relevant)</i> | <i>101</i>       | <i>69,7</i>      |                        |
| <i>Total</i>                            | <i>145</i>       | <i>100</i>       |                        |

### 5.3.7.3. Municipal Services

Obviously, municipal services have undeniable effects on the daily lives of city dwellers. From the perspective of disabled living in Ankara, perceptions of municipal services are specifically important, thus the indicators like the effects of municipal services, information about municipal services, kind of municipal services known, sufficiency of municipal services, and expected municipal services are examined in this part.

More than half of the participants believe (57.9%) that municipal services have effects on their daily life while the rest do not have such an opinion (Table 5.22). This indicator becomes crucial with consideration of the expectations of disabled from the municipality. Although more than half think that municipal services have impacts on their daily life, only 20% of them are informed about municipal services (Table 5.23). Obviously, it might be assumed that only small proportion of handicapped have chance to access to municipal services.

**Table 5.22 Effects of Municipal Services on Daily Life of Disabled**

|              | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent %</i> |
|--------------|------------------|------------------|
| Yes          | 84               | 57,9             |
| No           | 61               | 42,1             |
| <i>Total</i> | <i>145</i>       | <i>100</i>       |

**Table 5.23 Number of Disabled Informed About Municipal Services**

|              | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent %</i> |
|--------------|------------------|------------------|
| Yes          | 29               | 20,0             |
| No           | 116              | 80,0             |
| <i>Total</i> | <i>145</i>       | <i>100</i>       |

It might be assumed that the municipality is not an effective policy maker when the indicator showing the number of disabled informed about the municipal services is considered. As stated before, the municipal services for disabled are grouped as the vocational training, provision of employment, various aids in-kind and transportation cards.

Of all the respondents, only 17.9% have informed about the vocational training, 40% knew the job opportunities, and 26.9% knew the aids in-kind, whereas the high proportion of 89% knew the free transportation cards (Table 5.24, Table 5.25, Table 5.26, and Table 5.27). Unfortunately, although widely known municipal service is the free transportation cards, this service has been abolished with the decision of Metropolitan Assembly, numbered 278, in 06.19.2000.

**Table 5.24 Number of Disabled Informed About Vocational Training**

|              | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent %</i> |
|--------------|------------------|------------------|
| Yes          | 26               | 17,9             |
| No           | 119              | 82,1             |
| <i>Total</i> | <i>145</i>       | <i>100</i>       |

**Table 5.25 Number of Disabled Informed About Employment Provision**

|              | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent %</i> |
|--------------|------------------|------------------|
| Yes          | 58               | 40,0             |
| No           | 87               | 60,0             |
| <i>Total</i> | <i>145</i>       | <i>100</i>       |

**Table 5.26 Number of Disabled Informed About Free Transportation Cards**

|              | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent %</i> |
|--------------|------------------|------------------|
| Yes          | 129              | 89,0             |
| No           | 16               | 11,0             |
| <i>Total</i> | <i>145</i>       | <i>100</i>       |

**Table 5.27 Number of Disabled Informed About Various Aids In-kind**

|              | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent %</i> |
|--------------|------------------|------------------|
| Yes          | 39               | 26,9             |
| No           | 106              | 73,1             |
| <i>Total</i> | <i>145</i>       | <i>100</i>       |

Almost all of the respondents with the percentage of 91.7% are not satisfied with the municipal services (Table 5.28). Expectations of these groups about the municipal services are concentrated on the more effective mass transportation and pedestrian pavements, which are the mostly accepted difficulties of living in Ankara. 93.1% of the respondents expect the improvement of transportation, 63.4% of them expect cultural and social activities, 50.3% expect free or discount urban services, and 18.4% expect health and educational centers (Table 5.29).

**Table 5.28 Sufficiency of Municipal Services**

|              | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent %</i> |
|--------------|------------------|------------------|
| Yes          | 12               | 8,3              |
| No           | 133              | 91,7             |
| <i>Total</i> | <i>145</i>       | <i>100</i>       |

**Table 5.29 Expected Municipal Services**

|  | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent %</i> |
|--|------------------|------------------|
| Effective mass and pedestrian transportation | 135              | 93,1             |
| Social and cultural activities               | 92               | 63,4             |
| Free or discount urban services              | 73               | 50,3             |
| Health and education centres                 | 30               | 20,7             |

#### 5.3.7.4. Civil Society Organizations

Civil society organizations form a crucial platform for disabled to articulate their needs and aspirations. As the practice of urban social policy is based on the coordination among various policy actors one of which is the civil society organizations, it is necessary to elaborate these organizations in this case study with the indicators like the rate of membership to disabled organizations, attention paid to disabled organizations by the members, and effectiveness of disabled organizations

More than half of the respondents (65.5%) think that the problems stemming from urban life should be solved with the collaboration of state and private institutions, municipalities, and handicapped associations, while 31.7% of them ranked the state institutions, and only 2.8% of them ranked the handicapped associations to solve their problems (Table 5.30).

**Table 5.30 Organizations to Find Solutions**

|                       | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent%</i> |
|-----------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| State institutions    | 46               | 31,7            |
| Disabled associations | 4                | 2,8             |
| Collaboration of all  | 95               | 65,5            |
| <i>Total</i>          | <i>145</i>       | <i>100</i>      |

More than half of the respondents are members of one of disabled organizations with percentage of 58.6% (Table 5.31). Almost half of the members (58.4%) regularly attend to the facilities of these organizations (Table 5.32) due to either physical or social integration or to find solutions to their own problems (Table 5.33). However, 41.6% of members do not attend to activities because of either difficulties in public transportation or the ineffective activities of these organizations (Table 5.34). Although more than half of the respondents are

member of disabled organizations, 45.5% of them find these organizations ineffective in solving the problems of handicapped, while 44.8% ranked the category of a little bit effective (Table 5.35).

**Table 5.31 Membership to Disabled Organizations**

|              | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent %</i> |
|--------------|------------------|------------------|
| Yes          | 85               | 58,6             |
| No           | 60               | 41,4             |
| <i>Total</i> | <i>145</i>       | <i>100</i>       |

**Table 5.32 Attending to the Disabled Associations Regularly**

|                | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent %</i> |
|----------------|------------------|------------------|
| Yes            | 52               | 35,9             |
| No             | 37               | 25,5             |
| <i>Total</i>   | <i>89</i>        | <i>61,4</i>      |
| <i>Missing</i> | <i>56</i>        | <i>38,6</i>      |
| <i>Total</i>   | <i>145</i>       | <i>100</i>       |

**Table 5.33 Reasons of Attending to the Disabled Associations Regularly**

|                                     | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent %</i> | <i>Valid percent %</i> |
|-------------------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------------|
| For physical and social integration | 20               | 13,8             | 38,5                   |
| To find solutions to their problems | 14               | 9,7              | 26,9                   |
| All                                 | 18               | 12,4             | 34,6                   |
| <i>Total</i>                        | <i>52</i>        | <i>35,9</i>      | <i>100</i>             |
| <i>Missing</i>                      | <i>93</i>        | <i>64,1</i>      |                        |
| <i>Total</i>                        | <i>145</i>       | <i>100</i>       |                        |

