

A CRITICAL EVALUATION OF LOCAL POVERTY ALLEVIATION POLICIES: THE
CASE OF THREE PROVINCES IN TURKEY

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ZUHAL ÖNEZ ÇETİN

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Meliha ALTUNIŐIK

Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. H. aęatay KESKİNOK

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 Doctor of Philosophy.

Prof. Dr. Melih ERSOY

Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Assoc. Prof. Dr. H. aęatay KESKİNOK	(METU, CRP)	_____
Prof. Dr. Melih ERSOY	(METU, CRP)	_____
Prof. Dr. H. useyin ÖZGÜR	(PAU, PSPA)	_____
Assoc. Prof. Dr. H. Tarık ŐENGÜL	(METU, PSPA)	_____
Assoc. Prof. Dr. S. Evin TORLAK	(PAU, PSPA)	_____

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Name, Last Name: ZUHAL ÖNEZ ÇETİN

Signature :

ABSTRACT

A CRITICAL EVALUATION OF LOCAL POVERTY ALLEVIATION POLICIES: THE CASE OF THREE PROVINCES IN TURKEY

Önez Çetin, Zuhâl

Ph.D. Department of Urban Policy Planning and Local Governments

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Melih Ersoy

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The world has witnessed a transformation process associated with the drastic changes in social, political and economic spheres under the constraints of neo-liberalism with opening up new challenges for humanity. At that context, as a global problem, poverty has been aggravating at the world-wide and now urban areas are more exposed to risks of poverty. In this regard, reforms of that restructuring process have centered on the requirement of local administrations at poverty struggle. The purpose of this study is to explore local policy initiatives of local administrations at combating urban poverty with also taking into consideration the central government practices. By the help of the GEKA provinces of Denizli, Aydın, and Muğla cases, urban poverty struggle has been examined in detail by a method covering survey application to the impoverished and the in-depth interview method with local and central government officials. At the study, it is seen that in each case study, local administrations have different institutional, political and social service based contingency variables. Local authorities of case provinces cannot produce systematic, standardized, equal and general poverty alleviation policies and services because of the inherent nature of local government tied to uneven development and contingent local variation. Thus, within the limitation of the study, urban poverty struggle have been searched in specific cases, but it is not possible to determine the results of the research to other cases in Turkey. Even though the research covers up few cases at the urban level, the results will be worthwhile and shed light on other future studies.

Keywords: Urban Poverty, Urban Poverty Alleviation, Local Administrations, GEKA provinces

ÖZ

YEREL YOKSULLUKLA MÜCADELE POLİTİKALARININ KRİTİK BİR DEĞERLEMESİ: TÜRKİYE’DE ÜÇ İL ALAN ÖRNEĞİ

Önez Çetin, Zuhâl

Doktora, Kentsel Politika Planlama ve Yerel Yönetimler Bölümü

Danışman: Prof. Dr. Melih Ersoy

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Dünya sosyal, politik ve ekonomik alanlarda neo-liberalizmin etkisiyle bir dönüşüm sürecine tanık olmakta ve bu süreç insanoğlu için yeni tehditler yaratmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, küresel bir problem olan yoksulluk, dünya genelinde kötüleşmekte ve günümüzde kentsel alan yoksulluk riskiyle daha fazla karşı karşıya kalmaktadır. Bu kapsamda, yeniden yapılanma sürecine yönelik reformlar, yerel yönetimlerin yoksullukla mücadeledeki gereksinimi üzerinde yoğunlaşmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın amacı, yerel yönetimlerin kentsel yoksullukla mücadeledeki yerel politika uygulamalarını merkezi hükümetin çalışmalarını da dikkate alarak araştırmaktır. GEKA illeri olan Denizli, Aydın ve Muğla alan çalışmalarıyla, kentsel yoksullukla mücadele; yoksullara anket uygulaması ve yerel-merkezi hükümet çalışanlarıyla derinlemesine mülakat tekniklerini kapsayan bir metotla araştırılmıştır. Çalışmada, her alan çalışmasındaki yerel yönetimlerin farklı kurumsal, politik ve sosyal hizmete bağlı değişkenleri olduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Alan çalışmalarındaki yerel yönetimlerin, yerel yönetimlerin doğasına özgü eşitsiz gelişme ve yerele bağlı yerel yönetim farklılaşmasına dayalı olarak; yoksullukla mücadelede sistematik, standart, eşit ve genel politikalar ve hizmetler üretmedikleri sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Böylece çalışmanın sınırlılıkları çerçevesinde, kentsel yoksullukla mücadele farklı alanlarda incelenmiştir fakat çalışma sonuçlarını Türkiye’de diğer alanlara genellemek mümkün değildir. Tez çalışması her ne kadar kentsel düzeyde birkaç alan araştırmasını kapsamaktaysa da, sonuçlar gelecekteki çalışmalar için değerli olup, onlara ışık tutacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kentsel Yoksulluk, Kentsel Yoksulluğu Azaltma, Yerel Yönetimler, GEKA illeri.

To My Family

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZ	vi
DEDICATION	vii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	viii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	ix
LIST OF TABLES	xiv
LIST OF FIGURES	xix
ABBREVIATIONS	xx
CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. CONCEPTUALIZATION of POVERTY	18
II.1. Defining Poverty	18
II.1.1. Absolute and Relative Poverty	19
II.1.2. Objective and Subjective Poverty	21
II.1.3. Poverty as Physiological and Sociological Deprivations	22
II.1.4. Urban/RuralPoverty	23
II.1.5. Ultra, Chronic, and Temporary Poverty	25
II.1.6. New Poverty and Social Exclusion	26
II.2.Theories of Poverty	28
II.2.1. Marxist Paradigms	32
II.2.1.1. Classical Marxist Paradigms	32
II.2.1.2. Critical Marxist Paradigm	34
II.2.2. Conservative and Liberal Paradigms	36
II.2.3. Social-Democratic Paradigm	38
II.2.4. Modernization and Dependency School	39
II.2.5. Neo-Liberal Paradigm	43
II.2.6.Liberal-Conservative Paradigm	44

III. POVERTY ALLEVIATION POLICIES IN CAPITALIST FORMATIONS	47
III.1. Socio-Economic Transformations and Struggling Poverty	47
III.1.1. Prior to Welfare State Period	51
III.1.2. Welfare State Period and Poverty Alleviation	54
III.1.2.1. Welfare State Crisis	58
III.1.3. Neo-Liberal Period and Poverty Alleviation	58
III.2. Local Governments' Changing Role at Combating Poverty	65
III.2.1. New Urban Politics and Its Reflection on Urban Poverty and Local Administrations	71
IV. THE EXTENT, NATURE OF POVERTY IN TURKEY AND APPLICATIONS TO ALLEVIATE POVERTY	77
IV.1. Turkey and Poverty Reduction Strategies	77
IV.1.1. Republican Period and Poverty Alleviation	77
IV.1.1.1. Authoritarian Approach	77
IV.1.1.2. Moral Economy	82
IV.1.1.3. Market Economy	89
IV.2. Central and Local Governments' Institutional, Legal Framework in Turkey at Poverty Reduction	97
IV.2.1. Social Assistance and Service Programs of Central Government at Poverty Struggle	97
IV.2.1.1. The Directorate of Social Services and Protection of Children	97
IV.2.1.2. Social Security Institutions	100
IV.2.1.2.1. The Pension Fund for Civil Servants	100
IV.2.1.2.2. Social Insurance Institution	101
IV.2.1.2.3. Social Security Institution for Craftsmen (Bağ-Kur)	101
IV.2.1.3. Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation	102
IV.2.1.4. Ministry of Health and Green Card for Health Care	105
IV.2.2. Social Assistance and Service Programs of Local Administrations at Poverty Struggle	106
IV.2.2.1. Municipality Law No. 1580 (1930)	106
IV.2.2.2. Municipality Law No. 5393 (2005)	108
IV.2.2.3. Metropolitan Municipality Law No. 5216 (2004)	111
IV.2.2.4. Special Provincial Administrations Law No. 5302 (2005)	112
IV.2.2.5. Recent Regulations concerning Poverty Alleviation	113

V. CASE STUDIES of DENİZLİ, MUĞLA and AYDIN.....	116
V.1. TR32 GEKA Region	116
V.2. Denizli Case	117
V.2.1. Denizli Municipal Administration	120
V.2.1.1. Poverty Struggle under Municipal Administration	122
V.2.1.1.1. True Path Party Mayorship Period: 1999-2004	122
V.2.1.1.2. Justice and Development Party Mayorship Period: 2004-2011.....	124
V.2.1.2. Poverty Struggle Process of Denizli JDP Municipal Administration: Social, Education and Culture Directorate's 2005-2010 Term Social Affairs	127
V.2.1.2.1. Different Contingency Variables of Denizli Municipal Administration that Lead to Local Variation at Poverty Struggle.....	128
V.2.2. Denizli Special Provincial Administration	139
V.2.3. Denizli Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation.....	145
V.3. Muğla Case	152
V.3.1. Muğla Municipal Administration	154
V.3.1.1. Poverty Struggle under Municipal Administration	155
V.3.1.1.1. Republican People's Party Mayorship Periods: 1999-2011.....	155
V.3.1.2. Poverty Struggle Process of Muğla RPP Municipal Administration: Social, Education and Culture Directorate's 2005-2010 Term Social Affairs	157
V.3.1.2.1. Different Contingency Variables of Muğla Municipal Administration that Lead to Local Variation at Poverty Struggle.....	158
V.3.2. Muğla Special Provincial Administration.....	165
V.3.3. Muğla Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation.....	169
V.4. Aydın Case.....	175
V.4.1. Aydın Municipal Administration.....	177
V.4.1.1. Poverty Struggle under Municipal Administration.....	179
V.4.1.1.1. Motherland Party Mayorship Period: 1999- 2002.....	179
V.4.1.1.2. Justice and Development Party Mayorship Period: 2002- 2009.....	180
V.4.1.1.3. Republican Peoples Party Mayorship Period: 2009- 2011.....	181

V.4.1.2. Poverty Struggle Process of Aydın RPP Municipal Administration: Social, Education and Culture Directorate's 2005-2010 Term Social Affairs.....	183
V.4.1.2.1. Different Contingency Variables of Aydın Municipal Administration Lead to Local Variation at Poverty Struggle.....	184
V.4.2. Aydın Special Provincial Administration.....	191
V.4.3. Aydın Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation.....	195
V.5. Comparison and Evaluation of Case Studies.....	199
V.5.1. Comparison and Evaluation of Municipal Administrations.....	199
V.5.1.1. Negative and Positive Sides of Municipal Administrations and Solution Tools at Combating Poverty	209
V.5.2. Evaluation of Case Provinces Special Provincial Administrations At Poverty Alleviation Process	209
V.5.2.1. Negative and Positive Sides of Special Provincial Administrations and Solution Tools at Combating Poverty	210
V.5.3. Evaluation of Case Provinces Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundations at Poverty Alleviation Process	211
V.5.3.1. Negative and Positive Sides at Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation and Solution Tools at Combating Poverty	211
VI. SURVEY STUDY	212
VI.1. Methodology of Survey	212
VI.1.1. Data Collection	212
VI.1.2. Survey Design	213
VI.1.3. Study Population	214
VI.1.4. Data Analysis	214
VI.1.5. Survey Results and Presentation of Findings	214
VI.2. Muğla Case	215
VI.2.I. General Profile	215
VI.2.2. Poverty Institutions and Social Assistances	217
VI.2.3. Evaluation of Muğla Municipal Administration at Combating Poverty	220
VI.3. Denizli Case	227
VI.3.I. General Profile	226
VI.3.2. Poverty Institutions and Social Assistances	228
VI.3.3. Evaluation of Denizli Municipal Administration at Combating Poverty	231

VI.4. Aydın Case	238
VI.4.I. General Profile	238
VI.4.2. Poverty Institutions and Social Assistances	240
VI.4.3.Evaluation of Aydın Municipal Administration at Combating Poverty	242
VI.5. Comparison of Case Studies	248
VI.5.I. General Profile	249
VI.5.2. Poverty Related Institutions and Social Assistances	254
VI.5.3.Evaluation of Case Municipal Administrations at Combating Poverty	259
VII.CONCLUSION	267
REFERENCES	282
APPENDICES	304
APPENDIX A : Case Studies.....	304
APPENDIX B : Survey Graphs.....	319
APPENDIX C : Survey Form.....	335
APPENDIX D : Interview List.....	338
APPENDIX E: Curriculum Vitae.....	340
APPENDIX F: Turkish Summary	342
APPENDIX G:Thesis Photocopy Form	357

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES

Table 1.1. Case Provinces Indexes	11
Table 1.2. Survey Study Target Sample	14
Table 2.2.1. Paradigms of Poverty	30
Table 2.2.2. General Types of Explanation of Poverty	31
Table 3.1. Local State Social Assistance Typologies	50
Table.4.2.1. The Directorate of Social Services and Protection of Children Allocated/ Expended Pie at the Budget	99
Table 4.2.1.1. The Directorate of Social Services and Protection of Children Budget Ratios in Years	99
Table 5.2.1. Denizli Province Population Change in Years	117
Table 5.2.1.1. Local Elections in Denizli	122
Table 5.2.1.2. Current Expense Pies in Budget	127
Table 5.2.1.3. Pie of Current Transfer/ Social Transfer Expenses	127
Table.5.2.1.4. Contingency Variables of Local Administrations	128
Table 5.2.1.5. Education and Culture Department Poverty Alleviation Initiatives	132
Table 5.2.1.6. JDP Municipal Administration Categorization of Social Assurances	133
Table 5.2.1.7. JDP Municipal Government Cash Assistance Quantity	134
Table 5.2.1.8. JDP Municipal Government Scholarship Amounts	135
Table 5.2.1.9. JDP Municipal Administration Number of High School and University Students Using Scholarship Assistance	135
Table 5.2.2.1. Denizli SPA Education and Health Expenditures	140
Table 5.2.2.2. Denizli Micro-Credit Professional Categorizations'	142
Table 5.2.2.3. Denizli Micro-Credit Sectoral Categorization	142
Table 5.2.3.1. Denizli SASF Social Assistance Categories	148
Table 5.3.1.1. Muğla Population Change In Years	153
Table 5.3.1.2. Muğla Local Elections	155
Table 5.3.1.3. Social Assistance Share at Municipal Budget	157
Table 5.3.1.4. Muğla Municipal Administration Current Transfer Pies	157
Table 5.3.1.5. Municipal Administration Categorization of Social Assurances	161
Table 5.3.1.6. Muğla Municipal Administration Educational Assurances	162

Table 5.3.1.7. Women Solidarity Center Poverty Alleviation Initiatives	163
Table 5.3.1.8. Number of Students Facilitated From Women Solidarity Center Cash Assistance	164
Table 5.3.2.1. Muğla Micro Investments	166
Table 5.3.3.1. Muğla SASF Number of Citizens Get Assistance	172
Table 5.3.3.2. Muğla SASF Number of Citizens Facilitated from Assistances	173
Table 5.4.1.1. Aydın Population Change in Years	176
Table 5.4.1.2. Aydın Local Elections	180
Table 5.4.1.3. Social Assistance Share at Aydın Municipal Budget	183
Table 5.4.1.4. Student Numbers Using Scholarships	188
Table 5.4.1.5. Number of Citizens Facilitated from Hot-Meal Service	189
Table 5.4.1.6. Number of Citizens Facilitated from Heat Assistance	189
Table 5.4.3.1. Aydın Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation Assistance Categories	197
Table 5.5.1. Comparison of Case Municipal Administrations	200
Table 5.5.2. Directorates and Related Branches at Poverty Struggle	202
Table 5.5.3. Case Provinces Social Assistances Under Related Institutional Formations	206
Table 5.5.4. Local Elections at Case Provinces	209
Table 6.2.1. Survey Participants	216
Table 6.2.2. Head Educational Background	216
Table 6.2.3. Head Employment conditions.....	217
Table 6.2.4. Head Monthly Wage	217
Table 6.2.5. Head Social Security Conditions	218
Table 6.2.6. Do you find municipal administration kind or cash assistance sufficient?	220
Table 6.2.7. Municipal Administration Social Assistance Knowledge	221
Table 6.2.8. Reasons Having No Knowledge concerning Municipal Administration Social Assistances.....	221
Table.6.2.9. Social Assistance Knowledge	222
Table 6.2.10. Is the Social Service Provision of Municipal Administration Just or Not?	222
Table 6.2.11. Does the municipal administration provide services according to requirements?	223
Table 6.2.12. How do you evaluate Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation and Special Provincial Administrations social assistances?	224

Table 6.2.13. Do you think that municipality is successful at the alleviation of poverty?	224
Table 6.2.14. Which institution is successful at the poverty struggle?	225
Table 6.3.1. Survey Participants	227
Table 6.3.2. Head Educational Background	227
Table 6.3.3. Head Employment Conditions	228
Table 6.3.4. Head Montly Wage	228
Table 6.3.5. Head Social Security Conditions	229
Table 6.3.6. Do you find municipal administration kind or cash assistance sufficient?.....	231
Table 6.3.7. Municipal Administration Social Assistance Knowledge	232
Table 6.3.8. Reasons Having No Knowledge concerning Municipal Administration Social Assistances	233
Table 6.3.9. Municipal Administration Social Assistance Knowledge	233
Table 6.3.10. Is the Social Service Provision of Municipal Administration Just or Not?	234
Table 6.3.11. Does the municipal administration provide services according to requirements?	234
Table 6.3.12. How do you evaluate Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation and Special Provincial Administrations social assistances?	235
Table 6.3.13. Do you think that municipality is successful at the alleviation of poverty?	236
Table 6.3.14. Which institution is successful at the poverty struggle?	237
Table.6.4.1. Survey Participants	239
Table 6.4.2. Head Educational Background	239
Table 6.4.3. Head Employment Conditions	240
Table 6.4.4. Head Monthly Wage	240
Table 6.4.5. Head Social Security Conditions	241
Table 6.4.6. Do you find municipal administration kind assistances sufficient?	242
Table 6.4.7. Municipal Administration Social Assistance Knowledge	243
Table 6.4.8. Reasons Having No Knowledge concerning Municipal Administration Social Assistances	244
Table 6.4.9. Municipal Administration Social Assistance Knowledge	244
Table 6.4.10. Is the Social Service Provision of Municipal Administration Just or Not?	245
Table 6.4.11. Does the municipal administration provide services according to requirements?	245

Table 6.4.12. How do you evaluate Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation and Special Provincial Administrations social assistances?	246
Table 6.4.13. Do you think that municipality is successful at the alleviation of poverty?	246
Table 6.4.14. Which institution is successful at the poverty struggle?	247
Table:6.5.1. Survey Applicants	249
Table 6.5.2. Number of Households	250
Table 6.5.3. Head Educational Background	250
Table.6.5.4. Survey Participants Educational Background	251
Table.6.5.5. Head Employment Condition	251
Table.6.5.6. Head Employment Condition2	252
Table.6.5.7. Head Monthly Income	252
Table 6.5.8. Households Monthly Income	253
Table 6.5.9. Head Social Security	253
Table.6.5.10. Other Survey Applicants Social Security	254
Table 6.5.11. Foundations Cash Aid Sufficiency	254
Table 6.5.12. Foundations Cash Assistance Beneficiaries Numbers	255
Table.6.5.13. Chi-Square Test of Foundation Cash Assistance	255
Table 6.5.14. Foundations Heating Assistance Sufficiency	255
Table 6.5.15. Foundations Nourishment Assistance Sufficiency	256
Table 6.5.16. Chi-Square Test of Heating Assistance of Foundations	256
Table 6.5.17. Chi-Square Test of Nourishment Assistance of Foundations	256
Table.6.5.18. Municipal Administrations Cash Assistance Beneficiaries Numbers	257
Table 6.5.19. Municipal Administrations Heat Assistance Sufficiency	257
Table 6.5.20. Municipal Administrations Cash Assistance Sufficiency	257
Table.6.5.21. Chi-Square Test of Municipal Administrations Cash Assistance Sufficiency	257
Table 6.5.22. Chi-Square Test of Municipal Administrations Heating Assistance Sufficiency	258
Table 6.5.23. Crosstab: Municipal Administrations Cash and Kind Aid Sufficiency	258
Table 6.5.24. Chi-Square Test of Municipal Administrations Cash and Kind Aid Sufficiency	258
Table 6.5.25. Municipal Administrations Cash and Kind Aid Sufficiency.....	259
Table.6.5.26. Crosstab: Municipal Administration Social Assistance Knowledge	259
Table.6.5.27. Chi-Square Test: Municipal Administration Social Assistance Knowledge	260

Table 6.5.28. Municipal Administration Social Assistance Knowledge	260
Table 6.5.29. Crosstab: Municipal Administration Social Assistance Knowledge	260
Table 6.5.30. Chi-Square Test: Municipal Administration Social Assistance Knowledge	261
Table 6.5.31. Municipal Administration Social Assistance Knowledge	261
Table 6.5.32. Crosstab: Municipal Administrations' Social Service Provision Justness ...	261
Table 6.5.33. Chi-Square Test: Municipal Administrations' Social Service Provision Justness	261
Table 6.5.34. Municipal Administrations' Social Service Provision Justness	262
Table 6.5.35. Crosstab: Municipal Administrations Provision of Social Assistance	262
Table 6.5.36 Chi-Square Tests: Municipal Administrations Provision of Social Assistance	262
Table 6.5.37. Municipal Administrations Provision of Social Assistance	263
Table 6.5.38 Crosstab: Municipalities Success at the Alleviation of Poverty	263
Table 6.5.39. Chi-Square Test: Municipalities Success at the Alleviation of Poverty	263
Table 6.5.40. Municipalities Success at the Alleviation of Poverty	264
Table 6.5.41. Which institution is successful at the poverty struggle?	265
Table 6.5.42. Chi-Square Test: Which institution is successful at the poverty struggle?	265

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURES

Figure 2.3.1. The Economic Parameters of Poverty.....	29
Figure 2.3.2.Sub-cultural Parameters of Poverty	29
Figure 2.3.4. Statistical Regional Units in Turkey and TR32 GEKA Region	116

ABBREVIATIONS

- A21:** Agenda 21
- DP:** Democrat Party
- EU:** European Union
- FAO:** Food and Agricultural Organization
- GEKA:** Southern Aegean Development Agency of Turkey
- HDI:** Human Development Index
- HDR:** Human Development Report
- HPI:** Human Poverty Index
- IFAD:** International Fund for Agricultural Development
- IFPRI:** International Food Policy Research Institute
- ILO:** International Labor Organization
- IMF:** International Monetary Fund
- JP:** Justice Party
- JDP:** Justice and Development Party
- LA21:** Local Agenda 21
- MDGs:** Millenium Development Goals
- MEIs:** Multilateral economic institutions
- MP:** Motherland Party
- PCA:** Principal Components Analysis
- RPP:** Republican People's Party
- SAPs:** Structural Adjustment Policies
- SASFs:** Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundations of Turkey
- SDPP:** Social Democratic Populist Party
- SPO:** State Planning Organization
- SPAs:** Special Provincial Administrations
- SRMP:** Social Risk Mitigation Project
- TNCs:** Transnational corporations
- TPP:** True Path Party
- TurkStat:** Turkish Statistical Institute
- UN:** United Nations
- VP:** Virtue Party

WB: World Bank

WP: Welfare Party

WHO: World Health Organization

UNEP: United Nations Environment Program

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The world has witnessed a transformation process associated with the drastic changes in social, political, administrative and economic spheres (globalization, geographical restructuring, rescaling of state, re/deterritorialization, re/deindustrialization; mainly covering the contradictions and crisis of capitalism and on the struggle of labor and capital), with opening up new challenges for humanity. *Poverty*, as a global problem, occupies the first place among the clusters and challenges of threats within that transformation. Poverty has been aggravating day by day in the world-wide with deepening the problems of vulnerable and disadvantaged sections of the society under the logic of capital accumulation process, and there seems to be little progress at the alleviation of its deteriorative effects, especially at developing countries covering Turkey. According to WB (World Bank) ‘*World Development Indicators*’, poverty is most cruel in developing countries, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia, where ‘more than one person in five people’ subsists on less than 1\$ a day. The share of people who make their livings through less than 1\$ a day, in 2001, for these regions was 46.4% (431 million) and 31.3% (313 million).¹

Furthermore, in the Human Development Report (HDR) (2010), Turkey has a rank of 83th in the Human Development Index (HDI) with its medium human development achievement among 169 countries. As maintained by the latest poverty study by TurkStat (Turkish Statistical Institute) (2009), %0,48 of the population covering 339.000 citizens in Turkey suffer from Food Poverty. Complete Poverty (food and non-food) statistics demonstrate us the rate of %18,8. Besides, as to the statistics of ‘Purchasing Power Parity Theory’ 0,22 percent of people are below 2.15\$ per capita per day (TurkStat, 2011). Additionally, at the other side, approximately, half of the world population lives in cities; and according to WB (2006)² Report, it is determined that:

All regions of the world are becoming less rural and more urban. Cities face more risk of limited access to employment opportunities and income, inadequate and insecure housing and services, violent and unhealthy

¹ For details, see, <<http://devdata.worldbank.org/wdi2005/section1>>.

² For details, see, <http://povlibrary.worldbank.org/files/4418_chap16.pdf> cited in Serpil Taşkan, 2007, *The Experiences of Urban Poverty Among Recent Immigrants in Ankara: Social Exclusion or Not?*, The Department of Sociology, METU Unpublished Master Thesis, p.15.

environments, little or no social protection mechanisms, and limited access to adequate health and education opportunities.

In general terms, it will not be misleading to state that poverty transformed negatively at the urban fields. Urban areas, especially cities, as built environments, are key sites within a systematic urban process, are now more exposed to risks, less protected by national equalization schemes, and concentrated on urban development as opposed to distribution. At such a socio-economic environment, the rich get richer, the poor get poorer. And critically, urban poverty statistics indicated the proportion of 8.86 percent among provinces of Turkey (TurkStat, 2011). In this general framework, this thesis is an attempt to address urban poverty and urban poverty alleviation practices in Turkey, with the help of case provinces from Turkey.

In this sense, research study has focused on the socio-economic transitions at global level and their effects on urban poverty and urban poverty struggle. That related discussion has also tried to be interconnected with the national context of Turkey. At that point, the period covering the 1980s and onwards, is critical for the study to demonstrate the change at urban poverty struggle. The nature and context of urban poverty started to change and ‘new urban poverty’ conceptualization has emerged at the policy agendas of international and national authorities; now poverty does not manifest itself in only economic terms; social exclusion, social discrimination, vulnerability concerns³ have integrated to the concerns of poverty. At that context, neo-liberalism and its recommended policies have strong ties at the emergence of a new poverty formulation and that new socio-economic process led to the deterioration of the poverty statistics, particularly at the developing nations since 1980s.

In this regard, neo-liberalism is critical for the research study to illustrate the change at poverty nature. Neo-liberal paradigm of poverty has settling on the assumption that a largely unregulated capitalist system (a free market economy) does not only embody the ideal of free individual choice but also achieves optimum economic performance with respect to efficiency, economic growth, technical progress, and distributional justice (Kotz, 2002: 2). Generally speaking, neo-liberal paradigm lies on the belief that “social aids and assistances lead to the poor’s dependency and diminish the labor force participation trend that the impoverished should be integrated to workforce” (Room, 1990: 110; Katz, 1992). At that context, the policy recommendations of neo-liberalism emphasize on dismantling what remains of the regulationist welfare state including deregulation of business, privatization of

³ For details, see, European Commission (2003) Final Joint Inclusion Report, <http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/spsi/docs/social_inclusion/final_joint_inclusion_report_2003_en.pdf>.

public enterprises; elimination of, or cutbacks in, social welfare programs (Kotz, 2000: 2). The new ideological atmosphere enables unemployment, lay-offs, and sweat-shops by providing a major advantage to the capital (Keyder, 2004: 35). Social policies protecting the urban poor started to be seen as the obstacles in the front of the competitive environment of global scale. Jessop (1994) noted that “new 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”. Briefly, it can be stated that neo-liberal policy implementations pave the way for rise of urban poverty. Neo-liberal policies have detrimental effects on urban dwellers, especially on the urban poor, because of the restriction of the provided welfare services of the previous Keynesian social security and protection mechanisms (Ersoy and Şengül, 1999: 6). At that point, Güvenç and Işık (2002) evaluated that period in Turkey with those clarifications:

The share of wages at total urban incomes falls consistent with the rise at some high-income groups; additionally, the income distribution is negatively affected and the gap among diverse income groups has widened.

Furthermore, local authorities have attributed new responsibilities at poverty related issues as policy makers at combating poverty under the neo-liberal logic. Neo-liberal policies have generally indicated the nation state as closed, introvert and as an important handicap on capitalist accumulation process by putting the rules in its own separated field and playing the game itself (Güler, 2005: 16-17). In this sense, nation states are now less interventionist and lots of poverty alleviation initiatives are transferred to local administrations. A new poverty reduction discourse is started to be highlighted at the recent global gatherings, conferences and their output reports, with ‘governance and decentralization’ arguments under neo-liberal logic after the 1990s, at a time when poverty reduction is determined as an objective of development assistance.

In this respect, WB Urban Management Program having the thematic target of urban poverty alleviation by local administrations, World Development Report (2003) designating local administrations’ urban poverty responsibilities, UN Habitat Conference and Millennium Summit illustrating the key roles of local administrations at poverty related issues, are all samples from those global initiatives. At those emphasized gatherings and their published reports; local based decentralized poverty struggle strength has been mostly advocated by those clarifications:

Local levels denotes the quality, effectiveness and efficiency at public service delivery, the quality of local public policy and decision-making procedures that power and authority should be exercised at the local level (Bongfiglioli, 2003: 19-20).

At that focal point, decentralization advocates at poverty struggle argue that “government become closer to the governed both spatially and institutionally, government will be more knowledgeable about and responsive to the needs of the people” (Peterson, 1994). Additionally, they have supported the view that local authorities give greater voice and representation of citizens, remove social constraints and administrative obstacles, facilitate collective action, make central government more responsive to the needs of citizen and produce more acceptable government decisions (Bongfiglioli, 2003: 45-46). Bardhan (1997) also added that “decision-making at the local level gives more responsibility, ownership, and thus incentives to local agents; monitoring and control of local agents by local communities is easier”. Within the context of the study, poverty alleviation policies of local administrations have been discussed with taking into consideration the national context in Turkey.

As mentioned before, one of the main objectives at that thesis is the integration of global discourses with the national context of urban poverty. Urban poverty in Turkey has been examined starting from the single party period (1923-1950) to the Justice and Development Party (JDP) government from 2001 onwards. At the study, the time interval for case studies examination is selected as covering mostly the 2000s and onwards. At that related period, JDP has an overwhelming influence at the social, political and economic spheres in Turkey, and lots of responsibilities have been attributed to local administrations (especially to municipal administrations) at combating poverty.

By the help of the case studies, urban poverty and urban poverty alleviation policies have been examined in detail. Local policy initiatives of local administrations in comparison with central administrations have been searched by taking the opinions of local officials (social service providers) and the impoverished (social service beneficiaries) concerning poverty struggle. Consequently, the study may be expected to be relevant for illustrating the current condition of local authorities’ policy applications at combating poverty in Turkey. The research study sheds light on the local practices of particular cases with refining our current understanding of local authorities’ social practices at struggling poverty.

I.1. Assumption of The Research Study

The world has witnessed a transformation process under the constraints of neo-liberalism and its hegemonic expression of globalization, by involving a restructuring process that affects administrative, economic and political formations of developing countries during the

last quarter of the twentieth century (Harvey, 2002a: 75). Reforms of restructuring process have centered on the requirement of local and decentralized approaches with such generally accepted justifications of ‘effectiveness, efficiency, local governance, participation and accountability’. In this sense, one of the fundamental thesis of that agenda concerning poverty is; ‘poverty can be solved more effectively and efficiently by local administrations than central government’ that with respect to poverty alleviation strategies, local administrations gain importance at the welfare provision services at the improvement of the well-being of city dwellers and state powers transferred downwards towards local levels and local administrations confront with lots of social responsibilities at struggling poverty (Brenner, 1999: 442).

In that context, there is considerable *local authority variation* in policy and service delivery and this is connected to ‘socially uneven development’ in one way or another (Duncan and Goodwin, 1988: 7). Local variation is built into the very nature of societies and their social mechanisms; social processes are unevenly developed in themselves.⁴ In this respect, the degree of variation differs from service to service and this variation is not accidental but inherent nature of local government (Stewart, 1983: 3). Uneven development is not, therefore simply that the types and quantities of socio-economic activities vary from place to place so that there will be imbalances between them (Duncan and Goodwin, 1988: 62). Critically, there is three-stage of hierarchy that local space makes a difference to social processes related with poverty alleviation. First two components of this hierarchy are settling on the distinction between contingent and necessary relations.

1. ‘Contingent local variation’ (where spatial contingency affects how social mechanisms operate in practice).
2. ‘Causal local variation’, (where the social mechanisms themselves are locally derived).
3. ‘Locality effects’ could occur (where a bundle of complementary and locally derived processes and outcomes produce some sort of local social system) (Duncan and Goodwin, 1988: 61).

In this context, the first assumption of the study has been dwelling upon “local administrations cannot provide standard, equal, general and just poverty alleviation policies because of contingent local variation”.

⁴ This is particularly true of capitalism, for uneven development is a structurally based feature of its economic and social functioning, and in a capitalist world this will be the prime determinant of geographies at every scale, local as well as global. For details, see, Duncan and Goodwin, 1988: 61.

The contingency variables of this local variation are another matter. It may reflect conscious political choices made at local authority level (outside or inside the local authority itself). Partly it will just reflect existing patterns of need, or pre-existing decisions on delivery mode, service type and spending. Centrally imposed financial systems are also partly responsible for creating local variations (Duncan and Goodwin, 1988: 7).

Furthermore, within the context of the study, poverty alleviation policies are categorized under Cockburn (1977) typology (to examine the contingent local variation among local authorities in terms of poverty related policies and service delivery) which provides a useful framework for analyzing the role of the local administrations in constructing taxonomy of key functions as follows;

Sustenance of private production and capital accumulation

- a) Through the provision of necessary non-productive urban infrastructure (e.g. road development)
- b) By aiding the reorganization and restructuring of production in space (e.g. planning and urban renewal)
- c) Through the provision of investment in 'human capital' (e.g. education in general)
- d) Through 'demand orchestration' (Holland, 1975) (e.g. local authority public works contracts)

Reproduction of labor power through collective consumption

- a) By means of the material conditions of existence (e.g. low rent local authority housing)
- b) By means of cultural conditions of existence (e.g. libraries, museums, recreation parks)

Maintenance of order and social cohesion

- a) Through the means of coercion (e.g. police)
- b) Through the support of the 'surplus population' (e.g. social services and other welfare support services such as temporary accommodation)
- c) Through support of the agencies of legitimation (e.g. schools, social work, public participation)

According to that taxonomy, the second assumption of the study is based upon "local authorities of thesis study's case provinces through the social and welfare support services, only provide cash and kind assistances at poverty alleviation within the context of maintenance of order and social cohesion. These local authorities have limited policy

applications at the provision of investment in human capital by capacity generation and training courses and also reproduction of the poors' power through collective consumption by means of material and cultural conditions of existence.

In this general framework, this thesis is to reject the assertion of dominant global expression on local administrations that at dealing with poverty, local authorities would be more effective, efficient and can generate more productive solutions than central government. Poverty alleviation problem, which cannot be solved by central government policies, is diverted to local administrations fragmented policies. At that point, local administrations cannot produce systematic, standardized, equal and general poverty alleviation policies and services because of the inherent nature of local government tied to uneven development. Contingency variables affect how social mechanisms operate in practice. Local administrations' strong institutional units, political ties with central government (party relations), categorized social services, priorities of mayors, established participatory platforms, city's own social, economic and demographic characteristics have strong ties at that contingent local variation at poverty struggle.

I.1.1. The purpose of the statement

“Thesis examines urban poverty and local poverty alleviation policies and practices of local administrations at urban poverty alleviation in Turkey with taking into consideration central government based poverty struggle at urban scale by the help of the specific cases in Turkey for developing policy proposals concerning the current strengths and weaknesses at poverty struggle in comparison of local-central government institutions.”

By the help of the case studies of GEKA (Southern Aegean Development Agency) provinces, local and central administrations' urban poverty alleviation processes and practices have been examined under a method covering a survey application to the impoverished and in-depth interview method with local and central government officials at three case provinces' local and central institutions.

I.1.2. Research Questions

Research study has the objective to find out those research questions answers with literature review, as follows;

- How does urban poverty problem transform at global and national scale under socio-economic transformations?
- How do the local administrations become one of the main actors at urban poverty alleviation practices, what are the social, economic, political dynamics behind that transition?
- What are the main grounds of urban poverty and urban poverty reduction in Turkey from the establishment of Turkish Republic to the recent JDP government practices?
- What are the related institutions and laws at poverty alleviation in Turkey comprising local and central government institutions?

Besides by the help of case studies with the methods of deep-interview and survey study applications, those questions have been searched;

- What are local contingency variables of local administrations lead to local variations at poverty struggle?
- What are the strengths and weaknesses of local administrations at urban poverty alleviation struggle in comparison to central based institution of Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundations (SASFs)?
 - a) How do the local administrative officials (social assistance providers) evaluate their policies and practices at combating poverty?
 - b) What are the opinions of the impoverished (social assistance beneficiaries) towards the implemented local-central based poverty practices?
- What can be the appropriate poverty alleviation policies, with taking into account the practices of local and central administrations at combating poverty?

Theory base of the study has been settling on the criticism of the neo-liberal theory on poverty and its alleviation. The basic assumption is focused on the view that poverty alleviation cannot be achieved by the market system, state should intervene to the socio-economic and political fields to struggle with poverty. The recommended policies of neo-liberalism such as cutbacks in social expenses, abolishing social safety nets and diminishing role of social security institutions cannot bring the success at combating poverty. Decentralized poverty alleviation struggle has been proposed by the supporters of neo-liberalism but while the responsibility has been attributed to local administrations, because of the inherent nature of local governments; systematic, just and equal poverty alleviation policies do not come afterwards at the nation wide.

Potential limitation of the research: Questionnaires have been applied to three case provinces in Turkey. There is a little chance for comparison; the data only facilitate to see the current and relevant condition of a specific spatial area in a definite time. Even though the research covers up few cases at the urban level, the results are worthwhile and shed light on other future studies. In that context, the study may be expected to be relevant for illustrating the current condition of policy applications of local authorities at combating poverty in Turkey.

I.2. Methodology

I.2.1. Realist Perspective

During this social scientific research study, ‘Realist perspective’ is used at the examination of poverty alleviation practices. Realist approach is selected with its offering of a layered or a ‘stratified’ model of society, which includes macro (structural, institutional) phenomena as well as the more micro phenomena of interaction and behavior. This comprehensive outlook has two important consequences: First, it enables between macro and micro levels of analysis in sociology by concentrating attention to the organic links between them. Thus, the research and theory it produces have a textured or interwoven quality. Such an approach directly opposes those which assume either that one level can be reduced to, an explained by, the other more ‘favored’ level, or that the less favored level can be simply tacked on to the more ‘important’ focus of analysis (Layder, 1993: 8). Strauss (1987) provides an example of this latter by suggesting that macro or structural aspects can be brought in to complement the analysis of micro phenomena as a matter of convenience or emphasis. Secondly, viewing society or social reality as a series of interdependent layers each with its own distinctive characteristics’ enables the researcher to be sensitive to the different units and time scales that are involved in social processes and social change. Moreover, according to Realist perspective, Blaikie (1993) clarified that:

The ultimate objects of scientific enquiry are considered to exist and act independently of scientist and their activity. A distinction is made between the domains of the empirical, the actual and the real. The empirical is made up of experience of events through observation, the actual includes events whether observe or not; and the real consists of processes that generate events. The aim of Realist Science is to explain observable phenomena with reference to underlying structures and mechanisms.

At that point, Keat and Urry’s (1975: 5) explanation is also critical:

The realist shares with the positivist a conception of science as an empirically based, rational and objective enterprise, the purpose of which is to provide us with true explanatory and predictive knowledge of nature. But for the realist,

unlike the positivist, there is an important difference between explanation and prediction. And it is explanation that must be pursued as the primary objective of science. To explain phenomena is not merely to show they are instances of well-established regularities. Instead, we must discover the necessary connections between phenomena, by acquiring knowledge of underlying structures and mechanisms at work.

As it is seen from above clarifications, Realist perspective can be the right approach at the search of poverty phenomena with reference to underlying structures and mechanisms at establishing the connections between the poverty and local administrations. At that context, the knowledge has been acquired with underlying central-local administrative structures and local actors by examining their practices at combating poverty; with both grasping knowledge from the local actors functioning poverty related affairs at local authorities and the effected group of the impoverished on that local administrative struggle for getting beyond 'mere appearances' of things concerning poverty problem. Hence, with the direction of Realist perspective, the organic link with macro; structural and institutional dimension of local-central administration as well as the more micro phenomena of interaction and behavior of the impoverished can intersect as a result of the produced research and theory which have gained an interwoven quality. In that context, May (2001: 12) determines the aim of Realist Science with the following clarifications:

The aim of Realist Science is to explain observable phenomena with reference to underlying structures and mechanisms; causes are not simply determining of actions, but must be seen as 'tendencies' that produce particular effects that the task of that social research, therefore, is not simply to collect observations on the social world, but to explain these within theoretical frameworks which examine the underlying mechanisms which inform people's actions and prevent their choices from reaching fruition.

Blake (1996: 96) also clarified the importance of Realist perspective as follows:

Realist perspective usage is influential based on the building of models of such mechanisms such that, if they were to exist and act in the postulated way, they would account for the phenomenon being examined. These models constitute hypothetical descriptions which it is hoped, will reveal the underlying mechanisms of reality these can only be known by constructing ideas about them.

On the direction of Realist Science that targeted not only collecting observations but also explaining causes as tendencies, producing particular effects in theoretical frameworks; there is a need of a universe and also a narrow sample case to a deep research study at poverty phenomenon that the motives at the selection of cases and case studies' data collection methods are clarified at the following sub-items in a detailed way.

I.2.2. Case Study Selection

I.2.2.1. First Motive at the Selection of Case Studies

At the selection of case studies to evaluate local poverty alleviation policies; varied cases have been analyzed in Turkey with the help of the data submitted by State Planning Organization (SPO), particularly the socio-economic development indexes covering more than 58 indicators among social, cultural, and economic variables. At the designation of case studies, provinces of Muğla, Aydın, and Denizli have been selected demonstrating approximately the same peculiarities, like locating at the same region, having no big variations at the demographic rates, and sharing the same Regional Index forming TR32 Code. Selected provinces have high development gaps according to each other in accordance with the analysis and comparison of two SPO reports of ‘Provinces and Regions Socio-Economic Development List Reports of 1996 and 2003’. Those reports analysis are based on Principal Components Analysis (PCA) that demonstrates a comparative scene for the poverty profile in the case of Turkey.⁵ At that context, at the analysis of case studies, Yıldız, Sevgi and Berber (2010) study, is also examined which uses the same analysis of PCA at the investigation of provinces’ development indexes. SPO reports have been mostly dealing with and discussing the development concept and those reports provide a quick view of poverty phenomenon at the provinces of Turkey by their data set. Those related reports have also given influential clues concerning poverty; some of the variables of data set forming development indexes of provinces can be demonstrated as the components of poverty.

Table 1.1. Case Provinces Indexes

	1996	2003	2010
MUĞLA	11	13 (-2)	8 (+5)
Index	0.62590	0.71238	3.6780
AYDIN	12	22 (-10)	20 (-8)
Index	0.57221	0.42025	2.2610
DENİZLİ	16	12 (+4)	11 (+5)
Index	0.50147	0.71624	3.4636

⁵ At each report particularly 58 indicators have been used which are vital to search for urban poverty analysis of those provinces. *Principal Components Analysis* technique has been used at the analysis of those variables.

At that point, first case province of Denizli stood at a lower level at SPO report published in 1996 but province has risen +4 levels upper according to the second SPO report list. City is particularly called as Anatolian tiger (local/local industry focal point) and it is ranked at the 12th level at the last socio-economic report.

Besides, other case province Muğla has approximately a stabilized rank at both SPO reports. City has run down only two ranks at its recent classification at the development index. Lastly, the third case province Aydın decreased 10 ranks lower at the SPO list in comparison with the previous published list, now it has the rank of 20th. At the last study that covers the term from of 2003 to 2010; Denizli (+1), Aydın (+2), Muğla (+5) provinces gained upper levels but there is still development gap among those case provinces. Aydın has still the lowest rank in comparison with Muğla and Denizli provinces and city has +12 level differences from Muğla case which has the highest development gap concerning other case provinces.

Briefly, since those provinces share similar peculiarities, the development gap between Denizli and Aydın is 13 ranks (+5 Denizli, -8 Aydın) which is influentially a high degree in the case of Turkey according to 2004 SPO indexes. Those cases have been selected to analyze local poverty alleviation policies and practices of local authorities. In addition to SPO indexes, at the determination of case provinces, the settling of GEKA is the other ground and motive at the research study.

I.2.2.2. Second Motive at the Selection of Case Studies

Three different provinces are not only defined according to their alteration and the stabilization settings at socio-economic development indexes at the lists of SPO reports. An influential reason at the case study selection is the settling of GEKA that covers three selected provinces of Muğla, Aydın, and Denizli.⁶ In this sense, the establishment of GEKA is prominent for this research study because it can be evaluated as the demonstration of the development inequalities between the provinces.

By the 1990s onwards, activation fields of development agencies have been rapidly increased in Turkey. Regional development agencies started to be settled with the Law No. 5449 in 08 February 2006. Development agencies' settling reasons that are expressed at Law No. 5449 can be listed as follows;

⁶ For details, see <<http://www.geka.org.tr/>>, GEKA (South Aegean Development Agency) was settled up in 2009 with the decision of the Council of Ministers.

- Defining strategies towards a constant and a stable development/ social development and supporting the related institutions,
- Development of cooperation between public, private, and civil society institutions,
- Encouraging entrepreneurship, activating local potential,
- Attracting national and international investments to the region,
- Increasing the regions' competition capability level at the foreign markets,
- Supporting innovation and technology transfers.⁷

In addition to those listed reasons, it was also expressed at the Act that one of the responsibility of the development agency is recovering and eliminating regional development disparities at inner region and also among regions. At the research study, the main concerning field is not the regional development agencies' settling reasons, targets and responsibilities; GEKA has been analyzed only with its intersection points at the selection of case studies. As it was mentioned at the evaluation of SPO Reports, there have been vital development disparities within the same region's provinces of Muğla, Aydın, and Denizli. The settling of GEKA is a demonstration of that situation which has the target of eradication of that gap at inner region.

I.2.3. Methods at Data Collection

Designation of sample frame: Thesis sample cases are defined as the impoverished at GEKA provinces of Denizli, Muğla, and Aydın provinces. However, it is hard making and reaching whole vulnerable citizens at that region that case studies are also narrowed down. The poor make up the groups for study is selected from the poor neighborhoods of GEKA provinces. The poor neighborhoods have been designated according to the central districts Green Card Offices officials' declarations concerning the most impoverished neighborhoods where green card users have a high density in population. Furthermore, mukhtars assist the study at the determination of the poor households, with their orientation to the citizens who have been facilitating from the assistances of SASF and municipal administration and also the citizens who have been using green card. At the definition of poor the criterion is designated as 'being a Green-Card User' and Green card numbers of the central district areas are used to define the target sampling case areas. Approximately %1 of green card users are used at the designation of the number of sample frame.

⁷ For details, see, Regional Development Agencies Law No. 5449.

Table 1.2. Survey Study Target Sample

Denizli Central District Green Card Users: 14540 ----150
Muğla Central District Green Card Users: 3450 ---- 50
Aydın Central District Green Card Users: 14455 ----150
Total Users for Sample Cases: 350

a) Questionnaire (Survey)

As it was explained before, case study method⁸ is used to narrow down a very broad field of research into researchable sample areas. At that point, the research incorporate surveys to identify areas of concerns and beliefs of the impoverished citizens who are settling at the most vulnerable neighborhoods of those case provinces. Being a green-card user is not a pre-condition at the application of surveys to the poor households that ratio is only used at the designation of the sampling frame. The poorest neighborhoods are selected to ease making comparisons between local and central authorities' urban poverty alleviation practices and taking local citizens' opinions concerning those local based services. A collection of structured questions designed to elicit information for the research topic. Multiple choice questions, which are designed to produce a limited response, and open questions, which allow respondents the opportunity to air their views have been used. SPSS is used for the evaluation and interpretation of the survey questions. Appropriate tables, charts, and figures are included in the research along with survey data.

b) In-Depth Interviews

In-depth interview research technique is used at the thesis study. Boyce (2006: 3) defined that method with those words:

It is a qualitative research technique involves conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives on a particular issue.

By the help of that method municipal administrations, Special Provincial Administrations (SPAs), Governorate, SASFs representatives' experiences and expectations concerning poverty alleviation practices are taken for more detailed information. During the interview, structured and spontaneous questions are asked to those local and central government

⁸ For detail, see, < <http://www.experiment-resources.com/case-study-research-design>>.

delegates. The entire interviews are taped and then they are transcribed the text word for word; the transcribed text becomes the data that are analyzed.

Case provinces local (municipal administrations and SPAs) and central administrations (Governorate and SASFs) have been searched in combating poverty with deep interview method under those following items;

1. Local and central administrations officials' views have been taken concerning the decentralization trend at poverty struggle in comparing the poverty applications of local-central government.
2. Each institution's Departments and related branches at poverty processes have been examined including those discussion parts;
 - Application of the poor and designation process, and the responsible institutional branches,
 - Service provision and distribution activities (positive or negative discrimination),
 - Cooperation with other institutions and implemented common projects,
 - Participation of the poor (participatory platforms),
 - Expert staff and in-service training activities,
 - Capacity generation and training activities,
 - Categorization of assistances,
 - Social assistance financial share at budget in 2000-2011 (Current expense/ Social transfer in current expense),
 - Negative and positive sides of each institution at poverty struggle,
 - Solution proposals at combating poverty.

c) Document Analysis

GEKA provinces municipal administrations' 2000-2011 terms Activity and Working Reports have been searched deeply by mostly focusing on the affairs of Social Departments in three local election terms. Besides, those case provinces SPAs' Activity Reports published after the year 2005 have also been examined. That year is selected because it is the enactment year of SPA 5302 Law. Poverty applications of SASFs are also searched on their Annual and Activity Reports of last three years.

I.2.4. Organisation of the Study

This study is represented in seven chapters. Chapter I consists of the assumption of the research study, the purpose of the statement, research questions, methodology and

limitations of the study. Chapter II is devoted to the different conceptualizations of poverty and the facts of poverty, such as economic, demographic, and social reasons. Critically, theories of poverty have been searched in detail by taking into account those theories' insights and perceptions of poverty alleviation. At the examination of those poverty theories, local and central government responsibilities have been searched at combating poverty.

The main purpose of the third chapter is to examine poverty alleviation policies in capitalist formations within the socio-economic transformation process at the world-wide. Poverty policies have been searched starting from the prior period of welfare state up to neo-liberal period. The other objective of this chapter is to illustrate the local administrations' newly emerged responsibilities at poverty struggle in new urban politics. Besides, the changing context and nature of urban poverty have also been evaluated.

Chapter IV represents Turkey's central and local government poverty alleviation applications with making a periodic categorization as follows: Authoritarian Approach (1923s-1950s), Moral Economy (1950s-1970s), Market Economy: Conservative Liberal Approach (1980s-2010s). Furthermore, at this fourth chapter central and local governments' institutional and legal framework at poverty reduction have been analyzed not only by central government institutions such as The Directorate of Social Services and Protection of Children, Social Security Institutions, Social Cooperation and Solidarity Fund, Ministry of Health and Green Card for Health Care; but also by recent municipal and SPA Laws.