**Table 5.34 Reasons of Not Attending**

|   | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent %</i> | <i>Valid percent %</i> |
|---|------------------|------------------|------------------------|
| Difficult to reach the association's building | 23               | 15,9             | 69,7                   |

|  |            |             |            |
|--|------------|-------------|------------|
| Ineffective activities of the associations | 10         | 6,9         | 30,3       |
| <i>Total</i>                               | <i>33</i>  | <i>22,8</i> | <i>100</i> |
| <i>Missing</i>                             | <i>112</i> | <i>77,2</i> |            |
| <i>Total</i>                               | <i>145</i> | <i>100</i>  |            |

**Table 5.35 Effectiveness of Disabled Organizations in Problem Solving**

|                        | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent %</i> |
|------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Highly effective       | 14               | 9,7              |
| A little bit effective | 65               | 44,8             |
| Not effective          | 66               | 45,5             |
| <i>Total</i>           | <i>145</i>       | <i>100</i>       |

To conclude with the case study, it can be easily argued that Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara is not an effective policy maker in that it only contributes to the problems of handicapped with temporary solutions. Although municipal law no. 5393 and metropolitan municipal law no. 5216 assign municipalities to perform welfare services on legal basis, Ankara Metropolitan Municipality has some organizational deficiencies. The respondents of the questionnaire are not satisfied with the municipal practices, and they are especially unsatisfied with the public transportation and infrastructure. While, many of them are members of disabled organizations, a great majority of them do not believe the effectiveness of these organizations and believe that their problems would be solved with the collaboration of state institutions, municipalities, civil society organizations and private sector. Insofar as the principles of Charter of European Urban Rights are considered, Ankara Metropolitan Municipality does not make policies for the well-being of disabled ultimately maintaining social, fiscal and occupational welfare of disabled.

## **CHAPTER VI**

### **CONCLUSION**

Social policy is an important issue, which has developed theoretically in the post-war period of the twentieth century, and which has found practical ground especially with the Keynesian welfare state. There is an enormous literature on social policy dealing with different aspects of the subject. It has been studied in relation to welfare, welfare state, citizenship and social rights, equality among the citizens, social justice, and policy programs of the countries, ideological orientations, and so forth. However, the social policy literature has been much influenced from the structural changes in the world, since 1980s. The contemporary studies have been intensively focusing on the proliferation of the policy makers on the supranational, national and local levels; the increasing policy fields due to the differentiation of the social problems, like the urban poverty, inclusion of marginal groups to the social life; increasing the number and the nature of the policy beneficiaries, who have been defined on the basis of their deprivation and/or identities.

Throughout this study, it is argued that the contemporary approaches to social policy cannot be understood without focusing on the urban aspect of the subject, which has gained a new agenda as a response to globalization, localization and new-right politics in the recent decades. Within the boundaries of this problematic, the main questions of this study is “how/why the social policy has gained a new agenda; how the European Union has reframed its approach on the social policy in the urban context; and how Turkey has been responding to the European impact regarding the subject” Accordingly, how the Turkish local government system has been changing with respect to social policies in the urban context composes an important contribution of this thesis.

In order to elaborate on these questions, the first chapter introduces the scope and the research questions of this thesis. The second chapter draws the theoretical framework for the social policy. In this chapter, the theoretical and conceptual considerations of social policy are elaborated. Social policy appeared from the collectivism and the practices of state intervention to deal with the social problems in the early twentieth century. Empiricist and pragmatic nature of the mainstream social policy began to be challenged in the mid 1970s by the contribution of critical approaches in a way losing its empiricist past and having a theoretical base.

In the social policy literature, Social Democratic and Marxist approaches contributed much to the conceptualization of welfare. According to the Social Democratic perspective, welfare state accepts the primary responsibility for the general wellbeing of its citizens. This perspective views the nature of social policies in any liberal society as a reflection of the social choices that are made by the citizens (Kearns, 1997). However, from the Marxist perspective, emergence and growth of welfare state were the results of structural needs of the capitalist system, intra-class divisions, inter-class conflict and the legitimation process. In contrast to the Social Democratic approach which views the social policies as a reflection of social choices, Marxist approach views the social policies as the state policies committed to the capitalist social relations, and thus social policies are intimately linked with the consequences, problems and social conditions created by capitalism (Lavalette, 1992).

Social policy practices have gained importance in the post-war era with the Keynesian Welfare State, which was responsible for the provision of well-being of its citizens. However, due to the so-called crisis, welfare state has been strongly criticized, new-right ideology has introduced, and finally the glorious epoch of the social welfare has been impeded.

The transformation process world has witnessed from the 1980s has associated with the introduction of new policies and practices to the general administrative, political, economic and social agenda so as to find a solution to the crisis of 1970s. In this context, new-right policies, globalization and localization trends are of significant value in social policy analysis having impacts on the changes of social policy agenda. Firstly, New-right policies have brought the multiplicity of actors specific to each policy field resulting in the provision of social services not only by the central state but also by the local governments and non-governmental organizations. Crucial points in the outcomes of New-right practices are the introduction of new policy makers and new service providers in the field of social policy making and welfare provision. Secondly, globalization has been another factor, which has affected the social policy literature in the early 1990s. Globalization trends have created new problem areas within the social policy and threatened the collectivist values from which social policy itself was stemmed. Also internationalization aspects of globalization contradict with the national nature of social policy practices (Wilding, 1997). That is, globalization has had implications on national welfare policies with power being dispersed from nation state to localities, independent organizations, and supra-national bodies. Thirdly, localism has had considerable impacts on the field of social policy. Localism arguments have brought about the importance of localities' abilities to carry out autonomous social policies, more participation of or greater roles for local governments and non-governmental institutions in social policy matters. These restructuring trends of new-right policies, globalization, and localization have all resulted in the diversification of social policy makers, new mechanisms and forms of social service provision, and more importantly, they have all contributed the social policy to have a new agenda in the urban context.

The approach on the social policies in the urban context is so crucial that urban sphere is a metaphor for spatial concentrations of the vulnerable groups as welfare

recipients. Urban social policy is, in the broadest sense, the outputs of social policies, which include urban political institutions and processes playing an important role in the well-being of vulnerable or disadvantaged groups living in the cities. In urban sphere, social policies are made and implemented by the various actors like the public sector, private sector, voluntary sector, mutual aid and informal relations (Spicker, 1995). Among these various policy makers the importance of the local governments are inevitable in that they are the local representatives responsible for taking services at local level.