Chapter V is devoted to case studies of GEKA provinces (Denizli, Muğla, and Aydın) for a detailed analysis of poverty alleviation policies. For a deep analysis of municipal administrations' poverty struggle, the development of poverty alleviation process has been searched in three local election terms covering 2000-2011 periods. Working Reports and Activity Reports of case municipal administrations have been investigated in order to make a critical evaluation of poverty struggle in three political party periods. Besides, in-depth interview method has been applied for gaining broader information from the related social staff at case provinces. Poverty alleviation practices of SPAs and SASFs have also been searched with the same method. At the last part of the chapter, an evaluation has been made to indicate the similar and different variables of local authorities that lead to contingent local variation at poverty struggle. Chapter VI includes a survey study at Denizli, Muğla, and Aydın cases. General opinions of survey participants concerning central and local government practices at combating poverty have been taken to find out the current strengths

and weaknesses at poverty alleviation process. Chapter VII includes a summary of the thesis, interpretation of the findings, conclusions, and recommendations for future researches.

CHAPTER II

CONCEPTUALIZATION AND THEORIES OF POVERTY

II.1. Defining Poverty

Poverty is not a new concept; even its history is as old as the history of the human being. However, at the studies and researches concerning poverty, there has been no consensus on an agreed definition. Conceptualizations have different value judgements on their views of the poor and those are changed from one social formation to another in time, making poverty difficult to identify. In this regard, poverty is a multi-facet problem needs urgent solutions for whole nations that an appropriate poverty definition becomes influential at defining policies to struggle with poverty. For this reason, the definition of the poverty problem is at the heart of the right policy formulation. Once a problem is recognized, many possible means to alleviate, mitigate, or resolve it may be explored quickly and tentatively (Pal, 1989: 4). It is seen that right strategies, methods, policies and program packages are all dependent to designation of poverty. Within the context of the research study, the fundamental target is examining ‘urban poverty’ problem and policy initiatives towards urban poverty alleviation that poverty conceptualizations have been examined in detail with also involving the critical analysis of urban poverty.

Before the determination of those different poverty conceptualizations, principal usages of poverty concept can be given as follows:

- Descriptions of material need, including deprivation of essential goods and services, multiple deprivation, and patterns of deprivation over time.
- Economic circumstances, describing a lack of wealth (usually understood as capital, money, material goods, or resources, especially natural resources). Obviously, the meaning of ‘sufficient’ varies widely across the different political and economic parts of the world.
- Social relationships, including social exclusion, dependency, and the ability to live what is understood in a society as a ‘normal’ life: For instance, to be capable of raising a healthy family, and especially educating children and participating in society (Dada, 2005: 10).

The general and the simplest conceptualization of poverty is often determined with the lack of basic needs mostly related with material well-being necessary for survival, and the poor are those who, even in normal circumstances, are unable to feed and clothe themselves properly and at risk of death as a consequence (Macpherson and Silburn, 1998: 1). Besides, poverty is designated as the state of living conditions at not reaching to the sufficient resources to provide a minimum livelihood standard, for particular groups in a defined geographical unit for a certain time period (Mingione, 1992). However, poverty conceptualization has a dynamic structure; it is exposed to change over time and space that new types of poverty categorizations are emerged as to the necessity of shifting conceptualizations (Dikici, 2006).

As a result of the multi-facet character of poverty; sometimes definitions and concepts are overlapped at the determination of the concept. Broader definitions are used by multi-national bodies such as, United Nations (UN) that refers poverty, as violation of basic rights and human dignity. UK government used the aspects like “lack of income and access to good quality health, education, housing and the quality of the local environment” (Lister, 2004: 5). It can be clearly stated that at the designation of poverty, many factors come together and make the poverty a complex and also a multidimensional social phenomenon which has no single and an exact definition. However, there have been some efforts to make common poverty conceptualizations. Research study will carry on the analysis of those common poverty categorizations.

II.1.1. Absolute and Relative Poverty

At the poverty literature, there are two basic conceptualizations of poverty which are *absolute and relative poverty* around the world. WB (1990) devoted ‘World Development Report’ solely on poverty. The report classified poverty as absolute poverty and relative poverty, and determined them as follows:

- a) *Absolute poverty*: Lack of income necessary to satisfy basic food needs, based on minimum calorie requirements,
- b) *Relative poverty*: Lack of income necessary to satisfy essential non-food needs; such as clothing, energy, shelter; as well as food needs (WB, 1990).

According to TurkStat Report (2003), “the absolute poverty is the situation in which a household or an individual can not reach the welfare, sufficient to continue their lives.” In the absolute sense, the poor are materially deprived from needs to sustain their life standards

and there is a *poverty line* (it is the cost of leading a life with the minimum standards) that indicates the absolute minimum standard or income, covering the basic resources which all human-being should require to sustain their lives (Erdoğan, 1997). Poverty line is influential for that type of poverty conceptualization which is based on those following criteria; a minimum daily calorie intake, per capita income level at food expenditure and consumption goods (MacPherson and Silburn, 1998: 4; Balcı *et al.*, 2001: 49).

Furthermore, that poverty categorization based on the notion of '*subsistence*', is focusing on capacity to survive; may mean nothing more than having the resources to purchase or grow sufficient food for oneself and one's dependants' (Macpherson and Silburn, 1998: 4). In this respect, Alcock (1993) defined subsistence as "the minimum requirement to sustain life and so being below subsistence level is to be experiencing absolute poverty because one does not have enough to live on". The policy implications of that type are settling on the assumption that poverty can be eliminated if the society can provide an income sufficient to subsistence needs (Townsend, 1993).

The absolutist approach to poverty in the early 20th Century began to be challenged by reference to the notion of '*subsistence*'. MacPherson and Silburn (1998) clarified that "there are legitimate costs which enable a person not only to survive but to live as a member of a community where she/ he is able to take part in and contribute to normal social activities". Moreover, Peter Townsend has vital contributions to that concern; scholar determines poverty as the absence or inadequacy of diets, amenities, standards, services and activities which are common or customary in society (Townsend, 1979). Critically, Townsend (1993: 36) has suggested that:

Poverty must be understood as applying... to those whose resources do not allow them to fulfill the elaborate social demands and customs which have been placed upon citizens of that society. If people lack or are denied resource to obtain access to diets, amenities, standards services and activities which are common or customary in society, or to meet the obligations expected of them or imposed upon them in their social roles and relationships and so fulfill membership of society, they may be said to be in poverty.

All those illuminations compose the main context of '*relative poverty*' approach. At this new approach, poverty is determined within the wider socio-economic context that people live. In this respect, at TurkStat Report (2003), relative poverty is defined as; "it is the state in which the individual is below the average welfare level of the society. The households having income and expenditure below a specified line are compared with the general population."

At the context of relative poverty, the impoverished are generally evaluated as social entities, by covering individuals, households, and groups. Those human beings have no required resources in material, cultural and social dimensions that they are excluded to live a minimum acceptable life (Alcock, 1997). In recent years, researchers like O'Boyle (1999) claims that using the definitions of absolute and relative poverty together can submit a more realist framework for poverty literature. At the determination of the poor, scholar has suggested that two criteria should be taken into consideration; firstly the individual should be below at an absolute income level and at the second term the human being should take his/her place at a definite section in the income distribution of the society.

II.1.2. Objective and Subjective Poverty

Objective approach comprises normative judgements as what form the poverty, what need the individuals to get rid of from the impoverishment conditions. Subjective approach puts emphasis on 'individual utility' in explaining how much do the people give value to the services and the goods, and look to their preferences. Economists are mostly dealing with objective approach, with the claim that "individual utility concern creates lots of problems at the society because the individuals cannot always evaluate the best for themselves" (Lok-Dessallien, 1995: 3).

In recent years, it is observed that participatory approaches depending upon the poor citizens' ideas and assessments have an overwhelming influence, particularly at local community based researches. Within the participatory approaches, 'Voices of the Poor' approach can be given as a sample where poverty is evaluated with deprivation from political power and inactive status of the poor at the political system (Friedmann, 1996: 164). Besides, participatory approaches can be evaluated under 'subjective poverty' approach. At those approaches, it is assumed that the best poverty line decision can be taken by the people living at the same spatial area. Additionally, that type of approach is reflecting a combination of absolute and relative poverty approaches at the definition of 'subjective poverty line' (Flik and Van Praag, 1991: 312-13).

In this regard, at the subjective poverty approach; subjective poverty standard is tried to be formed via the help of public researches and surveys that are applied to the participants for capturing their evaluations about income/consumption. The poverty line is set according to responses given by the households or individuals to the questions such as: "What is the minimal income of your family need in order to maintain a reasonable standard of living?" or "How do you rank your current economic status?" (Wagle, 2002: 158). By subjective

poverty perception, estimation of the minimal income is conducted by the households themselves, according to their views concerning their socio-economic positions relative to the socio-economic environment in which they live. In addition to its positive sides, family income and expenditure surveys generally do not include questions concerning the household's self-evaluation of their situations. When these questions do appear, they may vary across countries and thereby hamper international comparisons (Awad and Israel, 2006: 8).

II.1.3. Poverty as Physiological and Sociological Deprivations

Robert Chambers (1995) determined poverty as a multidimensional issue that demonstrates the clusters of disadvantage. At his book, *'Rural Development: putting the last first'*, he clarifies a new concept as 'deprivation trap', claiming that five clusters of disadvantage interact and trapping human being into disadvantaged condition. At that point, deprivation concept's determination is influential at setting up the bridge with poverty phenomenon. Chambers (1995: 3) clarifies that:

Deprivation refers to lacking what is needed for well-being. Its dimensions are physical, social, economic, political and psychological/spiritual. It includes forms of disadvantage such as physical weakness, isolation, poverty, vulnerability and powerlessness.

At that context, Thomlison (2005: 1) stated that; "Chambers theory covered five dimensions of poverty which could on their own or together make an individual or household poor. Each of these aspects of poverty is itself a cluster of disadvantage which can act as a deprivation trap locking people into poverty". From the diagram, it is observed that one of the five clusters of the trap is poverty. However, poverty phenomenon is equalized with lack of assets with the determination of "small house, little land, few or no livestock. All family members work unless they are too young, old or sick" (Gordon, 2002: 18). It can be evaluated as a restricted notion of poverty conceptualization; poverty is evaluated as the inability to capture minimum life standards. At that point, while there is a limited formulation of poverty, other interrelated disadvantages under deprivation discourse are the aspects of poverty as mentioned at the deprivation trap's conceptualization. As it was indicated at the relative poverty sub-title, poverty phenomenon is not only related with economic dimension, it has a broader framework including social, cultural, and political aspects. At the demonstration of those indicators, those traps pave the way for a clear understanding of other related dynamics. In that context, deprivation traps' dimensions of physical weakness, isolation, vulnerability and powerlessness have been briefly evaluated.

Physical weakness: That term is referring to health handicaps of the human being such as ill health, disability and under nutrition. Those obstacles can lead to problems at labor force engagement and they can create dependency to the household members.

Isolation: That concept is concerning with physical and social isolation (exclusion). At the rural spatial fields particularly at developing nations, local citizens have more confronted with lack of adequate services that exclude them at reaching goods and qualified services. Moreover, women have faced with problems at the access of educational opportunities by gender based problem; it mostly leads to the increase at the illiteracy rates of the society.

Vulnerability: Term is referring people's vulnerability to events that emerge unexpectedly such as floods, famine, illness, and death.

Powerlessness: That concept is concerning with the people's inability at their lives in social, economic, and political dimensions. Weaker sides of the society become dependent to the powerful sections at reaching to goods and services. However, all those cluster of disadvantages have an influence to each-other and poverty problem turns out to be a more serious issue to handle with by the impoverished (Chambers, 1983). Finally, Myers (1999: 86-88) adds another component to that five clusters of poverty, by clarifying that:

Restoring poverty means to restore these relationships: Helping people learn how to function better with their community, people outside their community, be shown how to have jobs that support themselves, have better confidence of who they are, and have a better understanding of who God really is.

Myers formulated the conceptualization of *spiritual poverty*, concerning with people who are hopeless, have no belief at change for a better life and suffer from broken relationship with God.⁹

II.1.4. Urban/ Rural Poverty

Urban poverty problem was an influential concern at western nations, particularly in US, from 1960s to 1970s. However, by the 1980s onwards, urban poverty problem had been put aside due to the new policies emergence with neo-liberalism. Those policies have detrimental effects on the urban poor, because of the restriction at the provided welfare services of the previous Keynesian social security and protection mechanisms. In that

⁹ For details see, Reflections, What is Poverty, Chalmers FHI, Training Resource Manual < [http://www.fhi.net/cdp/ Best_Practice_ Website/Reflections_Economic.doc](http://www.fhi.net/cdp/Best_Practice_Website/Reflections_Economic.doc)>.

context, neo-liberal policies dramatic results lead to the re-emergence of urban poverty discourse (Ersoy and Şengül, 1999: 6).

In this sense, urban poverty problem has a multi-dimensional dynamic covering many deprivations, such as limited access to employment opportunities and income, inadequate and insecure housing and services, violent and unhealthy environments, little or no social protection mechanisms, limited access to adequate health and education opportunities (WB, 2006). That type of poverty is often designated by its cumulative deprivations; one dimension is the cause or contributor of the other dimension.¹⁰ At that point, Masika and Baden (1997: 6) clarified that “most studies are attempting to describe urban poverty with drawing out the characteristics of urban poverty, often by comparing rural poverty”. According to UN (2010) declarations, all regions in the world are becoming less rural and more urban.¹¹ Rahman (2004) stated that “cities are now home to a growing proportion of the world’s poorest people”. The poorest people have an overwhelming influence at the demographic rates of the urban areas. According to WB (2002: 157), urban population living below the national poverty line is %35 in Sub-Saharan Africa, %15,4 in North Africa, %20,6 in Asia and %26,2 in Latin American and Caribbean.¹²

Furthermore, rural poverty is defined by ILO, as open and hidden unemployment and organization takes the attention to the process of rapid impoverishment because of the decrease at the level of income (SPO, 2001: 105). According to the published Report of IFAD (International Fund for Agricultural Development) (2001: 15):

Rural poors are the individuals having income sources depend upon limited agricultural products, having small and unproductive lands, facilitating less from the public facilities, facing sensitively with poverty and hunger, and having no capacity to accumulate their income.

The rural poor find their solution to migrate to the urban areas which lead to the transition of poverty from rural to urban poverty. Gökdayı (2003: 84-84) stated that “rural poverty is a source that feed urban poverty. Consequently, the problems that are faced at the rural fields have been augmented with the addition of urban problems”.

¹⁰ For details, see, <<http://web.worldbank.org/>>.

¹¹ For details, see < http://esa.un.org/unpd/wup/Documents/WUP2009_Press-Release_Final_Rev1.pdf>, 2009 World Revision of Urbanization Prospects.

¹² For details, see; <<http://devdata.worldbank.org/wdi2005/section1>>.

II.1.5. Ultra, Chronic, and Temporary Poverty

Within the context of the research study, additional poverty categories can be clarified as ultra, chronic, temporary/ persistent poverty. *Temporary poverty* is the result of the fluctuations at welfare as to the falls in standard of living in one-time below poverty line; it can be sourced from the external shocks and natural disasters. When the non-poor households started to be poor for the first time, it is hard to identify whether that situation is a temporary experience or a chronic one (Lok-Dessallien, 1995:2). Moreover, Jargowsky and Bane (1990: 5) put forth *persistent poverty*, which is a term that is used to cover the households and the individuals living in poverty for a long term. That kind of poverty has the tendency to pass from generation to generation. Besides to those poverty types, at the conceptualization of poverty a new poverty formulation is emerged as *ultra poverty*. Michael Lipton (1986) defines the concept as follows: “Ultra-poverty connotes being amongst poorest of the poor in low-income countries. Ultra-poverty is receiving less than 80 percent of minimum caloric intake whilst spending more than 80% of income on food”.

International Food Policy Research Institute Report published in 2007, determined ultra poverty “as the type of poverty as living on less than 50 cents per day” (IFPRI, 2007). United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization (UNFAO) and World Health Organization (WHO) reports highlighted that “new type of poverty is mostly related with the WB’s absolute poverty” and those global institutions added that “if the ultra poverty situation persists more than five year, this condition is turned out to be chronic poverty”. Chronic poor’s situation in time is turned towards a condition which cannot be recovered that it forms the basis of the ‘culture of poverty’ studies (SPO, 2001: 106). In this respect, evaluation of *chronic poverty* in monetarial aspect is difficult and insufficient in practical and theoretical terms (Hulma and McKay, 2005: 2). Chronic poverty is not emerged as a result of a single factor; it can come out as the combination and intersection of income poverty, capability poverty, and vulnerability.¹³ Briefly, the different feature of chronic poverty is stemmed from its extended duration in absolute poverty. Chronic Poverty Research Center determined that “chronically poor people always or usually, live below a poverty line, which is normally defined in terms of monetarial aspects but it could also be defined in terms of wider or subjective aspects of deprivation”.¹⁴

¹³ For details, see, Chronic Poverty Research Center, 2004, “The Chronic Poverty Report 2004-2005”, <www.chronicpoverty.org/pdfs/CPR1%20FINAL/CPRfinCOMPLETE.pdf> p.5.

¹⁴ For details, see, Chronic Poverty Research Center, “What is Chronic Poverty” Chronic Poverty Blog, The Definition of Chronic Poverty, <<http://chronicpoverty.wordpress.com/chronic-poverty-definition-facts-and-statistics/>> .

II.1.6. New Poverty and Social Exclusion

By the 1970s onwards, production type was changed from Fordist type of Keynesian Welfare State to Post-Fordist formation that based upon a new state model under neo-liberalism, with the target of minimum state intervention. At that socio-economic environment during the 1980s, the nature of poverty has also changed and a new concept is included in discussions of poverty addressing the need of comprehensive analysis concerning the causes and consequences of poverty.

With the application of neo-liberal policies, the gap between the developed and developing countries has risen to a high degree and at those countries the distribution of income has deteriorated (Ersoy and Şengül, 2002: 21-22). At that period, withdrawal of state from economy policies, accelerating trend at privatization applications, dissolution of welfare state social protection mechanisms, emergence of flexible production techniques complicated the lives of the impoverished. All of those changes affect the dimensions of poverty experiencing at urban scale and urban poverty is started to be designated as '*new urban poverty*'.

In this sense, new urban poverty is used about the conditions concerning the rise at flexible working patterns and informal sector together with neo-liberal policies. A clear determination of that new concept can be explained by Mingionie (1993)'s clarifications as follows:

At the previous periods homelessness and poverty had been alleviated by social and occupational mobility and social welfare programs. Continuous/ secured jobs decrease, fragmented labor market system of Post-Fordist economy and employment regime decreases the chance of survival of a large segment of populations who are non-qualified labor and have no professional skills. The city centers are invaded by financial investors, central offices of the companies, and new service activities reduces the likelihood of low-income settlements and housing. Privatization and the decline of social welfare state decreases public reflexes.

As it is observed from those clarifications, new poverty concept comes out by the application of neo-liberal polices with the augmentation at flexible labor, expansion of the informal sector and decline of the social services provided by the welfare state. Those policies lead to an increase at the number of *working poor*, by involving the employees having low educational background employed at public or private sectors and cause the formation of the under-classes as a reserve labor army (Kalaycıoğlu and Rittersberger, 2002: 200). The concept of '*working poor*' is the determination of a concept which is related with irregular and low paid jobs restricting people to get out of poverty (Buğra and Keyder, 2005: 14). In

this sense, ILO (2004: 1) declared that “workers carry a high risk of becoming working poor with earnings insufficient to raise themselves and their families above the US\$ 1 a day poverty line”. At that point, some relative deprivations articulated to the formulation of new urban poverty. New poverty determination of Dikici (2006: 29) is influential at grasping some clues concerning those deprivations:

The most unique characteristic of new poverty is that the expansion of economic growth goes hand in hand with the increase in inequality and poverty. In this new form, poverty manifest itself not only as lack of income, hunger, malnutrition, ill health, limited or lack of access to education and other basic services, and increased mortality from illness, but also as increased homelessness and inadequate housing, unsafe environments, social discrimination and exclusion. Moreover, whereas opportunities or active participation in decision-making, civil, social and cultural life are available to society at large, such access is denied to those defined as the new poor. New poverty emerges as an interaction between social exclusion, inequality and poverty.

As it is seen from that determination, social exclusion comes out as an influential component of new poverty. Traditional conceptualization of poverty is mostly dwelling upon income based insufficiencies, but the new concept puts emphasis on social dynamics in regard to social, cultural, and political explanations. In this case, European Union’s (EU) (2003) published report is also a good sample at the illumination of social exclusion concept’s designation:

A process whereby certain individuals are pushed to the edge of society and prevented from participating fully by virtue of their poverty, or lack of basic competencies and lifelong learning opportunities, or as a result of discrimination. This distances them from job, income and education opportunities as well as social and community networks and activities. They have little access to power and decision-making bodies and thus often feeling powerless and unable to take control over the decisions that affect their day to day lives.¹⁵

In particular, urban poverty has changed with the socio-economic transitions with complicating the lives of the impoverished not only in economic terms but also in social dimensions. Bryne (1999: 109-124) clarified that “urban changes demonstrated itself by the growth of underclass neighborhoods where there is a high rate of unemployment, leading to the appearance of social exclusion”. At that new urban poverty context, the city has increasingly dividing and separating populations like ever before along class, race, and sexual lines. The leitmotif of a polarized city is therefore inevitably employed to describe a situation whereby new gentrified spaces are found only a few hundred meters from some of the most deprived areas of inner-city decay, characterized by chronic dependency, poverty,

¹⁵ For details, see, European Commission’s 2004 Joint Report on Social Inclusion. <http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/spsi/docs/social_inclusion/final_joint_inclusion_report_2003_en.pdf> .

and frequent social unrest (Hubbard, 1998: 1). Within that polarized society, at one side, there are street people covering the poor, homeless, hungry who live in streets and at the other side there are air people living at high rise apartment buildings with security staff, having a strong sense of belonging to their fortified islands (fortified enclaves/territories) (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2001: 148; Raban, 1990: 238). At the study, urban poverty has been searched not only in terms of economic dimension but also from the aspects of physiological and sociological deprivations such as physical weakness, isolation, vulnerability, powerlessness, and social exclusion which are the components of relative poverty.

II.2. Theories of Poverty

This section of the study has the objective to provide a theoretical framework for setting up the bridge between poverty phenomenon and poverty alleviation strategies to struggle it. At this part, each poverty paradigm's view on poverty alleviation has been examined in detail. The scope of that part is inspired from three important studies; at those works scholars tried to schematize poverty approaches according to cultural aspects (especially individual attributes), contradictions at production, market based distributional mechanisms, ravages of social change, geographical (concentration in specific areas), cumulative and cyclical conditions. First study is David L. Harvey and Michael Reed's (1992) work, that their article entitled 'Paradigms of Poverty: A Critical Assessment of Contemporary Perspectives' with the typology of nine separate paradigms. Those scholars have the aim of a critical examination of poverty theory to construct a 'theoretical space' mapping the metatheoretical contours which structure current poverty debates (Harvey and Reed, 1992: 267). Their typology is based on the answer of that critical question; "Is poverty an economic based phenomenon? If the answer is at the positive side then that category led to the emergence of two sub-sections; a) poverty is based in the contradictions of social production, and b) poverty is based in market-based distributional mechanisms; if the answer is at the negative side; poverty is evaluated that have been based in a non-economic domain of reality.

Moreover, the similar type of that question is applied at the construction of the second type of axiom as "is there a culture of poverty?". If the answer is yes, then a second question comes afterwards whether or not the sub-culture of poverty has a positive or negative context. Negative response to that question demonstrates that sub-culture of poverty is observed as being maladaptive and pathological, and itself is a major contributor at the causes of poverty. Culture of poverty is mostly perceived as a materially inferior approximation of the culture which is hegemonic at the society. The positive response reflects that sub-culture of poverty process have a social logic and legitimacy independent from larger community because of its

content. It is suggested that sub-culture has a validity and logic which can be evaluated against the demands of poverty niche. Lastly, third response concerning ‘there is no culture of poverty’ demonstrates the denial of the existence of a relevant culture of poverty (Harvey, 1992: 270-272).

Figure 2.2.1. The Economic Parameters of Poverty

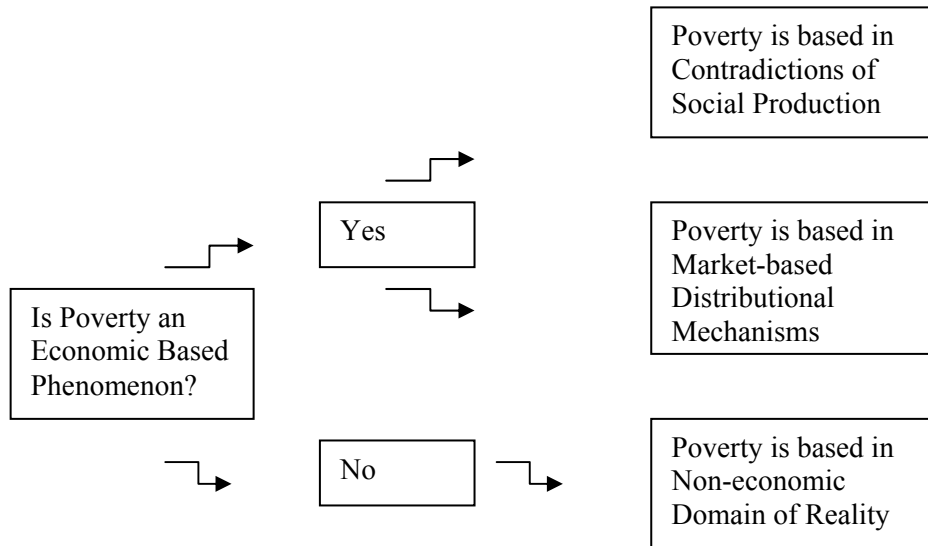
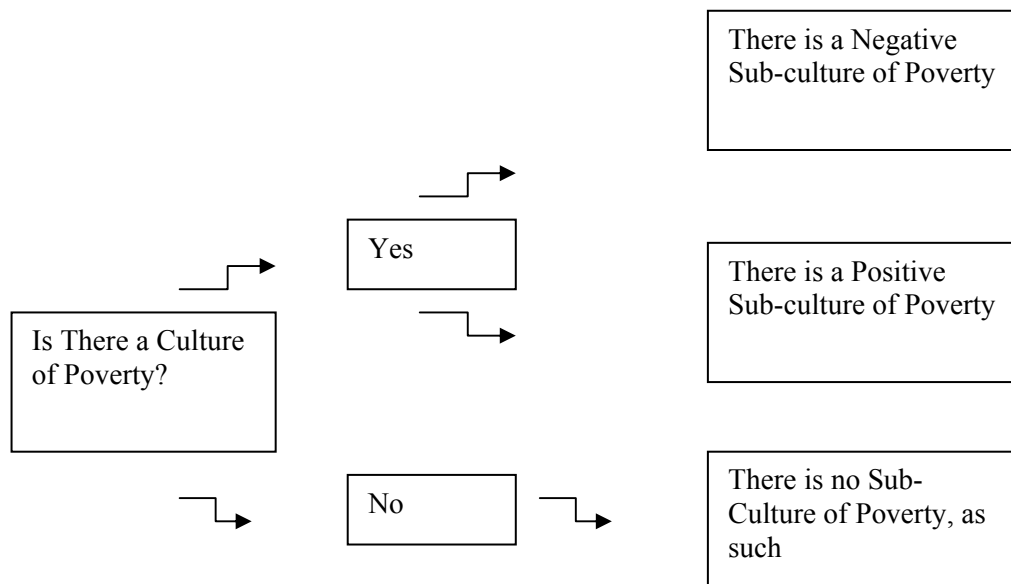


Figure 2.2.2. Sub-cultural Parameters of Poverty



¹⁶ For details, see, Harvey and Reed, 1992, pp. 272-73.