In the third chapter, the main focus of attention is the European Union's approach on the social policies in the urban context. It is necessary to focus on the EU case, because, within the global context, the EU is an important body having impacts upon the member and the applicant states. As an applicant state, Turkey has gone under a transformation process in many respects according to the criteria determined by the EU. Therefore, in order to cope with the Turkish case regarding the social policies in the urban context, any study inevitably refers to the EU's approach to the subject. Additionally, the EU's approach on the issue is an important example for how the globalization, localization, new-right policies have effected the issue. In this sense, the main arguments in the chapter are that, the EU has enlarged its definition of social policy from policy fields of labor, training, and health to deprived groups such as disabled, elderly, poor, ethnic and religious minorities, and children. This points out not only to an enlargement of the scope, but also a shift in the focus from policy areas to policy beneficiaries. In line with this, the EU has given greater emphasis on the local authorities in the field of social policy. Central notion is that local governments already *de facto* play a major role in social policy, and that they are primary service providers in the fields of training, social housing, social and welfare services, transport, health promotion and the environment issues.

Having given the European context, the fourth chapter deals with the Turkish case with reference to the contemporary institutional changes made in the local government system. In this sense, the Municipal Law 5393 enacted in July 2005 and the Metropolitan Municipality Law 5216 enacted in July 2004 have introduced some decentralization tendencies, and the strengthening of social policies on the local level. This does not mean a total transfer of social policies to local governments. Turkish social policy, like the ones in the European countries, has been under the responsibility of both central and local governments envisaging partnerships with the non-governmental institutions, like voluntary sector and private sector. In this sense, recent legal changes have vested more responsibilities regarding the social welfare in the cities.

In fact, in the fifth chapter, the case study of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality has shown the European impact by legal changes on the institutional level. During the data collection process of the case study, the municipality was dealing with the reinstitutinalization of the social services department. While social services was a branch of Education and Cultural Facilities Department, the branches of social services, like the ones caring elderly, children, women, and disabled, were departmentalized under the name of Department of Health and Social Services in July, 2006. This is an important development for the municipality. Because, hopefully, this departmentalization might lead to employment of necessary specialists, transformation of municipal resources more on social services, and an increase in the number of welfare recipients.

The fifth chapter also covers the services provided by the Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara on the basis of the deprived groups. In this sense, children, elderly, women, and the disabled are the social groups on which the municipality draws its attention. On the basis of the data collected, being poor is generally the common feature among those deprived groups. In other words, those children, elderly, and disabled benefiting from the municipal services are generally in the

low income groups. Therefore, municipal approach to social policy becomes more important when the double deprivation of these groups is taken into account. In this sense, how municipality perceives social services gains importance. The content analysis of the municipality's weekly magazines has shown a crucial fact about this perception. These magazines inform any kind of municipal activity to the city dwellers. In these magazines social services are defined as the aids distributed by the metropolitan municipality, rather than as the duties performed by it. The following article titles are only a few example of the problem: "İşte Sosyal Adalet" (Here is the Social Justice), "Yoksullar Ücretsiz Giydiriliyor" (The Poor are Dressed Free), "TODAM Çarşı'da Giysi Yardımı Sürüyor", "Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nden 2 Yeni Şefkatevi" (Two New Şefkatevi from the Metropolitan Municipality), "Gökçek'in 2004 Yılı Faaliyet Raporu" (Gökçek's Activity Report of 2004), "390bin Aileye Gıda Yardımı" (Food Aid to 390 thousand Family), "Üniversitelilere Sıcak Çorba" (Hot Soup to University Students), "Yoksul Ailelere Gıda Yardımı" (Food Aid to Poor Families), "Büyükşehir Kimsesiz Çocuklara Kucak Açtı" (Metropolis Embraced the Destitute Children), "Bir Gıda Yardım Kamyonunun Ardında Bıraktıkları" (Things Left Behind by an Aid Truck), "Yaşlılara Sıcak Dost Eli" (A Warm Friend Hand to the Elderly), "Büyükşehir'den Hergün 15.000 Kişiye İftar Yemeği" (The Evening Meal During Ramadan to 15.000 people from the Metropolis), "Gönül Yolu Çarşısı Hizmete Girdi" (The Soul Road Bazaar is Opened)...This problematic highlights an important issue for the social policies in Turkish cities. On the bases of citizenship notion of the social policy, the social policies are social rights of the citizens. Therefore, it is the responsibility of the central and local governments to improve the wellbeing of the citizens. However, the case in Ankara has shown a different pattern. In this pattern municipal social services are constructed as the aids distributed by the municipality, rather than responsibility and duty of it. Moreover, these services have not been undertaken as a response to the social rights of the city dwellers. In this sense, there rises a crucial problem: The social policies in the urban context have not been made and implemented on the basis of citizenship

rights. In this sense, it might be argued that social services of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality have been an instrument for clientalist politics, which has been contributing to the election of the metropolitan mayor for the third time. Moreover, in this process, social policies serves for the strengthening of the informal networks on the community level, instead of formation of the formal networks on the civil society level. That is, communitarian political behaviors of the municipality instrumentalize social policies, whose eventual aim of social inclusion and integration disregarded.

Insofar as the social policy is committed to redistribution and equity within the society, social policies might be seen as an instrument to achieve reintegration of individuals or disadvantaged groups into communities from which they have become alienated and disengaged. Social policies are, in the broadest sense, redistribution process for the disadvantaged groups in a society regarding their well-being or welfare aiming to ultimately maintain social development, social justice, social peace, social integration and social balance. In this framework, social policy pattern of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality as an instrument for populism and for formation of informal community networks cannot be capable of maintaining the welfare and social inclusion of the disadvantaged groups who cannot access to the community networks.

The problems in Ankara Metropolitan Municipality's social policy display a divergence from the aim of integration with the European Union. Because, since the 1990s, vigorous discussions have taken place in the European Union on the future of social policy, and the crucial role of local authorities in social and economic development has been strongly stressed. Nonetheless, the key role played by the local authorities in implementing social policies has been stressed since the local authorities are the funders of social benefits, managers of welfare services, and care for vulnerable people.

In fact, the results of the questionnaire, which was held with the handicapped, support the social policy patterns of the municipality stated above. Although the questionnaire was held with the members of disabled civil society organizations with the assumption that they would be more likely to be informed about the services, this was not the case according to the results.

The questionnaire is composed of several indicators about the demographic features of the respondents, urban life of the respondents, municipal services for the respondents and the civil society organizations. Demographic features are derived from the variables of sex, age, kind of disability, education, job, social security institution, total household income and household size all of which strengthens the assumption that disabled groups are more likely to be withdrawn from the labor market leading to double deprivation. Urban life of the respondents is derived from the variables of period and reason of living in Ankara, difficulties and advantages of living in a metropolitan city and preference of living in an urban area to a rural area. How municipal services are perceived by disabled are derived from the effects, information, and sufficiency of municipal services as well as the expected services. Relations of disabled to civil society organizations are derived from the membership, attention and effectiveness of these organizations from the respondents' side.

Regarding the handicapped, the most important inadequacy of municipal services might be that the Disabled Information Centre does not function in coordination with the voluntary organizations or civil society organizations in problem solving. Also, permanent policies for physical, social, psychological integration of handicapped to the urban sphere are not introduced.