Within the context of Harvey and Reed's study, scholars formed a chart of paradigms of poverty related to the critical two questions responses in regard to the economic and cultural dimensions of poverty.

Table 2.2.1. Paradigms of Poverty

	There Is A Negative Subculture Of Poverty	There Is No Subculture Of Poverty	There Is A Positive Subculture Of Poverty
Povety Is A Productionbased Phenomenon	A. Malthosian Political Economy: The Paradigm of Preventive Checks on Population	B. Classical Marxism: Industrial Reserve Army Paradigm of The Capitalist Mode Production	C. Critical Marxist Paradigm: Poverty & Its Cultures As Integral Elements of Capital's Reproductive Apparatus
Poverty Is A Marketbased Phenomenon	D. Neo-Classical Economics: Marginal Productivity of Unskilled Labor Paradigm	E. Secular Malthusian Paradigm: Historicist Paradigm of Marginal Productivity of Land, Labor And Capital	F. Social Democratic Paradigm: Distribution of Labor's Total Product as Source of Poverty
Poverty Is A Non Economic Phenomenon	G. Social Darwinist Paradigm: Cultural Ethos & Behavioral Modifications Paradigms of Poverty	H. Reductionist Paradigms of Poverty: Biological, Geographical or Purely Demographic Modals	I. Programmatic or Voluntaristic Poverty Paradigm

17

Classified typologies that have been made by those scholars are crucial and valid for current poverty studies but there are also other critical perspectives which can be added out of those paradigms, study has covered other theories such as Modernization, Dependency, Neo-liberal views of poverty paradigms.

¹⁷ For details, see, Harvey and Reed, 1992, p. 274.

At that point, Erik Olin Wright’s study (1994) ‘Interrogating Inequality: Essays on Class Analysis, Socialism and Marxism’ with his classification of four general approaches for poverty came to the front side. As to the classification of Wright (1994: 32), scholar clarified that:

There are four general ways of explaining poverty found in both scholarly literature and popular consciousness. These four approaches differ along two dimensions: First, whether they see individual or society as the central unit of analysis for the most salient causes of poverty, and second, whether they see poverty as an unfortunate by-product of certain causes or as an inherent feature of the system in question.

Wright (1994: 32) referred to those four kinds of explanations of poverty as the genetic inferiority approach (individual/ inherent), the culture of poverty approach (individual/ by product), the ravages of social change approach (societal/ by product), and the class exploitation approach (societal/ inherent).

Table 2.2.2. General Types of Explanation of Poverty¹⁸

		Nature of Explanation	
		<i>Unfortunate By-Product</i>	<i>Inherent Feature</i>
Site of Explanation	Individual Attributes	Culture Of Poverty	Genetic/Racial Inferiority
	Social System	Ravages Of Social Change (Liberal Reformist)	Class Exploitation (Marxist Class Analysis)

The last important study comes from Ted K. Bradshaw entitled as ‘Theories of Poverty and Anti-poverty Programs in Community Development’. At that paper, programs and approaches that have been strategically selected are used to deal with poverty in US, by the help of five theories such as poverty caused by individual deficiencies, cultural belief system, economic, political and social distortions or discrimination, geographical disparities and cumulative and cyclical interdependencies. At that point, Bradshaw (2007: 5) clarified that:

For each of the five theories that make up the bulk of the poverty literature, I have identified the set of variables that are most significantly associated with causing poverty according to that theory, the mechanisms by these variables cause poverty, the potential strategies that can be addressed in response to poverty, and finally community based examples of how anti-poverty programs based on that particular theory are implemented.

¹⁸ For details, see, Wright, 1994, p.33.

At the following part, firstly the main paradigms of poverty are examined in detail. In that context, some paradigms which are not much relevant as the others are not referred in this study and those classifications of poverty paradigms are tried to be integrated to simplify and gather the similar views together. Those paradigms would shed light on the explanation of the poverty alleviation strategies according to each poverty paradigm. Firstly, two Marxist paradigms are explained briefly that settle on “Poverty is a Production Based Phenomenon”. These paradigms are categorized into two categories according to the assumptions that there is no sub-culture of poverty (Classical Marxist) and there is a positive sub-culture of poverty (Critical Marxist). This categorization is shaped on the question that “Is there a culture of poverty” (Harvey and Reed, 1992: 271).

II.2.1. Marxist Paradigms

II.2.1.1. Classical Marxist Paradigm: *There is no Subculture of Poverty*

At the production based phenomenon; Classical Marxist and Critical Marxist paradigms had been involved and poverty had been examined according to the contradictions of social production. According to the classical Marxist paradigm, modern poverty is the product of a historically specific mode of production (Harvey and Reed, 1992: 276). Richard Peet (1975: 564-571) clarified that:

Inequality is inherent in the capitalist mode of production. Inequality is inevitably produced during the normal operation of capitalist economies, and cannot be eradicated without fundamentally altering the mechanisms of capitalism. In addition, it is functional to the system, which means that power-holders have a vested interest in preserving social inequality. There is little point, therefore, in devoting political energies to the advocacy of policies which deal only with the symptoms of inequality without altering its basic generating forces. Hence the call for social and economic revolution, the overthrow of capitalism, and the substitution of a method of production and an associated way of life designed around the principles of equality and social justice.

Harvey and Reed (1992: 276) emphasized that Marx view on the vision at causal relations linking class, poverty, and capital productive contradictions of capital can be found in *Capital* (1970), where modern poverty structural reasons were determined in the contradictions of the capitalist mode of production. At that Marxist framework, modern poverty is evaluated as a phenomenon stemming from capital’s tendency to continuously revolutionize the productivity of labor. Those scholars added that its logic of production not only manufactures ever greater masses of commodity wealth, but of necessity creates an ever-renewed pool of superfluous workers ‘an industrial reserve army’.

Under capitalist logic, economy has not been developed smoothly, sudden bursts at market interrupted the process and led to a quick transfusion of labor at economy, integrating labor when they are required and also having the chance to discharge at times when the demand slackens or mechanization proceeds (Peet, 1975: 564). At that point, reserve army has been composed of absolute and relative surplus population. Absolute surplus populations have come out at times when a displacement occurred between traditional modes of production and efficient machine-based technologies. At the second term, relative surplus population produced at mature capitalist formations at the replication of activities by machines and eventually, at the cooperative organization of labor itself (Harvey and Reed, 1992: 276-277).

At the first mentioned study of 'Paradigms of Poverty: A Critical Assessment of Contemporary Perspectives', scholars also added that:

Marx is careful to state that poverty is not caused by machines and technology, though under capital's regime, both contribute to the creation of relative surplus populations. Modern poverty, instead, is a necessary by-product of the social relations of production that capital employs in allocating persons, materials, and machines in the process of commodity production and distribution. Poverty is a structural prerequisite grounded in the sociological contradictions of a historically specific mode of production (Harvey and Reed, 1992: 277).

In addition to that, at the explanations of Wright (1994) at the categorization of poverty, '*class exploitation*' term comes into existence stemmed from societal system that has an inherent feature:

Poverty in contemporary capitalism is generated by the core dynamics of class exploitation. Poverty is not an accident; it is not a by-product. It is an inherent, and crucial feature of a society whose economic structure is grounded in class and exploitation. There are powerful and privilege actors who have an active interest in maintaining poverty. It is not just that poverty is an unfortunate consequence of their pursuit of material interests; it is an essential condition for the realization of their interests" (Wright, 1994: 38).

At that poverty understanding, there are two variants at the reduction of poverty. Firstly, Revolutionary Marxism has the assumption that there is only one way to reduce poverty, and that solution is based upon eliminating capitalism altogether. There has been no belief at the inside of capitalist formation to reduce poverty. Second variant is focused on social democracy, by suggesting that redistribution of income can be provided with the survival of capitalist institutions; if the capitalists powers challenged within the capitalist formation, important steps can be taken at the reduction of poverty (Wright, 1994: 38).

Furthermore, this study is concerning urban poverty and urban poverty alleviation that Marx view on city is influential at demonstrating the link with poverty. In this respect, it should be

mentioned that the city is analysed not as a cause, but as a significant condition of certain development at Marxist paradigm. In the work of Marx and Engels, it is suggested that the city does not itself create the modern proletariat; it is an important condition of the self-realization of the proletariat as a politically and economically organized class in opposition to the bourgeoisie (Saunders, 1981: 2). In this sense, Saunders (1981: 10-12) clarified that:

Marx and Engels study the capitalist city in two ways; first as an illustration or a microcosm of processes occurring at a different rate through out capitalist society and second as an important condition of the development of certain specific processes within that society. When they discuss the city as a microcosm, their concern is not with the city per se but with capitalist processes that are most clearly revealed in an urban context. It is, in other words, not the city that is held responsible for the poverty and squalor of the urban proletariat, but the capitalist mode of production. It is not urbanization itself that forges a revolutionary working class any more than it is urbanization that gives rise to poverty. The development of potentially revolutionary conditions is a tendency inherent with the development of capitalism, and the growth of cities is a contingent condition influencing whether and how such conditions come to be acted upon by the working class.

To recapitulate, at the analysis of capitalism in Marx, the city is grasped a secondary importance. In that context, a revolutionary working class movement is not forged by urbanization; urbanization only leads to raise poverty. Besides, a specific theory of urbanization is not seen at Marx analysis. From the clarifications, it can be also argued that capitalist mode of production is stated to be responsible at poverty. Urban has no scientific status and the city is demonstrated as the manifestations of essential tendencies within capitalism (Saunders, 1981: 12).

II.2.1.2. Critical Marxist Paradigm: *There is a Positive Sub-culture of Poverty*

At that type of Marxist paradigm, modern poverty is perceived as the product of the historically specific contradictions of capital. Paradigm is based on Marxist political economy and it has the belief that the poor generate their own culture of poverty. That poverty culture is vital at the reproduction of overall structure of capitalist social relations (Harvey and Reed, 1992: 278). Critical Marxist approaches at modern poverty realize an organic union between economic superfluity and sub-cultural relations that Harvey and Reed (1992: 277-278) stated that:

This reproductive paradigm of poverty emphasizes the process of poverty's social reproduction and distinguishes between the objective, economic origins of poverty, and the role which the poor play in culturally reproducing poverty's everyday contours. It explores the dialectical interaction between poverty's economic base and its cultural superstructure.

The impoverished reproductive role at capitalist formation is demonstrated as a necessary element for social stability, concerning both a regulated market system and a disciplined labor force (Harvey and Reed, 1992: 278). Reproductive paradigm's classical formulation is made by Oscar Lewis. He was one of the main writers to define the culture of poverty as a set of beliefs and values passed from generation to generation and he examined mostly the urban poor who are the main critical point of analysis for that study. Oscar Lewis (1966) clarified that:

Once the culture of poverty has come into existence it tends to perpetuate itself. By the time slum children are six or seven, they have usually absorbed the basic attitudes and values of their subculture. Thereafter, they are psychologically unready to take full advantage of changing conditions or improving opportunities that may develop in their lifetime (cited in Ryan, 1976: 120).

Harvey and Reed also emphasize that Lewis culture of poverty thesis should not be evaluated under the approaches blaming the victim which is based on individual poverty assumptions; scholars (1992: 279) clarified that "Reproductive paradigm firmly fixes poverty's origins in a flawed productive mode, one which is an inveterate destroyer of communities". At that point, Lewis, culture of poverty thesis is worth to mention in detail but there have been some drawbacks towards it. Harvey and Reed (1992: 278) make some detail explanations to sub-culture of poverty understanding of Lewis with those five traits listed below;

1. It is not the immediate cause of poverty, but a response to poverty. The culture of poverty's various traits are the result of a creative coping on the part of the poor as they manufacture their survival in hostile circumstances.
2. It reproduces itself in each generation as families pass on their accumulated class-specific wisdom to their children.
3. It is not synonymous with economic impoverishment. One can be poor without living in a culture of poverty. Thus culturally intact, preliterate societies, though 'materially disadvantaged', would not necessarily have a culture of poverty, nor would ethnically or religiously marginal peoples who, though poverty stricken, sustain a coherent cultural orientation.
4. It often gains a relatively autonomy from the economic processes which call it into existence. For this reason, economic reforms may not immediately eliminate certain cultural commitment which caretakers and reformers find so objectionable.
5. Finally, because of its relative autonomy, the culture of poverty can be modified without having the objective basis of poverty removed. In societies taken over by revolutionary or

nationalistic movements, for example, many of the key traits of the culture of poverty can be altered ideologically, if not eliminated altogether. So, as it was mentioned before Lewis culture of poverty thesis cannot be located at the poverty studies blaming the victim, based on individual poverty assumptions.

II.2.2. Conservative / Liberal Paradigms

Conservative and liberal paradigms of poverty have not been located at the typology of Harvey and Reed. Rather than a deep evaluation of conservative and liberal paradigms, the scholars gave emphasis on neo-classical approach. The starting point of conservative and liberal approaches is based upon a well functioning market economy that provides the efficient and effective distribution of economic and social resources. The assumption has settled on the view that the income distribution would be just and fair within the market economy and capitalist production type, so that this economic formation cannot be a matter of debate. Both approaches focus on absolute poverty conceptualization and they do not take into account the equality at the distribution of income. Certainly, it does not mean that conservative and liberal approaches are wholly ignorant to the reality of ‘poverty’. Both views have the same assumption that there is a group living below the minimum subsistence level and governments should intervene to poverty alleviation by poverty initiatives and programs (Ersoy and Şengül, 1999: 10-14). Within the context of the study it is tried to grasp a more detailed elucidation on conservative and liberal assumptions of poverty for an exact evaluation of those related poverty paradigms.

Conservative perspective is referring poverty as a market based and a negative sub-culture of poverty understanding. It can be observed at ‘under-class’ and ‘welfare dependency’ theories (Townsend and Alcock, 1993). According to conservative approach, and also liberals, the poor are seen as the casualties of the market system, and a minimal state intervention is proposed for the elimination of the negative effects of poverty. The most critical dimension at combating poverty is poverty relief. It is based upon selectivism, meaning that the impoverished who can take state assistance should be selected. The deserving poor are the people having no sub-culture of poverty (Alcock, 1993: 45). Moreover, politically conservative theoreticians blame individuals in poverty for creating their own problems, and argue that with harder work and better choices, the poor could have avoided (and now can remedy) their problems and theoreticians tied the problem particularly to the characteristic properties of the individuals. Neo-classical economics also adopted poverty as individual sources. Bradshaw (2006: 10) stated that “at that approach it is assumed that individuals try

to maximize their own well being by making choices, (assuming that they have perfect information), and they are responsible from their individual choices”.

Furthermore, conservative view of poverty has also been evaluated with poverty as by-product of social causes (one of the Wright’s classification of poverty). In this context, under-class in the United States is evaluated by Charles Murray as a problem caused by-product of welfare policies began in 1960s and widely implemented in 1970s (Wright, 1994: 37). A cycle of ‘welfare dependency’ that generally impedes the needys’ integration to labor market, has been created which develop and pass among the impoverished. At that point, Asen (2002: 48) evaluated that process as “from the war on poverty to the war on welfare”. Murray (1984 cited in Wright, 1994: 37) clarified his solution proposal as:

To eliminate virtually all welfare programs and thus radically change the incentive structure facing poor people. With these altered incentives they will begin to work hard, act responsibly and thus raise themselves out of poverty.

In this respect, conservatives have also a negative belief towards welfare state, because with the enlargement of welfare state applications, it is assumed that family ties have been fragmented by the decreasing role of church, volunteer organizations, and local administrations (Ferrera *et. al.*, 2000: 432). At that point, conservative paradigm is differentiated from neo-liberal and neo-classical approaches of poverty by its social established institutions, which is claimed to be functioning in harmony, such as family, community, class and religion. Hence, as to the conservative view of poverty for the sustenance of that harmony, poverty should be relieved within the society (Bademci, 2007: 48).

After the detailed explanation of conservative view of poverty, liberal poverty paradigm has been deeply analysed. Liberal assumption of poverty has also seen at the categorization of Wright (1994: 36), under the category of ‘poverty as a by-product of social causes’. Liberals mostly focus on the faults at the market system functioning (Ersoy and Şengül, 1999: 10-14). At liberal social scholars’ explanations of poverty, individual attributes play an influential role, but the main emphasis is on the nature of opportunity structure confronted by the disadvantaged people. A sample can be given from William Julius Wilson’s explanation for deep poverty of “underclass” blacks in contemporary American inner cities. Scholar has examined the changing nature of job structure in America since 1960s (Wright, 1994: 36). At that point, Paul Peterson (1991: 16) claimed that “Wilson explains poverty as the social by-product of a changing economy whose uneven impact was leaving inner cities with extraordinarily high levels of unemployment”. Peterson states that “Wilson has dealing with

poverty by mostly referring urban poor as the underclass, who are confronting with unemployment and social isolation” (Wilson, 1993: 20). Additionally, the impoverished do not only suffer from socio-economic problems, but also from minimal education and community safeguards. In other words, the poor’s limited job opportunity problem is coupled with societal supports. Wilson (1987: 61) makes clarifications about culture of poverty (problem of underclass in America) and social isolation at his work of ‘Truly Disadvantaged’, as follows:

The key theoretical concept, therefore, is not culture of poverty but social isolation. Culture of poverty implies that basic values and attitudes of the ghetto subculture have been internalized and thereby influence behavior...Social isolation...implies that contact between groups of different class and/or racial backgrounds is either lacking or has become increasingly intermittent but that the nature of this contact enhances the effects of living in a highly concentrated poverty area...To emphasize the concept social isolation does not mean that cultural traits are irrelevant in understanding behavior...rather, it highlights the fact that culture is a response to social structural constraints and opportunities.

At the solution of poverty problem (poverty as a by product of social causes) Wright (1994: 36) added that:

Within this diagnosis of the causes of poverty, the solution is generally seen as twofold. First, a massive effort needs to be devoted to the problem of skill formation and education so that disadvantaged children are equipped to participate actively in the labor market. Secondly; serious job programs, generally assumed to require considerable expansion of public works, need to be created to employ people with marginal skills.

To conclude, the policy proposals of conservatives and liberals to alleviate urban poverty even if not eliminate it, can be emphasized by Banfield’s (1970: 243-46) account as follows; the abolition of all legal restrictions that limit employment of the uneducated and non-professional citizens, legal regulations should not restrict the creation of low wage employment opportunities especially at private sector; poverty definition should be limited with the provision of minimum livelihood level; at the assistances towards impoverished negative income tax should be applied to the qualified citizens; regulations should be implemented for volunteer youth at their integration to labor market; underclass children should be send to the kindergarten to leave them from the chains of vicious circle of poverty; strengthening of the police control and entitlements at ghettos and slum areas, banning the demonstration of violence, robbery, and lotting on Tvs.

II.2.3. Social Democratic Paradigm

Social Democratic Paradigm sees poverty as a market-based phenomenon with a positive sub-culture of poverty approach. Basic principles of that paradigm are universality, social

solidarity, and equality among classes. Rather than corporatist social rights provision and protection of status differences; universality and equality of citizens principles have grasped an overwhelming influence at that paradigm (Myles and Quadagno, 2002). A similar intersection point with Marxist paradigm can be explained as follows; 'it assumes that poverty originates in class struggle, but places the locus of that struggle in the domain of circulation, rather than production' (Harvey and Reed, 1992: 282). In this respect, Wright (1994: 38) stated that:

Social democratic assumption argues that capitalism can be significantly tamed, that while capitalists have real, material interests in sustaining poverty, significant redistribution of income is compatible with the survival of capitalist institutions. As a result, if the power of capitalists and their allies can be effectively challenged inside of capitalism, significant inroads against poverty can be achieved.

Pierro Sraffa, an influential scholar in that paradigm, argued that the class struggle is rooted in distributional processes, not at the antagonistic relations of production as in Marxist theory. Harvey and Reed (1992: 283) clarified that:

Distributive justice in Sraffa's theory of capitalism does not require so much the elimination of exploitation, at the point of production as it does the construction of a political apparatus that will assure the just apportioning of society's wealth. In such a scheme, poverty can be eliminated politically, without actually abandoning capitalist production.

As it was understood from those clarifications, poverty is evaluated at the process of distribution connecting the ties with distributional justice at the poverty alleviation (Harvey and Reed, 1992: 283). At that paradigm, poverty problem can also be perceived as a threat at the well functioning of capitalist system that can lead to the revolt of the impoverished. For gaining success at combating poverty in capitalist system, some systematic interventions have required particularly to the labor market under those listed targets; employment generation, social security benefits for unemployed, support for child-care, and disability. Social democrats evaluated those assistances in a right-based understanding having universal characteristics, and they do not emphasize on measuring poverty at the designation of the deserving poor as conservatives (Alcock, 1997: 46).

II.2.4. Modernization and Dependency School

Poverty paradigms can also be sustained by Modernization and Dependency School approaches. The first important paradigm at development literature is the Modernization approach. The Modernization paradigm defines development as a process which is evolutionary and in a linear line, from traditional society to the targeted modern one. That

liberal view of Modernization approach is criticized as its evaluation of development without discussion and its only target of defining the tools of the development process. Besides, Dependency School which has come out after Modernization approach and other radical approaches took also criticisms like not discussing development itself but focusing on whether development can be possible within the capitalist system or not (Şengül, 2009: 116).

The basic concept of Modernization approach is its thesis of 'Duality' of modernization (Katz, 1980: 26). According to *Dual Economic Social Theory*, examined unit has two opposing poles under the motto of modern-traditional and industrial-agricultural (Ersoy, 1992: 2). In this sense, Stravagen (1969: 102-103) evaluated Duality thesis with those clarifications:

Duality thesis adopted in Latin American countries has obligatory relations together, there are societies different and independent from each other; one of them is archaic, traditional, agricultural, stable and underdeveloped; and the other one is modern, urbanized, industrial, dynamic, and developed.

Developed and underdeveloped systems which have been wholly different existed together at that dual structural formation. Each sector has different social processes and dynamics, the traditional sector has a stable formation; capitalist, modern sector has a progressive dynamic and it is ready to change (Ersoy, 1992: 3). Moreover, at the A. Lewis model (1954: 117), the dual formation has taking a critical value at the examination of the underdevelopment of developing countries. The solution towards underdevelopment is found at giving priority to the capital accumulation process by the help of bourgeoisies. It is emphasized that industrialization process is not developed at a desired level (as a capital and production factor) that developing nations should take loan or financial aid from the developed countries for recovering their positions.

Consequently, as maintained by the theoreticians of Modernization School, the process that lived at the western countries will be lived at the peripheral nations in a similar way at different periods and spatial areas (Reismann, 1970). According to that view, the problems that have been faced by the Third World countries are similar with the First World countries previous problems (Ersoy, 1982). At that point, Hoselits (1961: 118) stated that:

The peripheral nations' influential problems such as unemployment, informal sector, squatter settlements, and insufficient infrastructure have temporary characteristics; by economic development and social modernization process those problems would be surpassed.

It is seen that, poverty is evaluated as a natural and unblocked problem generating within the modernization process, but when the modernization process makes progress, poverty has

assumed to be alleviated. Critically, Modernization scholars equated urbanization with industrialization and they used 'urbanization' as an indicator of growth and development. In this respect, Turkish scholars influenced from that theory and they declared their solution proposals towards the rural problems (including also poverty) as the assimilation of rural migrants into the urban society (Maxwell, 1998: 3; Erman, 2001).

By the 1960s onwards, at a period that Modernization School's theories and policies had dominance around the academic environment and international institutions, the paradigm became a target for criticisms from Dependency School. In that context, there have been some critical diversions with Modernization and Dependency School understanding, concerning their evaluation of development and poverty. According to Modernization School, 'Duality Thesis' is stable and also it is not historical, and approach evaluated traditional sector of peripheral economies as having no historical perspective. So, the needed interest is not given to the peripheral formations' wholeness that is formed by a historical development (Ersoy, 1992: 11). According to Dependency School, the relation between two sectors has been emerged within the flow of a single historical process (Stravagen, 1969: 104). In this sense, Third World countries have been situated at the same economic system (capitalism) with the First World countries and poverty cannot be disappeared within the continuity of that dependency. Exploitations in that structure can be seen at national, regional, sectoral and local levels (Balci *et al.*, 2001: 51).