In conclusion, this thesis is hoped to highlight the increasing importance of social policies in the urban context, and the increasing role of local governments as policy makers and implementers. This importance doubles, because the

concentration of the disadvantaged groups in the cities has been growing with the impacts of restructuring policies throughout the world. In this framework, this thesis is hoped to open the new research areas both for the urban studies and social policy studies in the Turkish cities. In this sense, new studies might focus on the Turkish local governments in terms of their cooperation or partnership with the civil society organizations, in terms of accountability and decentralization, in terms of effectiveness and efficiency of their social policies, in terms of social policy as citizenship rights and the effects of clientalist politics on the issue. In fact, case studies are crucial for elaborating the “politicalness” of social policies, when its redistribution and reallocation of the resources aspect is taken into account.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Website

<http://www.ankara-bel.gov.tr/birimalt.asp?birimkategori-019>

“Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi Faaliyet Raporu.” (1996) Ankara: Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi Basın Yayın ve Halkla İlişkiler Daire Başkanlığı Yayını.

“Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi Faaliyet Raporu.” (2002) Ankara: Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi Basın Yayın Daire Başkanlığı Yayını.

“Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi Faaliyet Raporu.” (2003) Ankara: Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi Basın Yayın Daire Başkanlığı Yayını.

“Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi Faaliyet Raporu.” (2004) Ankara: Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi Basın Yayın Daire Başkanlığı Yayını.

Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi Haftalık Haber Bülteni. (29 Aralık, 2004 - 4 Ocak, 2005) “İşte Sosyal Adalet.” 1(9), 10-11.

Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi Haftalık Haber Bülteni. (5-11 Ocak, 2005) “Yoksullar Ücretsiz Giydiriliyor” 1(10).

Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi Haftalık Haber Bülteni. (23 Şubat-1 Mart, 2005) “Amacımız Çocukları Sokaktan Kurtarmak.” 1(16), 16-18.

Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi Haftalık Haber Bülteni. (9-15 Mart, 2005) “Sokakta Çalışan Çocuklara Yeni Merkez.” 1(18), 8-9.

Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi Haftalık Haber Bülteni. (9-15 Mart, 2005) “TODAM Çarşı’da Giysi Yardımı Sürüyor.” 1(18), 19.

Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi Haftalık Haber Bülteni. (16-22 Mart, 2005) “Büyükşehir Belediyesinden 2 Yeni Şefkatevi.” 1(19), 11.

Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi Haftalık Haber Bülteni. (23-29 Mart, 2005) “Gökçek’in 2004 Yılı Faaliyet Raporu.” 1(20), 4-18.

Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi Haftalık Haber Bülteni. (6-12 Nisan, 2005) “390bin Aileye Gıda Yardımı.” 1(22), 16-17.

Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi Haftalık Haber Bülteni. (18-24 Mayıs, 2005) “Yenimahalle’den 20 Engelliye Tekerlekli Sandalye.” 1(28), 20.

Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi Haftalık Haber Bülteni. (18-24 Mayıs, 2005) “Üniversitelilere Sıcak Çorba.” 1(29), 18-19.

Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi Haftalık Haber Bülteni. (29 Haziran-5 Temmuz, 2005) “Yoksul Ailelere Gıda Yardımı.” 1(34), 8-9.

Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi Haftalık Haber Bülteni. (3-9 Ağustos, 2005) “Büyükşehir Kimsesiz Çocuklara Kucak Açtı.” 1(39), 4-7.

Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi Haftalık Haber Bülteni. (14-20 Eylül, 2005) “Bir Gıda Yardım Kamyonunun Ardında Bıraktıkları.” 1(45), 16-17.

Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi Haftalık Haber Bülteni. (12-18 Ekim, 2005) “Yaşlılara Sıcak Dost Eli.” 1(49), 16-18.

Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi Haftalık Haber Bülteni. (19-25 Ekim, 2005) “Büyükşehirden Hergün 15.000 Kişiye İftar Yemeği.” 1(50), 16-18.

Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi Haftalık Haber Bülteni. (26 Ekim-1 Kasım, 2005) “Gönül Yolu Çarşısı Hizmete Girdi.” 1(51), 22.

Ataç, F. (1988) *Açıklamalı Belediye Kanunu*. Ankara: Gaye Matbaası.

Barnes, M. (1999) “Users as Citizens: Collective Action and the Local Governance of Welfare” *Social Policy and Administration*, 33(1), 73-90.

Béland, D. (2005) “Ideas and Social Policy: An Institutional Perspective” *Social Policy and Administration*, 39(1), 1-18.

“Belediye Kanunu, 5393 Sayılı” Retrieved June, 2006, from <http://www.mahalli-idareler.gov.tr>

Beresford, P. (2001). “Service users, social policy and the future of welfare” *Critical Social Policy*, 21(4), 494-512.

Berg, L. van den, Meer, J. van der and Pol, P. M. J. (2003) “Organizing Capacity and Social Policies in European Cities” *Urban Studies*, 40(10): 1959-1978.

Boaden, N. (1971) *Urban Policymaking*, London: Cambridge University Press.

Bongers, P. (1992). *Local Government in the Single European Market*. London: Longman.

Boratav, K., Yeldan, A.E., and Köse, A.H. (2000) "Globalization, Distribution and Social Policy: Turkey, 1980-1998," *CEPA Working Paper Series I*. New York: New School University, Center for Economic Policy Analysis.

Boulding, K. (1976). The Politics of Policy. In J.E. Tropman & R. M. Lind (Eds.) *Strategic Perspectives on Social Policy* (chap.1, pp.9-21). New York, Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Bryson, L. (1992) *Welfare and the State*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Buğra, A. and Keyder, Ç. (2006) "The Turkish Welfare Regime in Transformation" *Journal of European Social Policy*, 16(3), 211-228.

"Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kanunu" Retrived June, 2006 from <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/kanunlar/k5216.html>

Cahill, M. (1994) *The New Social Policy*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Chandler, J.A. (1988) *Public Policy-Making for Local Government*. London: Croom Helm.

Chandler, J.A. (Ed.) (1992) *Local Government in Liberal Democracies: An Introductory Survey*. London: Routledge.

Chandler, J.A. (1993) Local Authorities and Economic Development. In Goetz, E. G., and Clarke, S. E. (Eds.) (1993) *The New Localism: Comparative Urban Politics in a Global Era*, London: Sage.

Christopher, A. Et.al. (1970) *Policy for Poverty*. New York: The Institute of Economic Affairs.

Culyer, A.J. (1973) *The Economics of Social Policy*. London: Martin Robertson & Company Ltd.

De Haan, L.J. (2000) "Social Exclusion, Social Capital and Survival Strategies in Rural Areas: Globalization, Localization and Sustainable Livelihood", *Sociologica Ruralis*, 40(3).

Deacon, B. (1997) *Global Social Policy: International Organizations and the Future of Welfare*. London: Sage.

Donnison, D. (1998), *Policies for A Just Society*. London: Macmillan Press.

Donnison, D. & D. Eversley. (1973) *London: Urban Patterns, Problems and Policies*. California: Sage Publications.

Donnison, D.V., (1954) *The Neglected Child and the Social Services*. Manchester University Press.

Dunleavy, P. (1980) *Urban Political Analysis*. London: McMillan.

Edgar, R.E. (1970). *Urban Power and Social Welfare*. California: Sage Publications.

Edwards, J. (1995) "Social Policy and the City: A Review of Recent Developments and Literature", *Urban Studies*, 32(4-5), 695-712.

Ergüder, Ü. (1989) "Patterns of Authority" in Heper, M. (Ed.) (1989), *Local Government in Turkey: Governing Greater İstanbul*. London: Routledge.

"European Charter of Local Self-Government" (15.X.1995). Strasbourg.  
Retrieved in July, 2006 from  
<http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/EN/Treaties/Html/122.htm>,

Fainstein, S., (1994) *The City Builders: Property, Politics and Planning in London and New York*. Oxford: Blackwell Publication.

Finer, C.J. (1997) "The New Social-Policy in Britain", *Social Policy and Administration*, 31(5), 154-170.

Fitzpatrick, T. (2001) "New Agendas for Social Policy and Criminology: Globalization, Urbanism and the Emerging Post-Social Security State" *Social Policy and Administration*. 35 (2), 212-219.

Gaffikin, F. (1993) "Urban Policy and Post Keynesian State", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 18(11).

George, V., Miller, S. (1994) *Social Policy Towards 2000: Squaring the Welfare Circle*. London: Routledge.

Geyer, R. (2000). "The State of European Union Social Policy" *Policy Studies*. 21 (3), 245-261.

Gilbert, A. (1997) "Poverty and Social Policy in Latin America" *Social Policy and Administration*, 31(4), 320-335.

Glennerster, H., Power, A., and Travers, T. (1991) "A New Era For Social Policy: A New Enlightenment or a New Leviathan?" *Journal of Social Policy*, 20(3), pp.389-414.

Goetz, E. G., and Clarke, S. E. (Eds.) (1993) *The New Localism: Comparative Urban Politics in a Global Era*. London: Sage.

*Guide to the Main Administrative Structures Required for Implementing the Acquis* (May 2005) Retrived November 17, 2006 from <http://www.abgs.gov.tr>

Güler, B. A. (1996) *Yeni Sağ ve Devletin Değişimi: Yapısal Uyarılama Politikaları*. Ankara: TODAİE.

Güven , H.S. (1995) *Sosyal Politikanın Temelleri*. Bursa: Ezgi Kitabevi.

Hampton, W. (1991) *Local Government and Urban Politics*. London: Longman.

Hantrais, L (1995) *Social Policy in the European Union*. London: Macmillan Press.

Hawkins, B. (1972) *Urban Politics and Policies*. New York: Bob Merrill.

Hentschel, J. (2005) "Using rapid city surveys to inform municipal social policy – an application in Cali, Colombia", *Habitat International*, 29, 667-688.

Heper, M. (1991) Local Government in Turkey - With Special Reference to Metropolitan Municipalities. In Hesse, J. J. (Ed.) *Local Government and Urban Affairs in International Perspective: Analysis of Twenty Western Industrialized Countries*. Baden: Baden

Hill, D. (1994) *Citizens and Cities: Urban Policy in the 1990s*. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Hirst, M. (1997) "Variations in the Administration of Disability Living Allowance" *Social Policy and Administration*, 31(2), 136-156.

Holcomb, P.A., Seefeldt, K.S., Trutko, J, Barnow, B.S., and Nightingale, D.S. (1993). *One Stop Shopping Service Integration: Major Dimensions, Key Characteristics and Impediments to Implementation*. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.

Hudson, B. (1990) "Social-Policy and the New Right - The Strange Case of the Community Care White Paper", *Local Government Studies*, 16(6), 15-34.

Jessop, B. (1994) The Transition to Post Fordism and the Shumpeterian Workfare State. In Burrows, R., and Loader, B. (1994) *Towards a Post Fordist Welfare State*, London: Routledge.

Jessop, B. (1996) *The Future of National State: Erosion or Reorganization? General Reflections on the West European Case*. Conference in METU, Ankara.

Johnstone, D. (2003) *Comparative Social Policies in Europe*. Frankfurt, New York, Oxford: Peter Lang.

Jones, C. (1985). *Patterns of Social Policy: An Introduction to Comparative Analysis*. London: Tavistock Publications Ltd.

Jones, G. W. (1991). Local Government in Great Britain. In Hesse, J. J. *Local Government and Urban Affairs in International Perspective*, Baden: Nomos Ver.

Kahn, A.J. (1969). *Studies in Social Policy and Planning*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Kearns, K. (1997). Social Democratic Perspectives on the Welfare State. In Lavalette, M & A. Pratt (Eds.), *Social Policy: A Conceptual and Theoretical Introduction* (chap.2). London: Sage Publications.

Keleş, R. (1987). "Belediye Gelirleri", *Amme İdaresi Dergisi*, 20(4 ), 63-87.

Keleş, R. (1988). *Management of Urban Growth in Turkey*. Ankara: Turkish Social Science Association.

Keleş, R. (1994). *Yerinden Yönetim ve Siyaset*. İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi.

Kingdom, J. (1991). *Local Government and Politics in Britain*. London: Philip Allan.

Lavalette, M. (1997). Marx and the Marxist Critique of Welfare. In Lavalette, M & A. Pratt (Eds.), *Social Policy: A Conceptual and Theoretical Introduction* (chap4). London: Sage Publications.

Lavalette, M & Pratt, A. (Eds.) (1997). *Social Policy: A Conceptual and Theoretical Introduction*. London: Sage Publications.

Leibfried, S. & P.Pierson. (1995) *European Social Policy: Between Fragmentation and Integration*. Virginia: R.R. Donnelley & Sons Co.

Mahalli İdareler Genel Müdürlüğü. (1996) *Avrupa Kentsel Şartı*. Ankara: Kent Matbaacılık.

Marshall, T.H., (1965) *Social Policy*. London: Hutchinson and Co. Publication.

Martinson, K. (1999) *Literature Review on Service Coordination and Integration in the Welfare and Workforce Development Systems*. Retrieved in May, 2006 from <http://aspe.hhs.gov/HSP/coord00/appa.htm>

“Metropolitan Municipal Act No.5216” Retrieved in June, 2006 from <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/kanunlar/k5216.html>

Mishra, R.(1998) “Beyond the Nation-State – Social Policy in an Age of Globalization” *Social Policy and Administration*, 32(5),481-500.

Moser, C. (1995) “Urban Social Policy and Poverty Reduction”, *Environment and Urbanization*, 7(1), 159-171.

Mullard, M. (1997). Introduction. In Mullard, M.& S. Lee (Eds.) *The Politics of Social Policy in Europe* (chap.1, pp.1-11). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

“Municipal Law No. 5393” Retrieved in June, 2006 from <http://mevzuat.basbakanlik.gov.tr/mevzuat/metinx.asp?mevzuatkod=1.5.5393>

Nagel, S.S., (1994) *Encyclopedia of Policy Studies*. New York: Marcel Dekker Pub.