Besides, according to the Dependency School's perspective, at the Duality thesis evaluation, the mutual relations between two systems have been too much simplified. Amin (1977: 19-20) stated that:

In reality, there are no two colliding society, the underdeveloped economy is a component of capitalist world economy; and peripheral national economies have a private location at the system by implementing basic functions. The existence of duality at the underdeveloped nations means that the 'development of underdevelopment' is a result of that relation; like the Stravagen explanation under-development follows development ...not comes before development.

Briefly, theoretical framework, concepts and notions of Dependency School cannot be defined well, and it mostly represents a development perspective having an eclectic formation developed against Modernization approach. Key themes at that approach, especially the underdevelopment process are tied to foreign economic and political dynamics and the reason of underdevelopment is searched at the relations of dominant capitalist countries.

However, those key points evaluation are varied among the researchers that different inclinations at the Dependency School are emerged at that dimension (Chilcotei, 1974; Manzo, 1991; Cardoso, 1972). At the first category, ECLA is representing a rightist trend that searches economic development of Latin America. Researchers propose that international economic system has an influential role at development process. The underdevelopment in Latin America is tied to traditional (the formation before capitalism) and feudal oligarchies. In that context, the solution to the problem is seen at import substitution policies and reformist national bourgeoisies (Ersoy, 1992: 119). Second inclination at Dependency School is the view of 'historical-structural' approach. Approach does not make a differentiation between peripheral nations and others; it takes them into same model by suggesting that different nations have different histories and structural relations, and at the national analysis those characteristics should be taken into account. Moreover, Cardoso (1972: 74) developed the concept of 'dependent development', and claimed that "dependency is not totally hindering development, and monopol capitalism and development are not contradictory terms". Lastly, third view is settling on the leftist views of Neo-Marxist scholars. In that context, Frank is an influential scholar that developed the term 'development of underdevelopment'. According to Frank (1966, 1969, 1972):

The only responsible mechanism of underdevelopment at the peripheral nations is the metropol nations and capitalist system. After peripheral nations started the commercial relations with central countries, they turned into a component of capitalist system. Now, those countries are the satellites, they are dependent to metropol centers. Dependency relation is the main reason of underdevelopment of those nations. The underdevelopment of those nations is not a situation before development.

At that point, Ersoy (1992: 120) determined the Neo-Marxist scholars' policy proposal as follows:

According to Neo-Marxist scholars, if the underdeveloped nations want to get rid of from underdevelopment, dependency and exploitation; they should break up the ties with metropol nations and start a rapid capital accumulation, development process with turning to their own internal dynamics.

Consequently, 'development of underdevelopment' is tried to be analyzed around the global scale. The striking point is at the relations of peripheral nations with metropol nations in capitalist system. However, Frank is not dealing with the internal dynamics of peripheral nations; scholar only accepts a similar existence of capitalism at metropol and peripheral nations in a same period. As a result, that kind of development evaluation leads to no additional benefit to the national and urban scale researches (Ersoy, 1992: 15).

II.2.5. Neo-Liberal Paradigm

At the categorization of Harvey and Reed, the scholars do not use the neo-liberal paradigm of poverty. However, that paradigm is vital for that research study, because thesis study has been settling on the criticism of the neo-liberal understanding of poverty and poverty alleviation. In this respect, Harvey's (2005: 64-67) clarifications related with neo-liberal theory and poverty elimination is influential; in his book entitled 'Brief History of Neoliberalism', he stated that:

According to neo-liberal theory, the neo-liberal state should favor strong individual private property rights, the rule of law, and the institutions of freely functioning markets and free trade. In that context, under the assumption of 'a rising tide lifts all boats', or of 'trickle down', neo-liberal theory holds that the elimination of poverty (both domestically and worldwide) can be best secured through free markets and free trade. Individual success or failures are interpreted in terms of entrepreneurial virtues or personal failings (such as not investing significantly enough in one's own human capital through education) rather than being attributed to any systematic property (such as the class exclusions usually attributed to capitalism).

At that point, theory emphasizes on the view that a largely unregulated capitalist system (a free market economy) does not only embody the ideal of free individual choice but also achieves optimum economic performance with respect to efficiency, economic growth, technical progress, and distributional justice (Kotz, 2000:1-2). At that poverty paradigm, social policy applications of state are evaluated as the policies that lead to deteriorations at the civil order, dependency of the poor and decrease at the labor force participation trend (Giddens, 2000: 22). In that context, most of the recommended neo-liberal policies are oriented to the integration of the impoverished to the labor force (Room, 1990 and Katz, 1992: 548-553). At that point, Ersoy and Şengül (2003: 1-2) clarified that:

Under the neo-liberal framework, state-centered solutions have been put aside, and multi-national organizations proposed that the poor sections should gain dynamism and be enabled in terms of social and economic aspects, with assuming that the social state made them dependent and lazy. At such a neo-liberal environment, poverty researches have been made by the help of multi-national organizations. At the center of those studies, the main concern has settled on the mobilization of the own resources and potentials of the impoverished.

As it is seen from the clarifications, poverty is mostly perceived as a market-based phenomenon and market system is determined as space of opportunities and possibilities. The impoverished are the individuals who have no ability to benefit from those market opportunities. The most important difference between classical economics and that view lies at the definition of the economic activity of the neo-liberal paradigm, which refers mostly the individuals and their subjective utilities. Classical economics has determined it by classes

and their interaction (Harvey and Reed, 1992: 279). At that framework, neo-liberal view perceives the problem as the source of individuals, meaning that poverty is caused from the individual deficiencies, and the most influential deficiency is the lack of human capital that leads to low productivity of the individual. In this regard, social policies that have the objective to provide protection against market within the context of social citizenship rights are replaced by ‘workfare programs’ for integrating the impoverished into the market (Rose, 1995 cited in Savaşkan, 2007: 4). At the alleviation of poverty, especially in less-developed countries workfare programs have been designed such as employability training programs and initiatives towards self-employment, as demonstrating the main reason of poverty with not integration of the poor to the labor market. Gray (1998) designated those programs as “market policies aimed at providing a competitive, efficient, and flexible labor market by increasing the supply of the worker with proposing a wage less than the market wage”. The solution proposal is clarified as the development of human capital in accordance with the needs of market economy. From the cultural sense, neo-liberals also advocated a negative sub-culture of poverty.

At that point, Harvey and Reed (1992: 280) clarified that:

The poor are upbraided on two accounts; economically, their productivity is marginal and because of that, they cannot effectively compete on open labor markets. Culturally, their way life impedes their chances of social mobility and stable job-holding. In each case, if poverty is to be eliminated, it is the poor, not the economic system as such, that must undergo radical change.

As it is seen from the clarifications, the policy proposal of neo-liberal view is oriented towards the development of human capital in the direction of the re-socialization of the impoverished.

II.3.6. Liberal-Conservative Approach

Liberal-Conservative approach has composed of philanthropic social understanding and social scientific discourse that have strong ties with neo-classical paradigm. Liberal-Conservative approach is inherited from the neo-classical paradigm. A similar understanding between liberal conservative and neo-classical approach based upon their suspicious view on state intervention, both view have accepted state intervention at combating poverty but in a limited sense.

Social science formation in theoretically and historically has great influence on poverty in the formation of a new understanding of poverty in administrative terms. A new

administrative vision of poverty intersects with the period of 1848 compatible with the rising demands of the impoverished sections of the society. A social point of view is emerged from the challenges of poverty concerning political and market rationality. In this respect, Procacci (1989: 166 cited in Açar, 2009: 61) stated that “some middle-road perspectives have been developed to find a solution within a non-judicial and non-economic way of handling with the impoverished problems”. At that framework, Procacci (2009: 61) defines philanthropic views as:

Philanthropy provided... set of principles for intervening in society. Without denying the individual's interest as the basis of the economic system, all philanthropic techniques elaborated a pragmatic reference to some kind of collective interest. But such collective interest did not lead to any social debt toward the poor, since philanthropy pointed in a moral community the rationale for interpreting poverty as a concern for the whole of society.

According to scholar, for an effective functioning of capitalist market economy, philanthropist solution paves the way for separating poverty problem from the labor, because economic market system choose free labor having no social protection. At that argument, the systematic solution to poverty problem is not perceived at reforming economic system, problem solution has been diverted to the non-economic dimension of the social field (Procacci 1989: 169 cited in Açar, 2009: 62).

At that point, social scientific discourse is the second fundamental component of that new understanding of poverty. Discourse has come out as to the incompatibility among market and juridical rationality concerning poor sections of the society. Poor laboring classes are announced as classes having a defective socialization that necessitates to be improved as to the needs of the capital accumulation process. Social scientific discourse has the target to de-politicize the contradiction between labor and capital, while doing this civil society has been redefined by using moral duties with promoting social cohesion. In this respect, state administrative formations are started to engage to that process with attributing moral duties rather than social policy right-based responsibilities. State-society relations have re-structured under the formation of philanthropist paradigm by moral values' empowerment and civil-social responsibility at combating poverty.

As it was seen from the clarifications, philanthropic perspective and social scientific discourse emphasize the importance of the issue of moral duty and collective responsibility of society (Açar, 2009: 65-66). In the light of this, Açar (2009: 65-66) clarified that:

Liberal-Conservative approach to poverty is influenced by these perspectives with respect to the empowerment of traditional-civil institutions for their collective responsibilities in poverty alleviation to maintain organic solidarity

without referring to a citizenship contract between state authorities and society in terms of social rights and freedoms. The ideological problematic of liberal-conservative paradigm is to find ways to sustain the social unity and solidarity when confronted with the disintegrative effects of capital accumulation and thereby to secure the conditions of profitable capital accumulation.

Moreover, Buğra (2008: 222-223) added the substantive principles of that approach as:

Liberal-Conservatism attributed a greater role to philanthropic based policies; religious based behaviours and institutions have grasped attention on that dimension. Family and religious based assistances are the indispensable elements of market economy. Society has been rediscovered but the newly formulated society is not a political society. At such an ideological environment, state and bureaucracy have still carrying negative connotations. So that, the main target at poverty alleviation is not calling the state to social based responsibilities rather formulating solution policies out of political will. At such a socio-political environment the main emphasis is not on social rights at combating poverty.

At securing the conditions of a well functioning market economy and profitable capital accumulation, public resources efficient usage problem come to the political agendas. Liberal-Conservative approach advocates decentralized poverty struggle and the poor assistance realization by voluntary organizations and local administrative bodies. Decentralization at the poor assistance came to the front side, municipalities and local administrative formations responsibilities have been augmented on that dimension. To recapitulate, at that point, while poverty alleviation responsibilities have been transferred from national to local scale, it has not taken into account that there is a contingent local variation at combating poverty stemmed from spatial contingency that affects how social mechanisms operate in practice (Duncan and Goodwin, 1988: 61). At the following part of the study, local authorities' emergence at combating poverty and their changing roles, responsibilities have been examined in detail in a historical perspective.

CHAPTER III

POVERTY ALLEVIATION POLICIES IN CAPITALIST FORMATIONS

III.1. Socio-Economic Transformations and Struggling Poverty

Poverty alleviation (reduction) policies formulated to seek to alleviate or eradicate not only the level of poverty and the negative impacts of poverty on the people's livelihoods, but also the percentage of people living in poverty by macro or micro level governments. Within the context of the research study, in that chapter, the efforts to reduce poverty within the socio-economic transformation of the capitalist system is discussed, especially with focusing on the local poverty interventions and policy proposals in detail. It can be hoped to see whether local administrations can provide systematic solutions for poverty alleviation or not. In this respect, while 'local poverty alleviation policies' have a priority to work for the study, firstly the definition of public policy is highlighted at struggling poverty and the taxonomy is given to analyze the influence of local administrations at poverty alleviation policies.

In that context, the word policy has different usages; at the research study, policy is not only used as an 'output' but also as an 'outcome'. Policy in terms of its outcome demonstrated us what is actually achieved. This distinction between output lies at its emphasizing the activities of government at the point of delivery is often slurred over, and it is sometimes difficult to make it practice. Policy outcomes may enable us to make assessment of whether the stated purpose of a policy appears to be what the policy is actually achieving (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984: 16-17). At that context, public policy is designated as follows:

A purposive course of action is followed by an actor or set of actors in dealing with a problem or matter of concern. Public policies are those policies developed by governmental bodies and officials. (James E. Anderson)

A set of interrelated decisions taken by a political actor or group of actors concerning the selection of goals and the means of achieving them within a specified situation where these decisions should, in principle, be within the power of actors to achieve. (W. J. Jenkins)

Public policy is whatever governments choose to do or not to do (Thomas R. Dye); Action or non-action is to response demands (Stuart H. Rakoff and Guenter F. Schaefer).

As it is seen from the clarifications, public policy is defined as “a course of action or inaction chosen by public authorities to address a given problem or interrelated set of problems” (Pal, 1989: 4). Besides, policy behaviour includes involuntary failures to act and deliberate decisions not to act. Such non-decision include circumstances in which a person or group, consciously or unconsciously, creates or reinforces barriers to the public airing of policy conflicts (Bachrach and Baratz, 1962 cited in Hogwood and Gunn, 1962: 19). As Hecló (1972) suggests that “a policy can consist of what is not being done”. Another critical peculiarity of public policy is related with its source which is governments or public authorities. What makes a public policy is not its impact but its source (Pal, 1989: 5). So within that dimension, at the research study, policy is analyzed as the actions and inactions which are chosen by local and central government.

At that point, the local authority has much more than administrative discretion. It is not only subordinate to departments of central government. The authority uses powers conferred on it by the national system of government but has the right to vary within limits its use of those powers particularly at policy formulations. The degree of variation differs from service to service, but in both the amount of resources devoted to services and in their form, there are important differences from one authority to another. Critically, poverty and poverty related policy formulations of local administrations also vary at each local administration. This variation is not accidental but inherent nature of local government. It derives from the exercise of local choice which marks local government off from local administration. The possibility of variation marks the significance of local authorities in the government of communities. The local authority can express or can shape the particularly of the locality (Stewart, 1983: 3).

In this regard, local variation is then built into the very nature of societies and their social mechanisms. This is particularly true for capitalism, for uneven development is a structurally based feature of its economic and social functioning, and in a capitalist world this will be the prime determinant of geographies at every scale, local as well as global (Duncan and Goodwin, 1988: 61-62). The origins of this local variation are another matter; it may partly reflect conscious political choices made at the local authority level (outside or inside the local authority itself). Partly it will just reflect existing patterns of need, or pre-existing decisions on delivery mode, service type, and spending. Centrally imposed financial systems are also partly responsible for creating local variations. However, whatever the cause, there is no doubt that there is considerable local authority variation in policy and service delivery, and this is connected to ‘socially uneven development’ in one way or another (Duncan and

Goodwin, 1988: 6-7). In this respect, the degree of variation differs from service to service and this variation is not accidental but inherent nature of local government (Stewart, 1983: 3). Critically, there is three-stage of hierarchy that local space makes a difference to social processes related with poverty alleviation. First two components of this hierarchy are settling on the distinction between contingent and necessary relations.

1. 'Contingent local variation' (where spatial contingency affects how social mechanisms operate in practice).
2. 'Causal local variation', (where the social mechanisms themselves are locally derived).
3. 'Locality effects' could occur (where a bundle of complementary and locally derived processes and outcomes produce some sort of local social system) (Duncan and Goodwin, 1988: 61).

In this context, local authorities cannot provide general and systematic poverty alleviation policies because of contingent local variation. Moreover, within the context of the study, poverty alleviation policies are categorized under Cockburn's (1977) typology (to examine the contingent local variation among local authorities in terms of poverty related policies and service delivery) which provides a useful framework for analyzing the role of the local administrations in constructing taxonomy of key functions as follows;

Sustenance of private production and capital accumulation

- a) Through the provision of necessary non-productive urban infrastructure (e.g. road development)
- b) By aiding the reorganization and restructuring of production in space (e.g. planning and urban renewal)
- c) Through the provision of investment in 'human capital' (e.g. education in general)
- d) Through 'demand orchestration' (Holland, 1975) (e.g. local authority public works contracts)

Reproduction of labor power through collective consumption

- a) By means of the material conditions of existence (e.g. low rent local authority housing)
- b) By means of cultural conditions of existence (e.g. libraries, museums, recreation parks)

Maintenance of order and social cohesion

- a) Through the means of coercion (e.g. police)

b) Through the support of the ‘surplus population’ (e.g. social services and other welfare support services such as temporary accommodation)

c) Through support of the agencies of legitimation (e.g. schools, social work, public participation)

Table 3.1. Local State¹⁹ Social Assistance Typologies

Local State Social Assistance Typologies	<i>Sustenance of private production and capital accumulation</i>	<i>Reproduction of labor power through collective consumption</i>	<i>Maintenance of order and social cohesion</i>
	Human Capital	Material Condition of Existence ²⁰	Support of vulnerable population
	Training Programs	Cash Aid	Disabled, Women, Elderly, Children Assistances
	Capacity Generation Courses	Kind Aid; Heat, nourishment, health, transportation, house cleaning and maintenance	Centers for Vulnerable
			Cash and Kind Aid

²¹

By the help of that typology, case studies local policy variations can be analysed partly by those social assistance typologies. With that taxonomy, the similar and different applications of local administrations at combating poverty are evaluated by making comparisons among case provinces. However, at the research study that taxonomy is only a component of the demonstration of the local variations, deep interview (with local and central government officials) and the survey study methods are the other grounds of that analysis.

At that chapter of the study, poverty alleviation policies in capitalist formations have been analysed with the launch of poverty phenomenon by capitalism. Within the context of the socio-economic transformations in the world-wide, prior to welfare state period, welfare state golden age period and neo-liberal periods have been searched in terms of central and local governments’ poverty alleviation initiatives. Each period’s poverty dynamic (rural-

¹⁹ For details, see, Cockburn, Cynthia, 1977, Pluto: London. The Local State, Local state defined as; local government becomes the local state as part of a whole, where the whole, the capitalist state, is a relatively autonomous instrument of class domination, thus allowing it to manage social and economic reproduction above the competing demands of different fractions of capital but in the interest of capital as a whole. The local state plays its part in this process of reproduction through the detailed management of family and institution locally, and so differs institutionally, but not socially from the nation state.

²⁰ At that categorization type, cash and kind assistances have been provided for the working poor, but at the maintenance of order and social cohesion, these services are mostly oriented towards the poor.

²¹ That taxonomy has been used at the evaluation of the questionnaire’s responses at case provinces of Aydın, Denizli and Muğla.

urban), fundamental poverty related formations and institutions have been deeply analysed. In this respect, local administrations' emergence as a pivot actor at struggling poverty and the changing nature of urban poverty as new urban poverty has been searched under new urban politics at the research study.

III.1.1. Prior to Welfare State Period

Prior to industrialization phase by the 1880 onwards, the civil society (family and community), religious institutions, voluntary organizations, professional associations, and mutual aid foundations provided social welfare services to the poor in an informal way. At that period, people's requirements and expectations were not at a high level that until the start of the industrialization period, social based tasks were largely fulfilled by those formations (Özdemir, 2007: 107). In that context, in most of the nations, particularly in western nations, during the traditional social policy period, church played a central role in coping with social problems. Especially in Middle Ages, charitable organizations such as patient homes, soup kitchens, and monasteries were the basic aid agencies of the community, which were founded by church (Güzel and Okur, 1990: 16-17). Besides, in Middle Ages, at the society, moral values were dominant that gaining extreme fortune perceived as not good by the society. In this sense, peoples' spending for social services mostly rose their reputation that social-target based charitable expenditures was quite a lot during that period.

Critically, *modern poverty* phenomenon peculiar to capitalism emerged during the 16th Century in Europe. That period had confronted with the transition of traditional agricultural societies, and that process was leading to spatial mobility which originating uncertainties and unrest. At such an environment, in comparison to the previous periods, poverty nature had changed in livability and perceivment terms (Buğra, 2008: 24). Today, the way we discussed poverty as a social and also as an economic problem is linked to the emergence of capitalism at the 16th Century in Europe. In Geremek's (1994) clarifications:

In Middle Ages at European agricultural civilization, the existence of the poor was survived with alms that not initiating any social uneasiness and discomfort; on the contrary the vulnerable have a specific social function by their taking alms from the elite group of the society.

In that context, the poor had provided the welfare for the souls of the rich; beggary and benevolence were the fundamental parts of that social order. However, in the early modern age, poverty conceptualization demonstrated a change in the attributed social role to the impoverished. The facts of poverty was started to be explained by not integrating to labor

market and in the 16th Century begging had no gained warm reception within the capitalist labor centered value system (Buğra, 2008: 25). The effort at integrating the impoverished to the labor market was strengthened at early capitalist value system. At the poverty alleviation argument that period is limited with supporting and legitimizing the existed order by seeing human being as labor and the prevention of beggary and benevolence are the basic tools at combating poverty (Buğra, 2008: 26). By the 16th Century onwards, in addition to church's dominant role at social policies, state founded institutions started to deal with social and economic problems. For the first time, public power was used for social target based issues and on that direction at various periods 'Poor Laws' had been started to be enforced (Çalışkan, 2001: 24). In this respect, The Poor Law application introduced by Queen Elizabeth in 1601, and it can be emphasized as the first law at the provision of social support to specific groups (the elderly and the ill health people), except soldiers. Previously, there were also some other laws dated 1388 with a similar name of 'Poverty Law', however, the main purpose of that law was dealing with the plague occurred in the potential labor shortage. Under the scope of the law, it was stated that people who need help can be placed to 'house of correction'. At the context of that related Act, government responsibility was highlighted clearly at poverty problem and public power gained liability at ensuring the economic well-being of individuals (Özdemir, 2007: 141). Law also included items referring that beggars who are able to work must be forced to employ at light works and imprisonment penalty must be given of those who refuse to work. Besides at the Law context, it is emphasized that to help beggars has to be prohibited, lastly the elderly, the blind, the deaf, the disabled and the women with children if unable to work have to be hosted at 'Almshouse' (Ersöz, 2003: 8).

Furthermore, the 16th Century 'alms reform' was not ignorant to the labor market necessities but the prior target was protecting cities from the impoverished. At that term 'workhouses' established with the aim of the healthy poors' sheltering and working. Those institutions object was not only production but discipline and decency for the treatment of moral decay of the poor through employment. Later a more systematic and rational effort came with a new approach towards the poor at the last period of the 17th Century. That approach was emphasizing the need for reform concerning the institutions employed the impoverished. John Bellars at the end of the 17th Century and Jeremy Bentham until the beginning of the 19th Century are the main supporters of that new approach on poverty.

However, at the last period of the 18th Century with Industrial Revolution and the subsequent free market economy conditions, 'New Poor Act' (1834) was enacted in England. Previous

poor act had ruled more than 200 years but industrialization came out earlier in England compared to other countries with affecting community badly in economic terms. The transition in economic and philosophical thought let the enactment of that new 'Poverty Law'. The main principle of that Law was including a more powerful 'income test' to the system and it had the target of refraining from the provision of poor assistance to the impoverished (Koray, 2003: 95). During that period, the effect of Adam Smith and free-market economy was obvious (Özdemir, 2004: 142). In this regard, 'New Poor Act' was undisputed a victory for the 19th Century liberals, earlier Poor Acts were settling upon the creation of tight steps to strengthen social rights of the poor but the new Law was focusing on to assist the poor by taking away the civil rights in their hands (Marshall, 1964: 56). In this sense, Liberal-Conservative approach which has been examined in detail at study's theoretical framework is based on refusing 'social right' concept and its typical sample can be found at the approach of Alexis de Tocqueville. 'At Memoirs on Pauperism' published in 1812, Tocqueville (1997) clarified that:

Poverty in England was a more serious problem because of the heavy poor assistances, state assistance has oriented people to laziness and parasitism; moreover, social assistance paves the way for fragmentation of family ties and rejection of people to assist their relatives.

In spite of the 'Poor Act', during the 19th Century, social based policies started to emerge by the launch of industrialization and capitalist transitional mode of production. At that phase, urbanization had an accelerating dynamic and in political dimension working class started to gain political consciousness. In particular, the previous term's social assistance institutions (family and charity organizations) could not meet the demands of the impoverished that new institutions necessity came to the front side to meet such requirements. At that point, traditional social welfare agencies could not respond to meet the needs of health care and work injuries of the labor working at the urban scale (Koray, 2003: 95). By the weakening of traditional social protection mechanisms and also the change at family structure concerning fragmentation of family ties, particularly at industrialized nations, most of the social based responsibilities have been taken over by the state (Güloğlu, 1998: 36). However, at the age of industrialization, the state had been following the liberal philosophy by not intervening to market economy for ensuring the development of trade and industry and preferred to remain passive at social based problems. Absolute freedom, such as personal and political rights are the foregrounds of this period but with the rise at the poverty statistics, it led to criticisms that material foundations of social welfare state started to emerge (Bulut, 2001: 3).

At the liberal economic order based on the principle of free competition, it is assumed that individuals have pursuing their own interest which resulted in the interest of the society, that social stability and prosperity would be provided in such a framework. However, while the number of people living in great prosperity increased, it was also observed that the number of people who have been living in poverty also rose to a remarkable degree (Çalışkan, 2001: 187). Besides, while production and welfare statistics increased with industrial revolution whole sections of the society could not benefit from that prosperity. Natural law of liberal philosophy rejecting state intervention in economy cannot produce the expected solutions to the problems arising in system. As a result, interventionist state approach came out with the assumption that market cannot adjust itself that state has to ensure full employment and participate to the economic system for a balanced development of economic and social life.

In this regard, social based policies applications have been started to be submitted since the early 1870s and for the first time at the beginning of 1880s, Bismarck imposed 'social security regulation' in Germany. Social policies applications were spreaded to surrounding countries; most importantly, at United Kingdom in 1908, social security system began related to illness and unemployment, and a new social security system initiated by the preparation of Beveridge Report (Dilnot, 2003: 2-3). After the Great Economic Depression in 1929, the liberal state was started to be seen as a failure. Besides, economic crisis in US spreaded to the economies of other countries and to avoid the problems of unemployment and poverty, interventionist Keynesian economy began to be pursued with full employment and Keynesian demand management policies (Sözer, 1994). Consequently, prior to the welfare state applications; at poverty alleviation dynamic, there has been no systematic local based poverty policy formulation at the local administrative framework, the domination is at individual, philanthropic values, and state responsibilities were changed by the enforced several 'Poor Acts'.