Northway, N. (1997) “Integration and Inclusion: Illusion or Progress in Services for Disabled People” *Social Policy and Administration*, 31(2), 157-172.

Palabıyık, H. Yavaş, H. (2006) “Legislative Reforms on Local Governments in Turkey Still Going on: Participatory Perspectives in the Municipal Act of 2005 Numbered 5393,” retrieved September, 19 2006 from <http://www.turkishweekly.net/printer-friendly/printerfriendly.php?type=articals&id135>

Parker, G., Clarke, H. (1997) “Will You Still Need Me, Will You Still Feed Me?- Paying For Care in Old Age” *Social Policy and Administration*, 31(2), 119-135.

Piachaud, D. (1991) “Revitalizing Social Policy”, *Political Quarterly*, 62(2), 204-224.

Piachaud, D. (2005) “Social Policy and Politics”, *Political Quarterly*, 76(3), 350-356.

- Peters, B.G. (2000) "Institutional Theory: Problems and Prospects" Retrieved in September, 2006 from [http://www.ihs.ac.at/publications/pol/pw\\_69.pdf](http://www.ihs.ac.at/publications/pol/pw_69.pdf)
- Peterson, Paul.E. and Stephen M.D., (1976) *Urban Politics and Public Policy: The City in Crisis*. New York: Praeger Publishers.
- Polatoğlu, A. (2000) *Introduction to Public Administration: The Case of Turkey*. Ankara: Middle East Technical University.
- Rein, M., (1970) *Social Policy: Issues of Choice and Change*, New York: Random House Publication.
- Ringen, S. (1986) *The Possibility of Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Robson, B. (Ed.) (1987) *Managing the City: The Aims and Impacts of Urban Policy*. London: Croom Helm.
- Ross, M.J. (1987) *State and Local Politics and Policy: Change and Reform*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.
- Scarpaci, J.L. (1993) "Social Policy in Poor Countries", *Urban Geography* 14(5), 476-488.
- Scarpaci, J.L. (1995) "Social-Policy in Poor Countries - Strategies and Trends in the Metropolis", *Urban Geography* 16(2), 165-177.
- Scarpaci, J.L. (1998) "Urban Social Policy In Poor Countries- Theoretical and Methodological Directions", *Urban Geography* 19(3), 262-282.
- Schorr, A.L. (1968) *Explorations in Social Policy*, London: Basic Books.
- Schultze, W.A. (1985) *Urban Politics*. London: Prentice Hall.
- Sharpe, E. (1990) *Urban Politics and Administration*, London: Longman.
- Shonfield, A. and Shaw, S. (Ed.s) (1972) *Social Indicators and Social Policy*. London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd.
- "Sosyal Hizmetler ve Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu Kanunu" Retrieved in June, 2006, from <http://www.mevzuat.adalet.gov.tr/html/614.html>
- Spicker, P. (1995) *Social Policy: Themes and Approaches*. London: Prentice-Hall.
- Spicker, P. (1995) "An Introduction to Social Policy" Retrieved May 19, 2006, from <http://www2.rgu.ac.uk/publicpolicy/introduction>.

Spicker, P. (2006) "An Introduction to Social Policy: Social Policy in the UK" Aberdeen, Scotland: The Robert Gordon University, Retrieved June, 2006, from <http://www2.rgu.ac.uk/publicpolicy/introduction/uk.htm>

Springer, B. (1994) *The European Union and its Citizens: The Social Agenda*. London: Greenwood Press.

Stone, C., Whelan, R.K. and Murin, W.J. (1986) *Urban Policy and Politics in a Bureaucratic Age*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.

"The European Urban Charter" Retrived in June 2006 from [http://www.urban.nl/download%20files/URBAN\\_CHARTER\\_EN.pdf](http://www.urban.nl/download%20files/URBAN_CHARTER_EN.pdf)

Thelen, K. and Steinmo, S. (1993). "Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Politics" in Kathleen Thelen and Sven Steinmo (ed.s) *Structuring Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Pres, pp.1-23.

Titmuss, R.M. (1963) *Essays on the Welfare State*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Tortop, N. (1996) *Yerel Yönetimler Maliyesi (Görev ve Kaynak Bölüşümü)*. Ankara: Türkiye ve Orta Doğu Amme İdaresi Enstitüsü.

Tropman, J. & Vasey, W. (1975) *Strategic Perspectives on Social Policy*. New York: Pergamon Press.

Trutko, J., Bailis, L., Barnow, B., French, S. (1991). *An Assessment of the JTPA Role in State and Local Coordination Activities*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Labor Employment and Training Administration.

Türkiye İşverenler Sendikası Komisyonu. (2005) *AB Sosyal Gündemi 2005-2010: Küresel Ekonomide Sosyal Bir Avrupa: Herkes İçin İş ve Fırsat*. Avrupa Komisyonu İstihdam, Sosyal İşler ve Eşit Fırsatlar Genel Müdürlüğü.

Ünsal, A.T. (1988) *Türk Belediyeciliğinde Ankara Belediyesi*. Gazi Üniversitesi: Institute of Social Sciences, Unpublished Masters Thesis.

Ünusan, T. (1996) *Avrupa'da Yerel Yönetimler*. Ankara: Mahalli İdareler Genel Müdürlüğü.

Vandenbroucke, F. (2001) "European Social Policy: Is a co-operation a better route than regulation?" *New Economy* 8(1), 30-33.

- Weale, A. (1994) "Social-Policy and European Union", *Social Policy and Administration*, 28(1), 5-19.
- Wendon, B. (1998) "The Commission as Image-Venue Entrepreneur in EU Social-Policy" *Journal of European Public Policy*, 5(2), 339-353.
- Wilding, P. (1997) "Globalization, Regionalism and Social Policy", *Social Policy and Administration* 31(4), 410-428.
- Willis, M. (1995) Community Care and Social Services. In Stewart, J. And Stoker, G. (Eds.) *Local Government in the 1990s*, London: Macmillan.
- Williams, F (1989) *Social Policy: A Critical Introduction*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Williams, O. (1971) *Metropolitan Political Analysis*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Wolman, H., and Goldsmith, M. (1992) *Urban Politics and Policy: A Comparative Approach*. Oxford: Blackwell Publication.
- Yeates, N. (1999) "Social Politics and Policy in an Era of Globalization: Critical Reflections" *Social Policy and Administration*, 33(4), 372-393.
- Yeates, N. (2002) "Globalization and Social Policy: From Global Neoliberal Hegemony to Global Political Pluralism" *Global Social Policy*, 2 (1), 69-91.

**APPENDICES**  
**APPENDIX A**  
**URBAN SOCIAL POLICIES ON LOCAL GOVERNMENTAL LEVEL**  
**IN ENGLAND**

“The United Kingdom is a unitary state in which the central government substantially directs most government activity” (Spicker, 2006). Spicker (2006) states that “local governments lost many powers in the post-war era - including responsibility for health, social security and public utilities - and since this era have progressively declined in influence. Local government system was reformed in the 1970s, to form two main tiers (county and district) in most of Britain; in 1996 local government was focused in a single administrative tier, though some two-tier authorities have been retained”.