III.1.2. Welfare State and Poverty Alleviation

Capitalism crisis in the history of the 1929 was ground-breaking at ending the guiding rule of 'every supply creates its own demand'. Classical liberalism design of economic and social order did not give the expected results in real life, free competition in market economy replaced by monopolies and contradictions. In that context, US national income fell by one third between the years 1929-1933; millions of people lost their jobs. With World Economic Depression, then World War II, most of the nations came up with the abandoning of the classical paradigm that has the view of markets adjust in the long term. Assumption is turned towards governments needed to play a role in regulating and developing their economies and

laissez faire paradigm could not operate with only an invisible hand. At that point, De Regil (2001: 3) emphasized that “it was now the belief that a real hand needed to serve as a countervailing element to control its cycles and any speculative abuses”. In this regard, ‘Keynesianism’ comes to the front side that provides the expansion of welfare services and policies, particularly at European nations. Welfare state becomes an instrument at the formulation of macro-economic policies, such as at investments in health, education, transformation, and communication (Mullard and Spicker, 1998: 18-23).

The similar point for whole nations was the key role of state at the accumulation process and the difference lies at while at the developed countries, state takes the responsibility of the orientation of the capital resulting from over-accumulation, underdeveloped countries faced with limited capital accumulation problem (Harvey, 1985). After those clarifications, it is beneficial to put forth the link with welfare state and poverty alleviation by a brief definition of welfare state; Briggs (1961, 1999) determined welfare state with those words:

It is a category of state, consciously used for the organized public power for alleviating the roles of market powers; functioning around those three principal elements; a guarantee of minimum standards, including an income guarantee for individuals and households; social protection in the event of insecurity to recover the social risks (illness, unemployment etc.); the provision of social welfare services.

By welfare state applications; economic stability, welfare-social security or social assistance programs gained universal character and strengthened their institutional foundations that have a critical role at the alleviation of poverty. In this respect, Marshall (1970 cited in Roche, 1992: 99) clarified that:

Welfare state is developed as an output of the searches towards social justice; in other terms the development of welfare state is reflecting the change from the state that not intervening to the natural functioning of free market, individual rights and freedoms, to the state that taking over responsibility at meeting the minimum necessities of society that development of welfare state civilized capitalism.

In this sense, in the analysis of Keynesian theory at the evaluation of poverty in detail, Keynesian Welfare State Model (KWSM)’s key determinants can be designated as follows:

-Among the formal organizations of various scales, the level of nation state was considered to be the dominant scale. Local and regional authorities have been functioning as the main transmission belts for national economy and social policies.

-International market economy is evaluated as nothing more than the financial and commercial flows among various national economies. Demand management of Keynesian economics has a critical role at recovering the instability and economic booms at market-

economy. At the alleviation of poverty and unemployment, state takes over responsibility by money, tax, and income transfer policies. Local and regional economies are adopted as sub-units of national economies by ignoring inter-regional diversities and differences (Jessop, 2005: 308). As it was clearly seen that nation state has a pure responsibility at combating poverty.

- State intervention to market economy has two objectives; firstly the provision of economic development, by full-employment with softening labor-employer relations via the social welfare programs and controlling labor market (negotiation between labor and capital for relieving social unrest), secondly realization of infrastructure, housing, and transportation investments, provision of basic social services to whole society and development of income transfer policies related to under classes. Briefly, at the provision of social welfare related with poverty reduction, state decisive functions can be listed as follows;

- i. Assistancess to the impoverished,
- ii. Ensuring the welfare of individual in the fields of education and health,
- iii. Provision of full-employment,
- iv. Nationalization of basic industrial branches such as energy, telecommunication, transportation, and infrastructure,
- v. Fair taxation (progressive taxation) of inequalities at the distribution of income as an output of free-market and provision of social insurance system to protect whole society from the risks.
- vi. Application of positive discrimination programs to the children, youth, women, immigrants, and minorities (Sallan Gül, 2006: 150; Tuna and Yalçıntaş, 1988: 129).

Social based applications of Keynesian Welfare State, critical at the alleviation of poverty, are composed of social insurance service programs and methods that publicly provided and transfer payments. Social security or social insurance system is an influential ingredient at the institutionalization of Keynesianism. In that context, the basic principle that forms Keynesian welfare state is the supporting of welfare agenda with economic, political, and administrative programs. Welfare state is transformed into a public power, with the designation of a wide-spread consensus area by its three important components. Firstly, *a minimum income* is guaranteed with not taking into account the individuals or households estate ownership and economic value of their professional gainings. Secondly, state has targeting to *provide insurances* concerning the risks towards ill health, disability, unemployment, and old age with the most qualified standards without making any discrimination related to class and statute. Those services have universal character, the quantity of assistance, its provisions and conditions are defined by law. Prior to Keynesian

period, those assistances were provided by regional or voluntary organizations with not taking charge from school education, provision of free book and fellowships, and delivery of free-meal (Barr and Coulter, 1991: 276).

Moreover, developed and developing nations' social assistance fields and tools at poverty struggle during Keynesian welfare state period can be (Trattaner, 1994; Jones, 1991; Talas, 1980: 328) listed as follows;

- i. Free-health assistance and care,
- ii. Private and public services for the epidemic illnesses care,
- iii. Special services for the widows and the orphans,
- iv. Provision of shelter for the poor, the orphans and the poor children,
- v. Spreading education to whole society and turned it to be a free-service,
- vi. Family allowances,
- vii. Consultation and other assistance services for the elderly, the disabled, the unemployed and the immigrants (Talas, 1980: 352).

After the clarification of that general outlook mostly concerning national and local scale, in capturing the urban poverty and urban poverty alleviation; urban development and the local policy initiatives of welfare state period will also be analyzed. At that point, Şengül, (2004b: 190-191) clarified that:

Urban areas, cities are the fields of collective consumption (Investments at education, health, housing and transportation have an influence at the determination of urban spaces around those services.) At the center of urban development, there is the labor power reproduction and in developed countries the organization of that process is realized by welfare state but in underdeveloped countries that responsibility is left to local groups because of state's limited intervention to the urban area. At the other side, underdeveloped nations faced with under-investment problem at the urban areas due to the limited capital accumulation problem. Resources are firstly oriented towards industrialization that creates problems at the allocation of resources to urban infrastructure and collective consumption.

Local authorities' strength was also different in developed and developing nations at the poverty alleviation process. At the developed countries, state's sensitive intervention to the urban area led to the strengthening of local state. The provision of education, health, housing services at the urban area created the necessity of the organization of local state. Furthermore, Şengül (2004b: 192) added that:

Local state became an important part of the central government but most of the scholars have the idea that economic strength is not diverted to the political field. However, in *underdeveloped countries*, the limited intervention of state to the urban area resulted with the underdevelopment of local state at the economic

field. That period was the time of rapid industrialization that increased the urban poor's pressure on local governments so that conflictual relations occurred between local and central governments. By the effect of those conflicts, local administrations became important actors at political arena.

To sum up, according to most supporters of the welfare state, one of its chief benefits is evaluated as poverty reduction (Goodin *et al.*, 1999). By redistributing income from the well-off to the poor, social welfare programs help to raise the incomes of some households above the poverty line. However, at the theoretical part, as it was explained at Conservative view of poverty, there are also scholars having the belief that welfare assistances and policies lead to the dependency of the impoverished by impeding their integration to the labor market.

III.1.2.1. Welfare State Crisis

For the first time, welfare state basic assumptions have started to be questioned with the 1973 oil crisis. Crisis emerged as to the excessive debt of US to other countries by its high level of military spending and its unilateral leaving declaration from Keynesian international gold standard. In that context, fixed exchange rate regime integrated with economic stagnation and unemployment rised in connection with inflation as a result of the increase of oil prices at the OPEC countries. New economic formation entitled as 'stagflation' (Köymen, 2007: 48-49). A positive outcome cannot be captured by Keynesian economic policies that 1973 crisis followed by 1976 crisis in the same way. By the 1980s onwards, neo-liberalism came out, which is characterized mostly by abolishment of market control, trade liberation, and withdrawal from public sector (Arnowitz, 1994: 17-19).

In this sense, at the evaluation of nation state crisis, there have been lots of views but the dominant stand point is related with economic intervention of welfare state. According to that view, in accordance with the ever-increasing social needs that have resulted with high levels of public spending, the rate of increase at total production stayed behind that expenditure. At the finance of public spending; the tax and borrowing rise let to the budget deficit that the crisis is emphasized as state's financial crisis (Rosanvallon, 2004: 15; Sönmez, 2005: 8).

III.1.3. Neo-Liberal Period and Poverty Alleviation

After the end of welfare state with the collapse of the golden age, governments' *social expenditure pies* increased at their national budgets; and it was evaluated as the weakening competition power of nations (SPO, 2001: 12). Those nations oriented to restrict and to

cutback their social welfare spendings, and to develop new policies to enhance their budgets. All attentions turned towards public expenditures, especially on social spending, and a new tendency emerged from institutional welfare state towards the residual one (Kuhnle and Alestalo, 2000: 3). At such a socio-economic context, neo-liberalism covering overall economic policies that meet the demands and the needs of capital, as an alternative of Keynesian welfare state policies, came to the front side after 1980. Neo-liberalism finds a wide effective field, by dwelling upon the primacy of individualism, market liberalism and outward orientation.

As in the direction of neo-liberalism for the profit of the capital; all kinds of social, administrative, and legal restrictions were abolished. In that context, Harvey's (2005: 7-16) contention concerning neo-liberalism is influential for setting up the bridge with capitalism and neo-liberalism:

We are witnessing, through this process of neoliberalisation, the deepening penetration of capitalism into political and social institutions as well as cultural consciousness itself. Neoliberalism is the intensification of the influence and dominance of capital; it is the elevation of capitalism, as a mode of production, into an ethic, a set of political imperatives, and a cultural logic. It is also a project: a project to strengthen, restore, or, in some cases, constitute a new the power of economic elites. Neoliberalism is not simply an ethic in abstracto, however. Rather, the locus for its influence has become the 'neoliberal state', which collapses the notion of freedom into freedom for economic elites. The freedoms it embodies reflect the interests of private property owners, businesses, multinational corporations and financial capital. Neoliberalisation was from the very beginning a project to achieve the restoration of class power.

Moreover, Harvey (2005: 11) designated the neo-liberal state with those clarifications; "the neoliberal state defends the new reach and depth of capital's interests and it is defined against the embedded liberalism of the several decades following World War II". At such a socio-economic context, economic roles of state are determined as defining property rights, enforcing contracts, and regulating the money supply. Besides, there have been also suspicious views concerning the intervention of state to correct market failures; it is assumed that state intervention can create more problems than it solves (Kotz, 2000: 1-2). In that context, the policy recommendations of neoliberalism include deregulation of business, privatization of public activities and assets, elimination of/ or cutbacks in social welfare programs, reduction of taxes on businesses, increase at efficiency and productivity (Harvey, 2005: 67-68).

After those clarifications, for a comprehensive analysis of poverty alleviation, the term covering from 1980s to 1990s onwards has been analyzed by First and Second Generation

Structural Reforms of Bretton Woods' institutions²² within the context of neo-liberalism. By the 1980 onwards, First Generation of Structural Reforms or economic-financial liberation wave emerged, targeted towards reduction of the responsibility and functioning area of state. Economic and political tools of reform are *deregulation* and *privatization*. Besides, during the 1990s, Second Generation Structural Reforms or political and administrative liberation wave came to the agenda under the mottos of *enabling state* and *governance*.

Transformation's first period began in the 1980s carried on to the late 1990s in line with the SAPs' economic and financial liberalization policies,²³ that term is mostly defined as *First Generation Structural Reforms wave* (Köse, 1990: 38). At neo-liberal political economy the notion was based on '*minimal state*' confined with securing law and order, macro-economic stability, and the provision of physical infrastructure (Öniş and Şenses, 2003: 1-2). Weak economic performance clarified as the fault of heavy state interventionism and multinational agencies emphasized that market should be liberated from the controls and interventionism of public sectors under the reform process. At that context, Öniş and Şenses (2003: 3) emphasized that:

The central tenet of neo-liberal thinking based upon 'Washington Consensus' having universal policy proposal of was to pursue a systematic program of decreasing state involvement in the economy through trade liberalization, privatization and reduced public spending, freeing key relative prices such as interest rates and exchange rates and lifting exchange controls.

Moreover, state transformation under neo-liberalism is dictated under the guise of debt management to the less developed countries. IMF and WB loans since the 1980s have a common function of providing economic and financial discipline of the under-developed and developing nations' economies. Multi-national organizations target is not only the provision of credit but adapting economies of those countries to the changing conditions. Basic policy reforms were applied by multi-national corporations under their declared target as assisting developing countries at overcoming crisis by granting credits to them conditionally. SAPs are mostly submitted as a result of import substitution industrial regimes governments' faults, on the perception that government interventions to market mechanism must be reduced for recovering those failures (Hayami, 2003: 3). At that point, liberalization of market, export promotion, cutbacks in government spending, privatization of public

²² The Bretton Woods Institutions are the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). <<http://www.brettonwoodsproject.org/item.shtml?x=320747>>.

²³ For details, see, Ercan, Fuat, 2003, "Neoliberal Orman Yasalarından Kapitalizmin Küresel Kurumsallaşma Sürecine Geçiş: Hukuk-Toplum İlişkileri Çerçevesinde Türkiye'de Yapısal Reformlar", İktisat, 437den aktaran; Ümit Sönmez, "Kamu Yönetimi Temel Kanunu Tasarısı", AÜSBF Tartışma Metinleri, Vol 60, November 2003, p. 33.

enterprises, reduction of bureaucracy came to the developing nations' agendas (Ellwood, 2002: 45; Güler, 2005: 83).

Most of the developing countries are urged to adopt policies covering economic restructuring and liberalization of institutional formations by multi-national organizations. In this regard, Harvey clarified that (2005: 7):

Since degree of neo-liberalisation was increasingly taken by IMF and WB as a measure of good business climate, the pressure on all states to adopt neoliberal reforms ratcheted upwards. The general progress of neo-liberalisation has therefore been increasingly impelled through mechanisms of 'uneven geographical development'. Successful state or regions put pressure on everyone else to follow their lead. Leapfrogging innovations put this or that state, region or even city in the vanguard of capital accumulation. However, the competitive advantages all often prove ephemeral, introducing an extraordinary volatility into global capitalism. Gradual reductions in trade barriers created competitive pressures that resulted in subtle process of what might be called 'creeping neo-liberalization' even countries resistant to it.

Governments abolished their interventionist development policies and adopted new policies in related with the fragmentation of interventionist formation and privatization of state economic enterprises that need subvention. Furthermore, the accumulated debt problem of developing economies urged them to grasp more pie by the help of export strategies at the global market (Keyder, 2004: 34). However, those policies raised the rate of poverty at developing nations, and those nations faced with financial burden of debt. Nation states' diminished role and power at economic and social dimensions complicated the condition of the vulnerable individuals and groups' livelihoods, particularly at developing nations. Insufficiencies of the impoverished at infrastructure, education, health, housing services and employment opportunities were stemmed mostly from excessive foreign debt and neo-liberal economic system (Chossudovsky, 1999: 15-16).

At that point Ersoy and Şengül (2001: 9, 2003: 1) clarified that:

At the deepening of poverty in this era, neo-liberal policies that have been imposed to less-developed countries by WB and IMF have an influential role. WB and IMF technically shape the poverty problem's context, determination and its acquired dimensions around their own interests and propose the tools to alleviate poverty with the target of not the politicization of the problem. In that context, nation states' social state nature has been rapidly eliminating, and as a part of those policies unemployed working class has been deprived from education, health, transportation and unemployment assistances of the state.

At that transformative process, the labor lost their privileges and powers, and it led to the origination of the inclusion and exclusion dialectic. At that period, neo-liberal policies implementation entails the deterioration of living standards of the impoverished, inequality

at the distribution of income and widening of the income disparities between the poor and the non-poor. In this respect, not only formal employment opportunities and real-wages have diminished; but also achievements at social security and pension rights were dissolved at that socio-political environment (Keyder, 2004: 35-36).

At the golden period of SAPs covering the term from 1987 to 1996, in Sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America, the number of the people living below the poverty line increased by one third (World Bank, *World Development Report 2000/2001*: 23). Most of neo-liberal policies enacted are not leading to material welfare and improvement for the impoverished (Şenkal, 2005: 401). Period is mostly regarded as a lost decade owing to the economic growth problems and social based concerns with the cutbacks at social spending.²⁴ By Washington Consensus under SAPs, it is hoped for a trickle down effect mainly for poverty reduction by the help of economic development and growth, but dissatisfaction and public impatience came afterwards. ‘Washington Consensus’ was short-lived and it began to be questioned during the early 1990s. In this regard, Hayami (2003: 5) determined the criticisms as follows:

Latin American economies were not able to sustain economic growth after their recovery from the Debt Crisis; that East Asian economies were plunged into crisis in the late 1990s due to a major disruption in regional financial markets; and, that SAP had failed to achieve economic growth and reduced poverty in low-income economies, especially in Africa.

Furthermore, multi-national corporations applied programs depending upon the restriction of social services increased poverty rates of the groups who need social service provision during the period of crisis. Consequently, trust towards global multi-national corporations diminished owing to the increase at poverty rates. After Asian crisis, most of the countries put forward the proposal that “international financial system should be re-structured under the target of provision of human development” (Selamoğlu, 2000: 47-48). A noticeable shift appeared at the policy focus of key Bretton Woods institutions in the 1990s onwards, away from a hard-core neo-liberalism, to a new kind of synthesis designated as ‘*Post-Washington Consensus*’ (Öniş and Şenses, 2003: 14). According to Post-Washington Consensus, Öniş and Şenses (2003: 16) clarified that:

Symmetry is established by noting that states are important for the effective functioning of markets but also markets or market-like mechanisms are important for effective functioning of state themselves. There is a clear

²⁴For details, see, Basseterre, St. Kitts and Nevis, 2002. The Impact of Structural Adjustment on the Poor, Paper prepared for the Eastern Caribbean Central Bank Seventh Annual Development Conference, <[http://www.caribank.org/titanweb/cdb/webcms.nsf/AllDoc/082CC59DA21706B004_25741E00535A3A/\\$File/StrucAdj\[1\].pdf](http://www.caribank.org/titanweb/cdb/webcms.nsf/AllDoc/082CC59DA21706B004_25741E00535A3A/$File/StrucAdj[1].pdf)>.

recognition that the international economy during the recent era fails to provide a sufficiently attractive environment for development.

Within the context of Second Generation Structural Reforms, as the advanced stage of neo-liberal state project, a new package is provided for countries that are still in need of debt due to the financial shortage. At that stage, global capitalism started to be institutionalized at nation states and it entered into the second wave of structural reforms or political and administrative liberation wave (Güler, 2003: 1).

IMF and WB in this period have increased their impact at the political and administrative formations of nation states. Minimal state assumption of deregulation period at First Generation Structural reforms is transformed to the notion of 'enabling state'. State's new formation can be captured from WDR 1997 with those clarifications:

Development -economic, social, and sustainable- without an effective state is impossible. It is increasingly recognized that an effective state -not a minimal one- is central to economic and social development, but more as partner and facilitator than as director. States should work to complement markets, not replace them (WB, 1997: 18).

Besides, by the emergence of second reform process, a new administrative model is suggested as 'governance' generally defined as:

The sum of many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, to manage their common affairs. It is an evolving process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and cooperative action may be taken. It includes formal institutions and regimes empowered to enforce compliance, as well as informal arrangements that people and institutions either have agreed to or perceive to be in their interest (Sala, 2001: 1).

One other meaning of governance is designated as 'administration without government'. Rosenau (1992: 13) emphasized that the new governing type argument puts forth relation between equalities rather than hierarchy at bureaucracy, the ruled and ruling. Administration without government set up the fundamental basis for the argument that there is a crucial differentiation at the meanings of governance and government. According to that assumption, while government includes formal and legal functions and processes, governance defines a governing type based on informal relational networks (Rosenau, 2003). New administrative model is focusing upon the provision of a fragmented and decentralized political power model at the nation-state level, and at the international scale it presents the centralization of global capital at the hands of the international formations and regional blocks (Bayramoğlu, 2005). At that context, Güzelsarı (2008: 73) has set up the linkage between governance and neo-liberal reforms with those clarifications:

Neo-liberal reforms have been raised over 'governance model' with the redefinition of power relations related with political decision-making process. By that new administrative model, the capitalist sections of the society can take the possibility of direct intervention at the formulation of decisions.

Besides, by governance; participation, decentralization, localization, accountability, civic engagement, transparency principles²⁵ are entered into the poverty alleviation discourse; mainly let to the transition of lots of responsibilities (concerning also poverty) to local administrations. Moreover, another peculiarity of second-wave reform under Post-Washington Consensus is related with poverty reduction. It is started to designate as an objective of development assistance. Trickle-down approach cannot bring the hoped benefit at poverty alleviation particularly at equity concerns that non-market instruments started to engage as social and human dimension of adjustment at struggling poverty. In this sense, empowerment and participation of the poor become one of the main pillars of that new approach (Hayami, 2003: 21). New paradigm's reflection can be found in *WDR 2000, at Attacking Poverty Report*. Poverty reduction is mostly evaluated by human development terms. Report generally proposes an effective 'Poverty Reduction Strategy' comprises three areas of action which complement each other for attacking poverty in three ways:

1. Promoting opportunity; along with jobs, loans, roads, electricity, water and health services, there is a need to provide a market where the poor can sell their products. At the same time, inequality should be reduced and the government should make attempts to support assets like human and land sub-investments.
2. Facilitating empowerment; making government institutions more sensitive and accountable towards the poor; increasing the participation of the poor in the political process and local decision-making mechanisms; and removing the social obstacles originating from sex, ethnicity, race and social status differences.
3. Enhancing security; reducing the vulnerability of the poor to economic shocks, natural disasters, health problems and violence; encouraging investment in human capital as a requirement for increasing security; developing mechanisms to reduce the risks faced by the poor; and generating security mechanisms to increase the power of the poor to cope with risks (World Bank, 2000/01: 6-7, 32, 38-40). Additionally, the Report pays attention to the increasing public spending on the poor, expanding basic social and economic services, ensuring good quality in public service by good governance, institutional quality and participation of poor people in decision making processes, fighting corruption, and promoting decentralization.

²⁵ For details, see, Toksöz, Fikret, 2008, Good Governance> Improving Quality of Life, TESEV Publications.

III.2. Local Governments' Changing Role at Combating Poverty

By *neo-liberalism* and its hegemonic expression of globalization, state has been re-structured under the logic of new political and administrative process, and started to transfer its powers downwards to the local administrations with the new notion on state as 'enabling state' and the new administrative model of governance with its principles of decentralization, participation and localization. Besides, there has no one-sided power transition; a two-way process has occurred within the geographical scaffolding of state territoriality that led to the fragmentation of national and regional boundaries (Brenner, 1999: 435). At that context, Jessop (1993, 1997) argues that:

Changes in economy and technology are contributing to re-structuring of the state. The expectation is that economic and political power is shifting upward to supra-national institutions, outward to transnational networks of cities and downward to urban and regional scales.

Brenner (1999: 442) also added that:

With the re-scaling of territoriality; state powers transferred upwards to supra-national agencies, to EU, IMF, WB (Outside-in) started to play more direct role in regulation and restructuring of its internal territorial spaces, devolving its' powers to downwards towards state regional and local levels (Inside-out).

As it is seen from the clarifications, there has been a restructuring process, and decentralization is a tool at the transition of both powers and responsibilities from national to local governments. This has resulted in reduced state intervention and public expenditure in cities and regions, and a greater emphasis is given on local authority and management (Painter, 1998: 294). Local state is now confronted with lots of responsibilities at combating poverty. However, Harvey (2002a: 63-65) in his work of 'Spaces of Hope' emphasized that:

None of this mean that the nation state has been 'hollowed out', to make the contemporary wave of neo-liberalism work, the state has to penetrate even more deeply into certain segments of political-economic life and become in some ways even more interventionist.

In this regard, decentralization takes its place at poverty alleviation especially at the institutional reforms in developing countries. Decentralization, as one of tool of the governance, captured a vital support from multinational organizations, multilateral (WB, UN, USAID) and bilateral donor agencies, and lead to the emergence of local authorities as a new actor at combating poverty (Work, 2002). At that point, local administrations' possible advantages listed by the proponents of the decentralized poverty struggle by those clarifications listed below;

- Local administrations could gradually develop a comparative advantage in the promotion of effective poverty reduction strategies, because governments become closer to the governed both spatially and institutionally, government will be more knowledgeable about and responsive to the needs of the people (Peterson, 1994).
- In terms of efficiency, a decentralized administration in comparison to national governments is more accessible, more sympathetic and quicker to respond to local needs (Faguet and Sanchez, 2006)²⁶, and it can improve the efficiency of urban investment through involvement of local knowledge and choice (K. Davey, cited in Devas and Rakodi, 1993).
- Local governments can be held accountable, they have the obligation to respond to public questions regarding to their decision-making processes and actions, and the right of citizens to participate in decision-making procedures in one local level enhances true democracy (Jurgita and Popic, 2004: 10). Decentralized poverty struggle may build a sense of community and permits more meaningful participation in self-government. Since the local officials can be controlled easily by people, local governments' policy-making and service delivery may reflect the interests of the citizens and respond to their needs. Additionally, decision making at the local level gives more responsibility, ownership, and thus incentives to local agents and local information can often identify cheaper and more appropriate ways of providing public goods, moreover monitoring and control of local agents by local communities is easier (Bardhan, 1997). At that point, Bossuyt and Gould (2007: 5)²⁷ clarify that:

Local authorities can provide a domestic framework to promote the participatory formulation, conceptualisation and operationalisation of local development plans; ensure the fair and equitable targeting of poverty reduction programs at the local level; generate greater trust and accountability between the state and its citizens by involving local leaders, entrepreneurs, and civic organisations in democratic dialogue and in the workings of local government. Local administrations at poverty struggle can provide vertical, horizontal information and insights to central government and other development agencies on the specific needs of urban neighborhoods. Local authorities can coordinate the mapping and mobilization of local capacities and resources; promote local economic development, in employment creation.

Lastly, it is also assumed that with decentralized spending, sources of government can be used more efficiently by transferring the responsibility to the right level of government by representing the beneficiaries in a close way (Minassian, 1997: 36).

²⁶ For details, see, Faguet, J.P. and Fabio, S., 2006, Decentralization's Effects on Educational Outcomes in Bolivia and Colombia, <www.crisisstates.com>.

²⁷ For details, see, Bossuyt, J. and J. Gould. 2000. "Decentralisation and Poverty Reduction: Elaborating the Linkages". (Policy Management Brief No. 12). Maastricht: ECDPM.

After those decentralized poverty alleviation struggle facts; it is worth to mention some special Reports, Summits and Gatherings emphasizing the local poverty struggle's importance at the world wide by mostly focusing on local administrations critical role at combating poverty. The need for involving local administrative bodies to struggle poverty does not come out at the last years at the developed and developing nations' political agendas. From the midterm of the 1960s, in Europe by 'Urban Assistance Program and Social Development Projects', local committees started to be integrated for sound solutions at combating poverty (Alcock and Craig, 1998: 553). However, there is an influential rise at global Reports and Projects after the 1990s that focus on local authorities' role at poverty struggle. Local administrations' responsibilities at poverty alleviation have been highlighted on various publications and reports.

On that dimension, 'World Bank Urban Management Programme' (UMP) is an influential practice with having the thematic target of urban poverty alleviation. Within the UMP, 'urban poverty alleviation' is designated as one of the five thematic action area of program. Urban poverty reduction interventions at global level are mostly evaluated on the options of municipal administrations, documented research captured in the UTMP regions (Africa, Asia and the Pacific, Latin America and the Caribbean, and the Arab States); and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS), and the WB evaluated collective experiences under urban poverty perspective.²⁸ An integrated city-wide framework at combating poverty is proposed at UMP under those items; the provision of a regulatory framework, access to municipal services, employment creation, protection from crime and natural disaster and the co-ordination and integration of development efforts within their jurisdiction (DFID, 2002: 3).

Furthermore, at the World Development Report (2003), at the alleviation of urban poverty local administrations' responsibilities clearly clarified as follows:

Local administrations'critical role on the provision of service should be perceived by central government and the responsibility concerning poverty on municipal administrations would be augmented; the autonomy at decision-making and application should be provided at enhancing the responsibility of local administration on combating poverty; lastly at the formulation of social policy and its application, local administrations should be engaged to process.

Besides, UNCDF's (United Nations Capital Development Fund) declarations concerning poverty reduction are also critical at the demonstration of the rise of local administrations' responsibility at poverty issues. In that context, Bonfiglioli (2003: 27, 67) clarified the

²⁸ For details, see, <<http://ww2.unhabitat.org/programmes/ump/documents/UMP20.pdf>>.

UNCDF's view on poverty, in related with 'local governance' with the tool of decentralization as follows:

The concept of local governance involves 'the vertical transfer' of responsibilities and resources from central to local government, as well as the development of horizontal networks between local governments. Local governance under decentralized poverty struggle by local administrations can be a driving force to initiate change at national policy level. Local governance and decentralized poverty struggle has become an integral part at poverty alleviation discourse and that approach started to be a pre-condition at poverty reduction strategies.

At the published report of UNCDF entitled 'Local Governance for Poverty Reduction', it was emphasized that:

Decentralization which is widely accepted as a strategy of Governance and a gradual reform process at political, financial and administrative issues has promoted the power of local administrations.²⁹

Local administrations comparable advantaged sides mostly highlighted with effectiveness and efficiency at public service delivery; the quality of local public policy and decision-making procedures, their inclusiveness, their transparency, their accountability; and the manner in which power and authority are exercised at the local level (Norton, 1994: 128). In this sense, Manor (1997) clarified the centralized government system's disadvantaged sides as follows:

The severe limitations of centralized planning and management; the over-concentration of power, authority, and resources at the centre; the weak contact between government and local people, including civil society and the private sector, the low equity in the allocation of resources; the insufficient representation of various political, religious, ethnic groups in the decision-making process; the inadequate exchange of information; the inefficiency of service delivery.

At that point, UN Habitat Conference that paves the way at the emergence of Agenda 21 (A21) is vital in regard to the demonstration of the link between local administration and poverty struggle. After Habitat-I Conference (1976), which is mostly focusing on human settlements and shelter, UN understood their wrong attitude about seeing the central authority as the only mechanism at the solution of global problems also comprising poverty phenomenon (Önez, 2006: 30). After Habitat-I, Rio Summit called also as 'Earth Summit' (United Nations Conference on Environment and Development) was arranged in June 1992, and with that gathering central and international authority understand the local

²⁹ For details, see, Africa Governance Forum V (AGF-V). 2002a. "Local Governance for Poverty Reduction in Africa." *Concept Paper*. New York: UNDP & UNECA.

administrations importance in realizing sustainable development³⁰ goals; which is also critical for poverty struggle. Five documents were produced as a result of that conference; but the most important outcome from that Summit is the ‘Agenda 21’; an action plan for sustainable development into the next century. It sets the objectives in a number of programmed areas, and identifies the activities which governments should consider (UN, 1992: 10)³¹. A21 is composed of 40 chapters, including four main sections and 600 pages. The focal points are international cooperation to accelerate sustainable development in developing countries, *combating poverty*, changing consumption patterns, demographic considerations, health, dwellings, integrating environment and development (Önez, 2006: 12). It is seen that combating poverty is one of the most influential target at achieving global development goals. Furthermore, Local Agenda 21 (LA21) was also submitted to local governments at the UN conference in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. LA21 emerges from the Agenda 21 action plan. While this action plan was prepared for global concerns; problems and solutions which are being addressed by A21, having their roots in local activities that Chapter 28 was integrated to this action plan at the Rio Summit, for the participation and cooperation of local authorities in fulfilling the global targets (Önez, 2006: 10-16). ICLEI, acting in support of local governments, had brought in this mandate which was incorporated into chapter 28 of Agenda 21, the final document of UNCED. In this document it was stated that:

Each Local authority should enter into a dialogue with its citizens, local organizations and private enterprises and adopt “a Local Agenda 21”. Through consultation and consensus-building, local authorities would learn from citizens and from local, civic, community, business and industrial organizations and acquire the information needed for formulating the best strategies. The process of consultation would increase household awareness of sustainable development issues. Local authority programmes, policies, laws and regulations to achieve Agenda 21 objectives would be assessed and modified, based on local programmes adopted. Strategies could also be used in supporting proposals for local, regional and international funding.³²

Particularly, in Turkey, concerning integration of local authorities to poverty problems; Habitat-II (1996) has an overwhelming influence; which is an international conference that held in Istanbul. It was the last conference of the era, giving the opportunity to revalue of the other conferences and indicates a central position for nations, particularly for Turkey (Gülöksüz, 1996: 65). The focal points are participation, decentralization, governance,

³⁰ For details, see, IULA-EMME, 1992. *Yerel Gündem 21 Planlama Rehberi-Sürdürülebilir Gelişme Planlamasına*. İstanbul: IULA-EMME. At the Brundtland Report; sustainable development is determined as a tool for the problems about environment, economic development and social issues.

³¹ For details, see, UN, 1992. *Conference on Environment and Development: Rio Declaration and Agenda 21*. Newyork: UN Publications.

³² For details, see, UN, 1992. *Agenda 21*, chp. 28, 3.

engagement of citizens, and international cooperation. It is observed that for achieving the goals of the sustainable development; elements of governance, which are decentralization, civic engagement, accountability, transparency, participation, monitoring becomes a precondition. And Article 12 of the Istanbul Declaration which is the output of that summit and the paragraphs 103, 211 and 213 of the Habitat Agenda are about local authorities and they establish strong ties with LA21. Istanbul Summit of Habitat 1996 led to the establishment of City Councils within the municipal administrative formations. But if the groups do not gain a council status, local partners can also activate under the formation of working groups (Önez, 2006: 16-19). The main objective of LA21 is to set up participatory platforms for sharing the experiences and ideas of local stakeholders with in a democratic atmosphere for the solution of sustainable development difficulties (Yigiter and Yirmibeşoğlu, 2003: 6). At that point, most of the city councils and working groups started to deal with social solidarity, poverty and development issues.

Furthermore, another important summit at the global level concerning poverty is the New York Millenium Summit; Millennium Declaration was its' outcome prepared to define key points of the century. These values are “freedom, equality, solidarity, tolerance, respect for nature and shared responsibility, democracy and human rights”. The year of 2015 was determined as the target year for achieving these goals (Önez, 2006: 34).

- Goal 1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger
- Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education
- Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women
- Goal 4: Reduce child mortality
- Goal 5: Improve maternal health
- Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases
- Goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability
- Goal 8: Develop a global partnership for development (UN, 2000).³³

For achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), nations understood LA21 process vital role at the solution of sustainable development issues, because all these global targets solutions' is assumed to be based on the efforts in local levels (Önez, 2006: 34). The third phase at the implementation of LA21 projects, called 'Localizing the Millennium Development Goals and WSSD Plan of Implementation through the LA21 Governance Network', launching a LA21 Small Grants Program (currently SLPP Support to Local Projects Program) to promote and substantiate the MDGs and WSSD Plan of implementation

³³ For details, see, UN, 2000. UN Millenium Development Goals (MDGs). < <http://www.un.org>>.

at local level, have strong ties with that summit and critical for local administrations (IULA-EMME, 2004: 11-14).³⁴ All these UN Conferences indicate the importance of local level at the solution of global problems and at that point development targets and poverty alleviation are all interrelated issues which can also be grasped at the eight goals of MDGs from its target declaration of the eradication of poverty by the motto of think global and act local.

Consequently, it is seen that, by neo-liberalism state powers transferred to supra-national agencies such as IMF and WB, and state also devolved powers to downwards towards local institutions. In that context, decentralization comes out as being one of the tools of governance and local administrations confronted with lots of responsibilities at combating poverty. Possible advantages have been counted at global summits and gatherings by the proponents of the decentralized poverty struggle. However, while local administrations is proposed to be more accessible, accountable, participatory in comparison to central government; most of the local administrations have no technical, financial and administrative resources at struggling poverty, local administrative bodies mostly confronted with 'responsibility without power' problem. Additionally, because of the inherent nature of local administrations stemmed from uneven development, local administrations can only provide fragmented policies at the alleviation of poverty.

III.2.1. New Urban Politics and Its Reflection on Urban Poverty and Local Administrations

By the application of neo-liberal policies, the nature of urban poverty has changed and new urban poverty problem emerged with covering the relative aspects of poverty, such as social exclusion, vulnerability, and powerlessness. In such a socio-economic environment, urban politics has also altered with affecting the local administrations' role at poverty struggle. Local administrative bodies have attributed responsibilities at combating poverty but the required power transition is not realized that created problems at the alleviation of poverty. At that point, Peck and Tickell (1994: 324-325) argue that:

Below the nation-state, local regulatory systems (particularly local states) have been conferred responsibility without power. Above the nation state, supra-national regulatory systems have inherited power without responsibility.

Besides, while most of the local administrations have confronted with problems concerning financial, technical, and administrative dimensions at poverty struggle; those administrative formations have found themselves at such a competitive urban environment where it is

³⁴ For details, see, IULA-EMME, 2004. Localizing the Millennium Development Goals: 11-14.

harder to combat with poverty because at urban politics it signals a decline in the welfarist conception of local government and the rising influence of the market choice concept (Pickvance and Preteceille, 1991).

A shift in urban politics has occurred after new administrative discourse of governance. A new urban politics is emerged under the notion of enabling-state away from the management of public services and the provision of local welfare services to the promotion of economic competitiveness, place marketing to attract inward investment, and support for the development of indigenous private sector firms (Painter, 1998: 260). This shift at urban politics is named as 'Urban Entrepreneurialism'. At that point, Harvey (1989: 7) designated that concept as follows:

Urban entrepreneurialism can be defined through two basic characteristics; firstly, a political prioritization of pro-growth local economic development and secondly, an associated organizational and institutional shift from urban government and urban governance.

As it is seen from the clarifications, the notion of urban entrepreneurialism as being a new kind of local economic policy is at the hearth of the new urban politics. The metaphor of the city as a growth machine, marshalling its resources in the pursuit of economic growth, has thus been utilized by many commentators seeking to document the way in which the local state has undergone a conceptual reorientation as it strives to promote capital accumulation within its boundaries (Logan and Molotch, 1987: 5).

Harvey (1989: 12) argues that the shift to urban entrepreneurialism has an important facilitative role in the transition from Fordism to flexible accumulation. This facilitative role has at least three dimensions which include; enhancing the geographical flexibility of multi-national capital as local powers seek to 'maximise' the attractiveness of local site as a lure of capitalist development (Harvey, 1989: 5); the diffusion of particular forms of urban redevelopment through their serial reproduction (Olds, 1995: 283); and the development of mechanisms of social control through the promotion of place-based identities.

Furthermore, Hubbard and Hall (1998) stated that "the notion of entrepreneurialism captures the sense in which cities are being run in a more businesslike manner". At the hearth of that new concept, there is the assumption that if cities want take take advantage in comparison to their rivals at globalized economy, they have to pursue proactive strategies. In this respect, Lovering (1995: 10) emphasized that:

If key local economic and political actors...can get their acts together...and if urban management focuses on economic regeneration rather than on the welfare

issues that have preoccupied policy makers in recent decades, a new era of urban economic development be anticipated.

There appears to be a broad agreement that urban entrepreneurialism is essentially characterized by the proactive promotion of local economic development by local government in alliance with other private sector agencies. Harvey (1989: 7) added that:

The new entrepreneurialism has its enterprise, as its centerpiece, the notion of a public-private partnership in which a traditional local boosterism is integrated with the use of local governmental powers to try and to attract external sources of funding, new direct investments or new employment sources.

In this sense, entrepreneurialism has been described as distinctive political culture primarily concerned with improving the prosperity of the city and its ability to create jobs and investment (Graham, 1995). The objectives of entrepreneurial policies are thus described as inherently growth oriented such as creating jobs, expanding the local tax base, fostering small firm growth and attracting new forms of investment. The aim of such policies is thus to promote the comparative advantages of the city relative to other cities which may be competing for similar forms of investment (Hubbard, 1998: 5). Although there may be some crucial differences between cities in terms of the pro-growth economic development strategies they adopt, there are often remarkable similarities in the key elements of such policies, leading many to talk of a generic entrepreneurial model of governance reliant on specific boosterist policies (Gold and Ward, 1994).³⁵ Most city governments are allocating increasingly high budgets for advertising and promotion of the city as a favourable environment for business and leisure (Savitch and Kantor, 1995). At that point, Doel and Hubbard (2002)³⁶ stated that “almost every city now has its requisite series of promotional pamphlets, posters, and other cultural products communicating selective images of the city as an attractive, hospitable and vibrant international city in which to live and work”.

To conclude, it can be stated that all city governments have the tendency to promote growth, Haider (1992) calls this situation ‘place wars’ in the 1990s. Severe competition to attract and to retain business forces city governments to introduce a range of policy initiatives, such as enterprise zones, urban development corporations, urban subsidies, and public-private partnerships (Gaffikin and Warf, 1993). These programmes are intended to make the city

³⁵ For details, see, Gold, J. and Ward, S. (eds), 1994, *Place Promotion the Use of Publicity and Marketing to Sell Towns And Regions*. Chichester: John Wiley.

³⁶ For details, see, Doel, M.A. and Hubbard, P.J., 2002, Taking World Cities Literally: Urban Competition and the Spatialities of a Global Space of Flows, This Research Bulletin has been published in *City*, 6 (3), (2002), 351-368 under the title ‘Taking World Cities Literally: Marketing the City in a Global Space of Flows’.

more attractive to investors. Cities have become commodified, packaged, advertised and marketed much as any other product in a capitalist society (Hubbard, 1998: 59). As a result of those new urban politics' strategies and policies, cities face an inherent tension between economic need to develop and the political demand to redistribute income. Urban fields from one side must attract private capital and development and at the other side has to provide amenities and public assistance for their populations (Clarke, 1989). It is clear that, cities must create common policy solutions for increasingly disparate populations (Clarke 1989; Clark 1994a; b).

III.2.1.1. Results of Urban Entrepreneurialism on Poverty

Harvey postulates that the entrepreneurial politics lay a role in perpetuating unequal development with reproducing local social relations which are more conducive to flexible modes of accumulation. In this respect, Hubbard (1998: 16) pointed out that "Harvey makes the point that the new urban politics and the aspirations of urban regimes should be seen not so much as a reaction to global forces, but rather as a trigger to new forms of competitive capitalism". Entrepreneurial strategies are attracting little new inward investment or having any discernible impact on job creation which is one of the main targets explained at the conceptualization of urban entrepreneurialism (Barnekov *et. al.*, 1988). Many of the images enhancing schemes promoted as profit-making have turned out to be loss-making. Although entrepreneurial policies can do many things and can benefit local elites, it appears that they inevitably tend to subjugate the overall interests of the community in the interests of capital accumulation by competition with other cities for economic growth assuming primacy over distributional issues. In this context, Hubbard (1998: 19) claimed that; "Hence, even when such speculative policies do succeed in attracting investment, within the successful cities, there will be many communities that continue to find themselves disadvantaged". Besides, Harvey (1989) also points out that all cities competing in the same global marketing game, there are bound to be winners and losers. In this sense, Logan and Molotch (1987: 5) have stated that "entrepreneurial strategies generally favour development and growth over the redistribution of wealth and opportunity, the result can only be a net transfer of wealth from the less well-off to urban elites". Similarly, Harvey (1989) has suggested that entrepreneurial policies constitute a subsidy for the affluent at the cost of welfare for the poor. Entrepreneurial strategies have been implicated in the creation of a new urban under-class (Hambleton, 1991; Galgster, 1992), resulting in the so-called dual city (Mollenkopf and Castells, 1991).

The failure of urban entrepreneurialism comes out as not the alleviation of the social and economic problems of many cities, and its ignorance to the social equity concern. At that point, Logan and Molotch (1987) identify politically motivated local elite as the main actor and beneficiary of local economic growth. The authors argue that place entrepreneurs, because of their attachment to land, strongly encourage local growth for their own gains. In their attempts to promote the economic growth of the city, place entrepreneurs organize the growth (business) coalitions that involve and mobilize local governments to intensify land uses for their private gain of many sorts. Peck (1995) critically calls them 'movers and shakers', Lowe (1993) uses the term 'local hero' and along the same line Schneider and Teske (1993) refer to them as 'pro-growth entrepreneurs'. Now, urban becomes an entrepreneur; and cities struggle for being more innovative, entrepreneurial for investors, business people and tourists; to get more pie from the capital accumulation process (Harvey, 1989: 3-9). At that context, economic pressures force cities into a competitive mode and fiscal constraints inhibit the capacity of local administration to respond local needs. The oppressed and exploited sides feel more unrepresented in formal political process.

Consequently, as it is seen from the clarifications while local authorities come out as the influential actors in the urban politics on the struggle with new urban poverty; at the other side they have been integrated to a urban competition to attract more pie from the capital accumulation process that creating tension at the provision of welfare services to the vulnerable side of the society.

In that chapter, the efforts to reduce poverty within the socio-economic transformation of the capitalist system is analysed with focusing on local poverty alleviation policies. At the prior period of the welfare state, it is observed that there have been no systematic local poverty policy formulations; philanthropic and individual based policies had an overwhelming influence at combating poverty. State's role at struggling poverty changed with the enforced Poor Acts at that related time period. At the welfare state period, at the provision of welfare, state provided decisive functions at poverty reduction. Free-charge health assistance, provision of shelter for the impoverished, family allowances, assistances towards the elderly, the disabled, the unemployed, and the orphans can be counted as the social assistance tools of the state. However, developed and developing countries' poverty alleviation practices and local authorities' roles in that process are different. At the developed countries state's intervention to the urban area lead to the strengthening of local state, on the other side at the developing nations, the limited intervention of state resulted with the underdevelopment of local state in the economic dimension (Şengül, 2004b: 192).

By the 1980s onwards, neo-liberal economy policies came to the front side with the policies that meet the demands of capital. At the neo-liberal framework, First and Second Generation of Structural Reforms emerged and affected the poverty alleviation policies' nature and context. First Generation Structural Reforms wave comprised of SAPs with 'minimal state' argument raised the rate of poverty at developing countries, that are urged to adopt neo-liberal policies including restructuring and liberalization of institutional formation. At that phase, it is hoped for a trickle down effect by economic development and growth at poverty problem, but the hoped benefits did not come afterwards. During the 1990s, a noticeable shift occurred at the policy fields of the multi-national organizations. With the notion of enabling state, a new administrative discourse emerged with 'governance' that comprises of participation, decentralization, localization, accountability and transparency principles. In this respect, poverty alleviation discourse has also been changed and local administrations gained responsibilities at combating poverty. Besides, a critical point here is that is related with the integration of the social and human dimensions of poverty to the poverty alleviation policies such as facilitating empowerment (increasing participation of the poor to the political process) policy proposal of the WB 'Attacking Poverty Report'. Finally, in that chapter it has also seen that urban poverty context and nature are changed with the application of neo-liberal policies. Local administrations found themselves at a competitive environment where it is harder to fight with poverty (Pickvance and Preteceille, 1991). By the transition of new urban politics, with the rise of the entrepreneurial strategies, local authorities integrated into urban competition where it is hard to provide welfare services to the impoverished.

CHAPTER IV

THE EXTENT, NATURE OF POVERTY IN TURKEY AND APPLICATIONS TO ALLEVIATE POVERTY

IV.1. Turkey and Poverty Reduction Strategies

IV.1.1. Republican Period and Poverty Alleviation

The extent and nature of poverty, and poverty alleviation analysis at Turkish Republican history is examined in a historical perspective, to see the previous and recent poverty reduction practices. Turkish Republican history on the base of urban poverty alleviation and the role of local and central government institutions at combating poverty examined deeply with making a periodic categorization as follows;

- 1) Authoritarian Approach: (1923s-1950s)
- 2) Moral Economy: (1950s-1970s)
- 3) Market Economy: Conservative Liberal (1980s-2000s)

Each categorized period has been examined on those dimensions listed below:

- The nature and the context of poverty at each categorized period with considering socio-economic and political characteristics of related period;
- Local administrations' influence at political system in comparison to central administration, each categorized period's main formal institutions at combating poverty (local/central or voluntary);
- Political parties' poverty insights, perceptions and solution proposals at their party and local election programs in each period;
- Central and local institutional framework at combating poverty (mostly concerning on urban poverty); as established institutions, laws, regulations related with poverty.

IV.1.1.1. Authoritarian Approach

From the establishment of Turkish Republic to 1950 elections, Republican People's Party (RPP) had the political power, as the single party at political system. During the foundation

of Turkish Republic, one of the main targets was setting up 'nation-state' formation for reaching western civilization, by national industrial development (Timur, 1993: 90). At achieving to the objective of the formation of 'nation state', centralization came to the front side, as the critical principle at the provision of national unity (Şengül, 2003: 156). In that context, centralized administrative system orientation can be found in comparison of two Turkish Constitutions enacted in 1921 and 1924. At 1921 Turkish Constitution, central government administration system tried to be limited with adopting a decentralized based administrative formation. However, after the establishment of Republic, with 1924 Constitution enactment, no article was highlighted the autonomy of local government system, and emphasized its functions and responsibilities (Turan, 2008: 11-12). Furthermore, by the 1930s onwards, a new phase emerged as *etatist* period based mostly on interventionist state control in market, and activation of state-owned business enterprises at production system (Emrence, 2006: 73-74).

At that etatist period, local governments were established with population over 2000 in many local units (Tekeli, 1973). Despite the establishment of lots of local administrative units from 1923 to 1945; the development of local administrative systems development was not at a required level to meet the local demands and needs. The priority was mostly given to industrialization phase and nation state development that local governments did not come out as influential actors at public administration system; single-party administration system and low level of urbanization had effects on that issue (Aydınlı, 2004: 119). At that point, two problems had been influential particularly for local governments; firstly after Turkish War of Independence, Western Anatolian cities were devastated and they were confronted with population exchange that urgent local solutions needed for urban spatial fields, and secondly development problems came out with the declaration of Ankara as being the capital city of Turkey (Aydınlı, 2004: 119).

In this respect, to handle with those problems, municipalities were made responsible for numerous responsibilities and functions with the law of 1530 enacted in taking into consideration those following principles; equality between municipalities, free action at municipal initiatives, strong central supervision authority, single degree election, active social control and extending the municipal service field (Tekeli, 1978: 51-57). In the direction of those newly enacted responsibilities, period covering the establishment of Republic up to multi-party regime, number of the settled municipalities and their service fields increased.

Despite to that newly attributed roles to local administrative units, established municipalities have confronted with insufficiencies in their financial budgets. In this regard, debt problem was caused by inadequate financial transfer to local administrations and incapable technical personnel led not the realization of responsible functions listed at municipal law (Tekeli, 1992). It can be clearly clarified that at the formulation of municipal law, the central-local government financial stability was not taken into consideration in an appropriate way.³⁷ Critically, it can be stated that, at that related period *poverty alleviation* as a policy field neither counted as a local policy that can be formulated under local administrations nor as a national policy agenda under central government.

At that period, only 25 percent of Turkey's population had been living at municipal boarders (TurkStat, 2004: 27). Besides, while the rural population surpassed urban ratios; industrialization effort gained priority with taking no measurement concerning the development of social security conditions of the peasant and the labor at the term covering 1926-1930 (Timur, 1993: 90). The needs of the peasants and the impoverished mostly left to the initiatives of traditional assistance networks and solidarity institutions. Accordingly, in that authoritarian period, poverty alleviation practice can be evaluated with the prior Republican Period where poverty phenomenon has been tackling within the direction of similarities of 'modern poverty' like refusing beggary (Buğra, 2008: 97-98). However, Turkey's situation differs from European approaches because at Republican period poverty alleviation is not highlighted as a policy field putting the responsibility on political officials. In Europe with the effect of alms reform and the 19th Century liberal scholars, political responsibility at poverty was started to transfer to the state. At the statist period of single-party period, poverty alleviation was not counted as a responsibility of state. Poverty was mostly evaluated as a rural problem, and for sustaining the continuation of peasants' living at countryside, rural dwellers exempted from payment of taxes with the condition of not to migrate. It can be adopted as a demonstration of 'authoritarian pact' between the state and the society (Buğra, 2007). However in time, with the end of single party period, that attempt changed towards again imposing tax on agricultural products that leading to loss of RPP power at elections (Pamuk, 1999).