As shown in the figure 3.1, administration of the social policy areas is distributed among the national government departments and the local governments. Assessment of urban social policy practices will be meaningful with the explorations of the local government system in England.

**A.1. Local Government System in the UK**

Up to the nineteenth century local government was based on a complex unplanned set of bodies, parishes, boroughs, counties and boards whose origins are dated back to the Middle Ages and even earlier. During nineteenth century, a series of legislation produced a more rational framework in England initially with the establishment of municipal corporations in urban areas, which gradually extended their functions. This legislative framework continued, in 1888 and 1894, with the establishment of counties and districts for the more rural areas. This arrangement lasted until the 1960s when in 1963; the London Government Act instituted more extensive Greater London Council as the top tier, covering most of the urban

landmass, with a system of 32 London Boroughs and the mediaeval City Corporation below (Jones, 1991).

Throughout 1980s British local government system experienced not only the introduction of centralization policies but also faced with threats on local democracy against the main arguments of post 1980 thinking. Within this framework, Local Government Act abolished the Greater London Council in 1985, and its functions were distributed to the boroughs below, to a variety of non-elected boards and to central government (Jones, 1991).

Nevertheless, this transformation process continued with some other acts like the enactment of three major pieces of social legislation in 1988: The Education Reform Act 1988, the Housing Act 1988, and the Local Government Finance Act 1988, also the National Health Service and Community Care Act 1990. According to Glennerster et. al. (1991), there is a general agreement among the academicians in that

... one of the most common and important principles underlying this legislation has been the reduction in the powers of local government and in the presumption that local authorities should be the main providers of social welfare outside the social security system. Schools, housing estates, and social care services are to be given greater powers to run themselves or to become separate organizations. Local authorities are to use their resources to fund and contract with external agencies.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> In this article, H. Glennerster, A. Power, and T. Travers discuss about the nature/principles of the stated Acts and their possible implications on both the policy beneficiaries and the policy executors. From their point of view, these acts mark the most decisive break in British social policy since the period between 1944 and 1948.

| <b>Main Government Departments Dealing with Social Policy in the UK</b> |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|
| <b>CENTRAL GOVERNMENT</b>   | <b>RESPONSIBILITIES</b>                               | <b>NATIONAL ORGANISATIONS</b>   | <b>LOCAL GOVERNMENT</b>                                   |
| Parliament  | Primary legislation                                   | The Scottish Parliament; the Welsh Parliament; the Northern Ireland Assembly  | Local authorities<br>London boroughs                      |
| Cabinet Office  |   | Social Exclusion Unit   |   |
| The Treasury  | Economic policy<br>Government finance                 | Inland Revenue (taxation); tax credits and social security contributions  |   |
| Department of Health  | Health care<br>Social Services                        | National Health Service   | Personal social services                                  |
| Department for Work and Pensions  | National Insurance<br>Social Assistance<br>Employment | Pensions Service (formerly the Benefits Agency);<br>Child Support Agency;<br>Job Centre Plus (formerly Benefits Agency/Employment Service);<br>Information Technology Services Agency |   |
| Office of the Deputy Prime Minister <sup>29</sup>                       | Local government;<br>Urban policy; Housing            |   | Planning; housing;<br>environmental health                |
| Home Office   | Law and order<br>Racial issues                        | Probation service; immigration service;<br>prisons  | Police<br>Fire  |
| Department for Education and Skills (formerly, Employment)              | Education   | Higher education  | Schools; Education welfare;<br>Learning disability (5-18) |

Source: Paul Spicker, 2006, <http://www2.rgu.ac.uk/publicpolicy/introduction/uk.htm>

---

<sup>29</sup> After the general elections in 2001, Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions took the name of Office of the Deputy Prime Minister. Spicker (2006, p.1) states that “the most important changes in the recent years have been the reformation of the Department of Social Security into the Department of Work and Pensions, the significant transfer of income maintenance to the Inland Revenue, and the demolition of the Department of Transport, the Regions and Local Government, whose key social policy responsibilities have now been placed in the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister.”

Glennerster et. al. (1991) discusses critically the possible outcomes of changes in governance, asserting that although this changing movement seems to reflect the desire to decentralization, it will not produce less intervention rather than this it will lead to increased central power.

In the following parts, the local government system in England will be given on the basis of organizational structure, duties and the revenues of local administrations in England.

## **A.2. Organizational Structure**

In non-metropolitan areas, local government structure is composed of counties at the top, districts and parishes below. 'Counties' carry out the most of the functions of local government including the services like land-use planning, schemes of major development (transportation, traffic and roads), fire and police, consumer protection and refuse disposal; as well as provision of education, public libraries and social services to such groups as the old and handicapped (Jones, 1991).

Beneath the counties are the districts which carry out more local kind functions such as local land-use planning, maintenance of minor urban roads and providing car parks, housing, refuse collection, and together with the county councils museums, art galleries and recreational services (Jones, 1991).

Beneath the districts in the more rural areas, there are parishes, which provide very local amenities, such as bus shelters, street lighting, village halls, cemeteries, car parks, and grants to voluntary bodies, and act as the voice of the village to tiers above (Jones, 1991).

### **Current Local Government System in England**

| First Level | Second Level          | Third Level     |
|-------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| Counties    | Metropolitan Boroughs | <b>Parishes</b> |
|             | County Districts      |                 |

#### **A.3. The Duties of Local Administrations**

The tasks of local administrations might be grouped into the following basic categories:

- a) *Maintenance of Order and Provision of Crises Services;*
  - Police
  - Fire brigade
  - Consumer protection
- b) *Environment and Infrastructural Services;*
  - a) Environmental health
  - b) Traffic services and transportation
  - c) Planning
  - d) Civil defense
  - e) Housing
- c) *Education, Health and Social Services;*
  - a) Education
  - b) Health and social services (Social services include the vocational training of handicapped)
  - c) Cultural, recreational and sports facilities

#### **A.4. Revenues of Local Administrations**

There are three principle sources of local government finance, including grants from central government, local taxation and other revenues.

*Grants from Central Government:* Since the nineteenth century, grants from central government have grown considerably. Increasingly, the local government finance system has become an instrument whereby central government can exert political control over the activities of local government through the principle of paying (Chandler, 1992; Hampton, 1991).

*Tax Revenues:* Local taxation in England was based on the occupation of property; each household, shop, office or factory paid a tax to the local authority (Chandler, 1992). This form of taxation remains in an amended form for non-domestic ratepayers but domestic rates have been replaced by the community charge, or poll tax (Hampton, 1991).

*Other Revenues:* Local authorities obtain income from various rents, fees and charges for the services provided.

Revenues of local governments might be grouped as the figure shows below:

### **Revenues of Local Administrations in England**

| <b>Revenues</b>       |                          |                       |                            |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| <b>Tax Revenues</b>   | <b>Government Grants</b> | <b>Other Revenues</b> | <b>Private Investments</b> |
| Council tax           | Specific Grants          | Payments              |                            |
| Uniform business rate | Revenue support grants   | Loans                 |                            |
|                       | Grants for projects      | Sale incomes          |                            |

## **A.5. The Provision of the Social Services in the UK**

The Local Authority Social Services Act of 1970 created Social Services Departments in England. The importance of these departments grew gradually with reference to their increasing share from local governments' revenue, as well as the rise in full-time employees of these departments (Willis, 1995).

In contrast to the government policies, which gradually reduced the power of local government in England, the duties and responsibilities of social services departments within local governments, have been strengthened. Willis (1995) argues the reasons of this development in five categories as follows; first, every aspect of social services practice has been subject to major legislative change since 1970:

- *Chronically Sick and Disabled Persons Act 1970*: Services for people with a disability
- *Children Act 1975 and Adoption Act 1976*: New procedure for adoption
- *Child Care Act 1980*: Provisions for voluntary care and assumption of parental rights by the local authority
- *Criminal Justice Act 1982*: Provision of Intermediate Treatment for young offenders
- *Mental Health Act 1983*: Introduction of Approved Social Workers with powers to make applications for admission to psychiatric hospitals
- *Registered Homes Act 1984*: Duty to register residential care homes
- *Disabled Persons Act 1986*: Assessment of needs of people with a disability
- *Children Act 1989*: Complete revision of law relating to children and families
- *NHS and community Care Act 1990*: Planning, assessment, purchase and provision of services to adults in need of community care
- *Criminal Justice Act 1992*: LA responsibility extended to young people up to 18 years old

Second, the number of policy beneficiaries of social services department has increased substantially since 1970s. Such an increase has seen due to the increase in the number of older people, increasing proportion in the urban poor and unemployed. Also greater awareness of the prevalence of child abuse, physical and learning disabilities and the development of community-based mental health services have all contributed to a growth in consumer demand. Third, the role of the strengthened Social Services Inspectorate and the Audit Commission has also been instrumental in raising the profile of social services issues. Fourth, pressures from consumer, professional and political arena have led to the examination of social service delivery and employment policies and ultimately have contributed to growth. Finally, the government's aim to limit the role and function of local government left social services as one of the few areas in which local administrators can still have a significant influence over direct spending on service provision.

To sum up with the British local government system, there is a contradictory development between attitude of central government to the local governments and that of social services within local government system. On the contrary to principles of post 1980 thinking like more decentralization tendencies, England has experienced centralization and weakening of local governments through cutoffs in their revenue and their functions. However, this was not the case for the social services provided by local governments. That is, the social services provided by local governments have steadily grown in quantity and quality. Such a development obviously arises due to the fact that social policy is a necessary mechanism for the allocation of resources and services in the whole urban system and is a tool for local governments to maintain local welfare.

## APPENDIX B

### SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE FORM

Bu anket çalışması, “Belediyelerde Kentsel Sosyal Politika Uygulamaları” isimli yüksek lisans tez çalışmasına katkıda bulunmak için hazırlanmıştır. Anket, büyükşehirde yaşayan özürllülerin belediyenin kendilerine yönelik hizmetlerinden ne kadar memnun olup olmadığını ölçmeye yönelik olarak hazırlanmıştır.

İstemediğiniz takdirde lütfen isminizi, adres ve telefon numaranızı yazmayınız.

İlginize teşekkür ederim.

M. Nergiz Ardıç

Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü

Kentsel Politika Planlaması ve Yerel Yönetimler Anabilim Dalı

Adınız,Soyadınız:.....

Adresiniz ve telefon numaranız.....

1. Cinsiyetiniz

- (1) Erkek
- (2) Kadın

2. Yaşınız.....

3. Eğitim durumuz?

- (1) Okur-yazar değil
- (2) İlkokul mezunu
- (3) Orta okul mezunu
- (4) Lise mezunu
- (5) Üniversite mezunu
- (6)Yükseklisans-doktora

4. Şu anda çalışıyor musunuz? Çalışıyorsanız ne tür bir işte çalışıyorsunuz?

- (1) Çalışabilecek durumda değilim
- (2) Şu anda işsizim, iş arıyorum
- (3) Kamu sektöründe çalışıyorum
- (4) Özel sektörde çalışıyorum
- (5) Kendi hesabıma, serbest
- (6)Geçici,enformal işlerde çalışıyorum
- (7) Emekliyim
- (8) Ev kadınıyım
- (9) Öğrenciyim

5. Bağlı olduğunuz sosyal güvenlik kurumu aşağıdakilerden hangisidir?

- (1) Herhangi bir sosyal güvenlik kurumuna bağlı değilim.
- (2) SSK
- (3) Emekli Sandığı
- (4) Bağ-Kur
- (5) Diğer.....

6. Hanenize ayda ortalama ne kadar para giriyor? .....

7. Hanenizde şu anda kaç kişi yaşıyor?

.....

8. Kaç yıldır Ankara'da yaşıyorsunuz?

- (1) 1 yıldan az                      (3) 6-10 yıl                      (5) 16-20 yıl  
(2) 1-5 yıl                              (4) 11-15 yıl                      (6) 20 yıldan daha çok

9. Ankara'ya neden geldiniz?

.....

10. Özürünüzün mahiyeti nedir?

- (1) Görme engeli                      (3) İşitme engelli  
(2) Fiziksel engelli                      (4) Zihinsel engelli

11. Büyükşehirde yaşamaktan kaynaklanan sorunlarınız nelerdir? (Ulaşım sorunları gibi)

- (1).....  
(2).....  
(3).....  
(4).....  
(5).....

12. Büyükşehirde yaşamamanın size sağladığı olanaklar nelerdir? (Eğitim ve kültür faaliyetleri gibi)

- (1).....  
(2).....  
(3).....  
(4).....

13. Büyükşehirde yaşamaktansa daha küçük bir yerde yaşamayı ister miydiniz?

(1) Evet.

Neden?.....



- (2).....  
(3).....  
(4).....

19. Sizin sorunlarınızı kim çözmelidir?

- (1) Devlet kuruluşları  
(2) Özel kuruluşlar  
(3) Belediye  
(4) Özürlü dernekleri ve vakıflar  
(5) Devlet, belediye ve derneklerin işbirliğiyle

20. Üyesi olduğunuz bir özürlü vakfı veya derneği var mı? Varsa ismi nedir?

- (1) Herhangi bir vakıfa veya derneğe üye değilim.  
(2)Üyesi olduğum derneğin veya vakfın ismi: .....

21. Üyesi olduğunuz bu sivil toplum örgütünün faaliyetlerine düzenli katılabiliyor musunuz?

- (1) Evet.  
Neden?.....  
.....  
(2) Hayır.  
Neden?.....  
.....

22. Sizce, sivil toplum örgütleri özürlülerin sorunlarına çözüm getirmekte ne kadar etkili oluyor?

- (1) Çok etkili  
(2) Biraz etkili  
(3) Hiçbir etkisi yok

## APPENDIX C

### TABLES OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