³⁷ For details, see, Aytaç, Fethi, 1990, "Belediye Kanunu'nun Oluşumu, Uygulanması ve Değişiklikler", Türk Belediyeciliğinde 60 Yıl Uluslararası Sempozyumu, Ankara, Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 23-24 Kasım 1990, s. 98.

Moreover, while poverty alleviation at that etatist period was evaluated out of state responsibility, *voluntary charity stress* came to the front side which had an overwhelming influence at 19th century liberal environment. Social assistance area was mostly evaluated with voluntary efforts and the field belonged to non-governmental organizations. Period's voluntary organizations generally had no existence at state formation; they were mostly acting social affairs with the financial support of state under the leadership of RPP. However, those organizations did not provide their services in an understanding that those social assistances should be financed from public revenues. At that point, individual donations and voluntary charity possibilities have an attributed role on poverty struggle. Briefly, *etatism* principle that enacted at Constitution in 1937 was not extended to the field of poverty struggle (Buğra, 2008: 99). Buğra (1994: 18) evaluated that etatist phase around poverty alleviation, as follows:

Although it is somewhat paradoxical for an etatist society to exempt the state from the responsibility of welfare provisioning, shifting the social responsibility of assisting the poor to wealthy individuals is not totally in contradiction with the spirit of times when profits and profit-making activities were regarded with a deep-set suspicion. Power emanating from non-political sources enjoyed little legitimacy on the basis of private property rights but required justification through contribution to socially useful causes.

In that context, not intervention of state to poverty alleviation as a policy field led to three voluntary associations' emergence at poverty struggle. One of them is *The Red Crescent (Kızılay)* Association which was founded under the name of 'Ottoman Mecruhini Askerye İane Cemiyeti' during Ottoman Period in 1868, turned to Ottoman Hilal-i Ahmer Association in 1877 and Turkish Hilal-i Ahmer Association in 1923 and lastly Turkish Kızılay Association in 1935. That related institution has decisive roles and responsibilities regarding natural catastrophes, war affairs, and poor assistances. Second institution is the *Society for the Protection of Children Institution* founded under the name of 'Himaye-i Etfal Association' in 1921 with the objective of assistance towards soldiers, widows, and orphans. In addition to those institutions, the Association of Philanthropists (Yardım Sevenler Association) settled under the initiatives of RPP leaders, had also critical roles at combating poverty but that association could not use the allocated pies of public revenues by laws like the other associations. Different from other associations, representatives of that association clarified their visions at poverty struggle as 'labor return aid'. The main activities of the Association were arranging workshops and training activities for the poor women. By those activities Association gave not only economic support to the vulnerable women but also it provided the social integration of the women to the society with serving the social target of 'social strengthening' (Buğra, 2008: 136-9). Briefly, all those discussed institutions revenues

were mostly based upon donations that limited fund problem brought unsuccess at their contribution to poverty alleviation on the World War II years of extreme poverty (Buğra, 2007: 38).

Moreover, at that period, there had projects based on ‘Village Institutes’ and ‘People’s Houses’ that mostly established for preventing the dissolution of village economy and social relations depending on it. In this sense, established institutions were evaluated as an attempt at poverty struggle, especially for countryside (between 1937 and mid-1940). Village Institutes objectives can be listed as; modernizing social relations, bringing end to poverty, creating peasant intellectuals, increasing agricultural productivity for serving to spread the Kemalist Revolution at countryside (Karaömeroğlu, 1998). People’s Houses (Halkevleri) established in 1932, it is generally evaluated as an ideological initiative “to enable the urban intellectuals to embrace the village” (Şimşek, 2002 cited in Buğra, 2007).

Besides to those newly established institutions’ concerning poverty, Authoritarian period is faced with an influential change at legal formation and institutional structure at social security and social assistance fields, which are critical at poverty struggle that period is also analyzed around the newly set up institutions and enforced laws. One of the first laws at Republican period was ‘General Health Law’ (Umumi Hıfzısıha) No. 1693 enforced in 1930. With that Act, a new budget system adopted covering the monthly payments of retired, widowed and orphans; but the context of the law was not extended to a widespread area, and only general and supplementary budget employed officials took the chance to facilitate from Law’s health base possibilities (Talas, 1980: 378). Furthermore, labor rights and working conditions arrangement took place at central government’s agenda with ‘I. Labor Law’ enforced in 1936. With that law, first general principles at the establishment of social insurance were designated to protect labor from variety of threats and the power of regulation authority was given under the responsibility of central government (Çavdar, 1992: 202; Talas, 1980; Koray, 2005: 169). At that context, in 1945 ‘Employee Insurance Institutions’ Law No. 4792 was enforced and at the same year Ministry of Labor, Employment Agency, Labor Insurance Institutions were established (Talas, 1980; 1991: 414). In this regard, ‘Accidents at Work, Occupational Diseases and Maternity Insurance’ Law was enacted in 1946 and Employee Insurance Institution and Pension Fund were reregulated for gathering the public officials under one umbrella (Koray, 2005: 160-161). Social insurance field improvements applied during the last year of RPP government with the enforcement of Law No. 5434 (Turkish Republic Retirement Fund Law). Pension Fund arranged monthly wages and retirement issues of public officials, covering social protection

risks from old age and ill health by the unification of different schemes spreaded through different government offices and ministries (Fişek *et al.*, 1998). Lastly, Democrat Party (DP) took power at general election in 1950 ending single-party system and liberal economic policies came to the front side at party's political agenda. As it is seen from the clarifications, at that categorized period, poverty problem is mostly evaluated as a rural problem, and poverty alleviation is not counted as a social policy responsibility of central government. In this sense, while local administrations numbers and responsibility fields increased by Municipal Law No. 1580, the required financial and technical assistances are not transferred from central government. Briefly, at that period, local based poverty alleviation policies under the local administrations framework do not come out at combating poverty. As mentioned it before, voluntary organizations have a vital influence at struggling poverty and those institutions revenues are mostly based upon donations.

IV.1.1.2. Moral Economy

At Turkish political system from the foundation of the Turkish Republic to 1950s, RPP had a political victory at democratic system having the target of modernization of society with an 'elitist social engineering project' (Erman, 2001: 984). With the end of single-party period, DP government came to power and party oriented towards the community involvement programs for rural citizens. One of the main objectives of DP at that period was preventing poverty and holding it at countryside for not spreading the problem to the urban areas (Buğra, 2007: 39). Additionally, at that period, while western countries have lived the foundation and strengthening of welfare state leading to increase at social policies (which is also related with struggling poverty), poverty alleviation was not on the political agenda of DP (Buğra, 2008: 172). Party had mainly dwelt upon the development of rural side. Poverty problem was mostly evaluated as a rural problem that political party generally gave priority towards agricultural sector development.³⁸ In that context, poverty understanding can be seen at 'White Book' published by DP, at that publication it was clarified that "prosper citizens live in/ around urban fields and facilitate from water, electricity, drainage services of local administrations, but at the other side (country side) mass of citizens wholly deprive from those services" (Serçe, 1998: 207-208).

Furthermore, at combating poverty, health policies were one of the main serious topics of DP's political agenda. At single-party period some limited success was gained and during 1946, 'National Health Plan' tackled health policies concerning the provision of health

³⁸ For details, see, Birinci Menderes Hükümeti Programı," in Dağlı, Nuran and Aktörk Belma, Hükümetler ve Programları 1920-1960, Cilt, I., 1: 154-65.

services to the rural areas. At that point Fişek (1983: 162-163 cited and translated in Günel, 2008: 180-181) clarified that:

The DP governments acknowledged the responsibility of the state both in preventive care and curative services. In 1954, the municipality and special provincial administration hospitals were transferred to the MHSA (Ministry of Health and Social Assistance) and started to be financed from the general budget. This would serve the rise of the standard of curative services, the provision of health services to all provinces on the basis of equality, and the integration of preventive care and curative services. However, this led to the concentration of health personnel in hospitals in urban areas, which in turn weakened the health service delivery in rural areas.³⁹

Furthermore, with Post-War period, accumulation strategies were changed towards ‘agriculture-oriented export promotion growth strategy’ and the modernization of agricultural sector, largely supported by Marshall Plan. This transition led to surplus population in countryside resulting dramatic effects on cities (Keyder, 1987). In this respect, Şengül (2003: 159) clarified that period as follows:

To understand the government policies towards migrant groups, it is necessary to understand the priorities of state during that period in terms of resource allocation. One of the prominent features of this development strategy was the allocation of as many resources as possible to industrial investment. The consequence of this strategy for urbanization was the minimization of the flow of both state and private investment into the built environment. The minimalist approach found its expression through state intervention in the form of minimal investment in collective consumption and the continuation of policy of weak local government, which was left to deal with the demands of new comers.

Rapid urbanization of society becomes one of the main serious problems of that period. To search for a new livelihood, peasants migrated from countryside (Erman, 2001: 985). ‘Urban poverty’ takes its roots from the accelerating dynamic of urbanization (Alpaytekin, 2006: 3). Rural population just changed its residences but not so much their conditions of poverty since majority of them could find low income jobs in the service sector due to their low level of education and professional skills (İçduygu and Ünalan, 1998; Kıray, 1988). Moreover, while high speed of migration started to increase the demographic rates of urban population in big cities, the low proportions of formal and cheap housing created shelter problems for new comers. In that context, ‘*squatter settlements*’ problem emerged from the lack of discrepancy between the speeds of migration and the housing needs of rural migrants (Tok, 2005). For the solution of squatter housing problem firstly, state acted towards the strategies of prohibition and demolition of the new comers’ settlements by taking its rationality from the

39 For details, see, Fişek, Nusret, 1983, *Halk Sağlığına Giriş* (Ankara: Çağ Matbaası, 1983), pp. 162-163.

authority of state at guaranteeing property rights; however, that policy implementation did not prevent the invasion of authorized land by squatter settlers (Şengül, 2003: 160).

As a result, the population rate living at urban fields gained an accelerating trend (Ulusoy and Akdemir, 2006: 216). It paves the way for the increase at the local demands to urban services by imposing pressure on municipal administrations. From 1946 to 1980; municipalities faced with rapid and unplanned urbanization problem with infrastructure and environment problems; however, local administrations' budget pies did not develop in accordance with the necessities of urbanization (Aydınlı, 2004: 145). Besides to the financial insufficiencies of local administrations, *populist* based political initiatives for legalizing those irregular settlements started to be implemented by 'amnesty laws'. By the 1949s onwards, amnesty acts were widened to whole country but these laws did not solve the expansion of squatter settlements problem (Çakır, 2011: 216; Tekeli, 2001: 110).

First squatter Law No. 5218 put into force in 1948, had the objective of improving irregular houses and providing land for reconstructing houses. Households who gained land are imposed to make their own settlements in two year term (principle 25). In addition to that Law No. 5431 was enacted in 1949. That related law had the objective of preventing squatter settlements and collapsing the constructed ones (principle 26), but law did not reach to its target. With Law No. 7367, land within municipal adjacent area was diverted to municipality for preventing the construction of irregular settlements (principle 27), but similar with Law No. 5431, principle 26, that Law's item did not reach to success. Besides to those legal enactments, Erman (2001: 985-6) clarified that:

The optimism of the early 1950s started to fade away during the later years of the decade, by which time it was apparent that the Democrat Party could not meet its promises of a wealthier and more democratic society. By the intensification of economic problems, public discontent manifested itself in mass demonstrations and confrontations between the government and public, ended with a military intervention in May 1960.

Modern urban poverty fear complicated party's planned development and industrialization objectives (Önder, 1981: 90-93). In 27 May 1960 with military coup; DP government was overthrown and council was annihilated. With the law enforced in 3 November 1960, provincial general councils, municipal councils, neighborhoods' elderly boards were also annihilated (B.Ahmad and Turgay, 1976: 225). In this regard, governor and mayor cadres were joined under the responsibility of same person with an additional position as also being an officer (Turan, 2008: 101). Within that context, Turkey entered into a period of import-substitution based industrialization strategy with a planned development framework.

At that socio-economic environment, those ‘built in one night’ settlements tolerated by government because of squatter settlers’ integration to *informal employment* which is critical for industrialization process (Erman, 2001: 985-6). In this sense, Şengül (2003) clarified that:

Informal sectors find opportunity areas to enlarge and to take advantage of the inactive labor force, a concrete consequence of that development could be regarded as the squatter settlements became permanent element of urban spaces (Şengül, 2003).

Erman (2001: 986) also emphasized that:

At planned period informal sector brought a new economic function to gecekondu population as consumers at domestic market. When the national private sector needed consumers in order to survive, many shanty towns turned into established low density residential neighborhoods with infrastructure and some services.

Furthermore, planned period has also influential institutional and legal achievements concerning social rights. At 1961 Constitutional framework, social rights were put into preservation⁴⁰; with 5th Article ‘social state’ principle was highlighted and development plan preparation counted as the principle of state. With that Constitution, important steps were taken at the designation of labor working conditions and wages; minimum income level defined on that direction (Çavdar, 1992; Sezen, 1999). Especially, ‘Social Services Institute’ was founded by a draft law in 1959, for combating poverty and the social development of Turkey (Buğra, 2007: 42). At the regulation of this related institution, it was emphasized that “reasons for poverty must be investigated, necessary social work must be determined and the aims of social services must be introduced to the public” (Koşar and Tufan, 1999 cited in Topcuoğlu *et al.*, 2011: 2).⁴¹

With ‘Social Insurance Act’ Law No. 506 enacted in 1964, not only whole enterprises or companies’ labors were taken under the framework of social security; but also labors’ relatives were taken under the protection of illness insurance. Lastly, ‘Social Security Organization for Artisans and the Self-Employed’ was founded for the social security conditions of the self-employed citizens and social rights were extended with covering self-employed at agricultural field (Buğra, 2008: 178). After those legal enactments concerning

⁴⁰ 1961 Constitution with 41,42, 48 and 49 articles.

⁴¹ For details, see, Koşar, N. and Tufan, B., 1999. “Sosyal Hizmetler Yüksek Okulu Tarihesine Genel Bir Bakış”, Yaşam Boyu Sosyal Hizmet, ed. N. Koşar, Ankara: HÜ SHYO Yayını, “Social Work Education in Turkey”, Reyhan Atasü Topcuoğlu, Özge Özgür Sayar, Aslıhan Burcu Öztürk, <<http://www.scribd.com/doc/66800013/Social-Work-Education-in-Turkey>>, pp.1-7.

social policy gainings of labor, at the last phase of the 1960s, Squatter Act No. 775 was enacted in 1966, and the existence of the 'squatter settlements' for the first time recognized and precautions had been taken for the improvement of those spatial fields (Erman, 2001: 985). In that context, squatter settlers started to use political system after the legalization of their unauthorized settlings. A 'patron-client' relationship emerged with political officials and squatter owners in return for their political support at elections and it gives the possibility to the urban poor to participate in political system. Clientalism became a tool for squatters at interest representation at the term covering the 1960s-1970s (Öncü, 1988; Özbudun, 1976).

At that point, weak local administrative system at meeting the needs of the new comers led to the emergence of local groups' initiatives at the solution of urban problems. In this sense, in many times problems originated by urban service insufficiencies have not been turned into crisis as a result of those tampon mechanisms (Şengül, 2004b: 190-191). Furthermore, the impoverished developed informal mechanisms as kinship and solidarity networks in obtaining a dwelling and at the entrance of the labor market because of passive state and its limited intervention to squatter problems. By the help of those networks, settlers reached to their targets after living a temporary poverty situation (Yılmaz, 2003). Those networks formed the unauthorized real estate market of squatter housing and originated chance for the impoverished going one step further at social mobility. Besides, those networks also led to the creation of a process of protected adaptation for the impoverished. State does not take over the responsibility at the urbanization process so that the new comers originate the working mechanisms of urban land which is based on squatter settlements and making selling (Pınarcıoğlu and Işık, 2001). In that context, Buğra (2007) evaluated the urban poverty with those clarifications:

Urban poverty at that period ended up as voting for a piece of legislation that clearly reflected the nature of the 'moral economy' in which the informal pact between the state and people operated. Poverty in turns seemed to capture a situation where at least some of the poor immigrants to the city could take advantage of the opportunity space provided by the informal pact between state and society not only to integrate in the urban society but also to move up the social ladder and thereby leave the place of the urban poor to be filled by those more recently settled in the city.

Besides to those developments concerning urban poverty, local elections became the main struggling arena on poverty alleviation dialectic, particularly for gaining the vote of the urban poor at that socio-economic environment. 1963 local election was a turning point for municipal administrations because it was the first time voters can take the chance to participate elections. At that local election period, three metropolitan government municipal

mayors emphasized on the problem of 'squatter-houses', but they highlighted problems on national scale rather than local (Çitçi, 2001: 8). In that context, *Justice Party (JP)* mayor candidates gave declarations on squatter settlements, development plans, administrative tutelage system (Turan, 2008: 108-109). Similarly, at radio conversations of elections, municipal mayor candidates' election topics were generally on squatter settlements, development plans and administrative tutelage issues (Ahmad and Turgay, 1976: 266).

Mayor candidates promised to give title-deeds to squatter-houses, but they mainly put emphasis on national scale problem solution than local scale (Çitçi, 2001: 38-9). In this respect, JP Istanbul municipal mayor candidate Nuri Erdoğan clarified that "squatter settlers should grasp civilized possibilities as the other urban dwellers"; Ankara candidate Cevat Önder put forth the legalization of squatter settlers' rights; İzmir candidate Osman Kibar stated that "the administrative tutelage on local administration system should be reevaluated". Besides, JP gained the political victory by taking the highest vote at mayorship, municipal councils and provincial general councils, at 1963 local election (Turan, 2008: 109-111). Critically, JP was again the winner of 1968 local election by taking %47 of the votes (Çitçi, 2001: 52). Similar with the previous local election, mayor candidates mostly put emphasis on state assistance, infrastructural problems, and squatter settlements and they promised to give title-deeds to squatter dwellers (Çitçi, 2001: 38-39, Akbulut, 1968: 12). At that point, Özler (2000 cited in Taşkan, 2009: 59) stated that:

Squatters have always been, and still are, significant sources of votes in the elections and material interests including the title-deeds and those initiatives seemed to have an influence at the inhabitants' choice of party.

Furthermore, 1973 local election is also critical to demonstrate the change in local politics. That period confronted with the first challenge between the local and central administrations about ideological and political issues. Although Conservative Right Parties had superiority in the central administrative levels, Social Democrats had a big influence in the big municipalities and began to implement new municipality politics. With the 1973 local election, in big cities the mayors were engaging in activities concerning poverty (Önez, 2006: 42). At that context, Şengül (2003: 161) stated that:

The RPP concentrated on the squatters and urban poor in its urban policy program. To begin with, local politicians in the RPP ranks proposed policies to solve the squatter housing problem on the one hand and to improve the conditions of existing squatter settlements by providing services and infrastructure on the other. Although not initially systematic, new programmes gave priority to the needs of the squatters over those of the established urban residents. The RPP did not need to wait long before reaping the rewards of this shift. In almost all of the large city municipalities, thanks to the support of squatter dwellers, the RPP took power in local election of 1973.

In this regard, period covering 1973-1980 was important for the transformation of local administrative structure in Turkey because Social Democrat Municipality politics came into the agenda. Municipal mayors were elected from the different parties aside from the governing party that conflictual manner on responsibilities emerged (Göymen, 1997: 31). Tekeli (1982: 162) summarizes that period with these words:

The changing ideology and practices of the municipalities during the 1970s created significant tensions between the left-wing municipalities and successive central governments. On the one hand, the political center did not respond positively to demands coming from the municipalities to decentralize the political system in order to strengthen the municipalities. On the other hand, when municipalities attempted to use their existing resources and power to initiate new projects, the central government usually attempted to large cities into battlegrounds between central government and the municipalities.

That new municipal movement named as “Democratic-Municipal Movement, Democratic Local Administration Movement, and New Democratic-Social Municipality”. Some strategies of municipalities can be summarized as; some municipal administrations reevaluated the existed legal codes and implemented some not applied items, some municipalities did not give the debt to the central government and spent it for local targets, and engaged into some income generative initiatives (Turan, 2008: 167). In that context, Keleş (2006: 456-458) also stated that:

New municipal formation gives priority towards social equality. At the capitalist society’s urban field, all classes are existed. That city has been living inequality and competition widely. Social municipality should distribute the urban services in a just and equal manner by alleviating the inequality at the city formation. New municipality does not allow the formation of monopoly rents because those small artisans can gain higher benefits and profits expensing the urban life. Municipalities should be productive and resource generative; at that framework some basic public good and services should be directly produced by the municipality; the profits which are generated by urban development should be transferred to the society. Productive municipal formation understanding is located at the negative side of the privatization process.

At that point, some local election declarations of RPP government can be given as samples at the demonstration of local administrations’ usage of poverty problem in their election agendas at reaching to their political victories. RPP in 1973 prior to the Deputy General Election, published their declaration called ‘Akgünlere’ and at that report it was emphasized that “local government responsibilities will be broadened and the local citizens’ opportunities in affecting and controlling local administrative bodies will be widened” (Turan, 2008: 152). In this sense, İzmir RPP mayor candidate İhsan Alyanak, at his local election agenda stated that “the municipal administrative formation should be re-structured concerning the demands and needs of the poor citizens”. Furthermore, the common local

election agendas of all RPP candidates were settling on the squatter settlements problem and amnesty law promise which was planned to be given for only one time to the impoverished (Yayman, 2000: 25-6). Besides to those new agendas; that movement also led to the establishment of the ‘Ministry of Local Government’ with the support of central administration but Ministry was abolished after a short term later. While this municipality movement carries innovative and creative elements for poverty struggle, its continuation process was interrupted in 1980s. Turkey was confronted with political and social instability. Although this movement confronted with lots of challenges, this process led to the formation of the political consciousness at the national level (Tekeli 1990: 47).

Lastly, at the last quarter of that decade, Law No. 2022 was enacted for poverty struggle. At the SPO Report (2007: 22) that Law’s context was determined as follows:

According to that Law issued on 10 July 1976, Turkish citizens who are over 65 years of age, provided that they are in need or disabled people even if they are under 65 years of age become entitled pension throughout their lives. In line with the Law, those who are entitled to pension are also entitled for free of charge medical treatment at public hospitals.⁴²

Consequently, by the 1950s onwards, Turkey faced with surplus population with migration dynamic to urban fields. Urban poverty takes its roots from that accelerating population dynamic. Political parties started to engage populist initiatives with the problem of squatter settlements. Particularly, after the 1970s, with the changing nature of local administrations by ‘Social Democratic Municipality’ movement, social democrat parties gained influence in the big municipalities and began to implement new municipality politics. However, local administrations had no required financial and technical resource to fight with poverty that they cannot provide systematic solutions to the poverty problem at the nation-wide. At local election declarations, most of the mayor candidates submitted their solution proposals for squatter settlements, but the hoped success did not come afterwards especially for urban poverty.

IV.1.1.3. Market Economy

At the early 1980s, Turkey confronted with the transition of accumulation strategy from ‘import-substitution industrialization’ to an ‘export-promotion strategy’ that altered the relation between primary and secondary circuits (Şengül, 2003: 163). In this respect, state’s initiatives towards privatization and export-based economy shrunk formal employment

⁴² For details, see, SPO, 2007. “The Situation of Elderly People in Turkey and National Plan of Action On Ageing”, <<http://ekutup.dpt.gov.tr/nufus/yaslilik/eylempla-i.pdf>>, p.22.

possibilities that hierarchical and exploitative relations were originated at informal sector with its unstable and temporary working conditions (Şenyapılı, 2000).

At the political field, municipal councils and provincial general councils were annihilated with the 1980 de-coup. According to the regulation enforced in 29 September 1980, Ministry of Interior made appointments instead of to the elected mayors (Görmez, 1997: 139). At that context, Şengül (2003: 163) clarifies that:

The military regime intended to create a new municipal model that was viewed as a technical institution responsible for service provision. Such a strategy was strengthened by applying at the municipal level market principles such as rationalization and privatization of service provision.

Military regime ended in 1983, and before local election of 1984; municipal institutions of metropolitan cities were structured under the Constitution of 1980 as a two-tier administrative formation with gaining additional powers in comparison to other municipalities. At first Deputy Election after 12 September, Motherland Party (MP) gained the political victory and party delivered title deeds and enforced amnesty law concerning squatter housing before local election (Özkan, 2002: 71). In this sense, several amnesty law enactments promoted squatter settlements and led to rise of their numbers; in particular during 1980 urban populations' %23,5 was composed of squatter population (Aydınlı, 2004: 145). Furthermore, three metropolitan municipality of Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir were controlled by MP government after 1984 local elections.

At that point, MP municipalism characteristics' including metropolitan municipalities were designated by Tekeli (1992: 102-107) as follows:

- Increasing municipal revenues by the transfers from budget,
- Before the provision of public control on development plan and establishment of a mechanism that provides technical knowledge; responsibilities at development planning were diverted to municipalities, multi-floor apartments raised at green areas with the decisions of municipal councils and make-sellers strongly represented by municipal council officials at local administrations,
- MP adopted privatization in the direction of neo-liberal policies.

In this respect, MP government had the target of diminishing the role of state in economy and realizing the economic reforms for the development of market economy. Party was mostly eager to liberalization with the promotion of entrepreneurial practices at urban fields (Keleş, 1992; Tekeli, 1992). Besides, project understanding of party opened new working areas for constructors with taking the support of urbanized middle class, but in a short time

they lost their political support and at 1989 local election party could not gain political success and stayed far-away from local politics (Erder and İncioğlu, 2004: 544).

At MP period concerning '*urban poverty*', migration flows had sustained especially to the metropolitan cities. The demographic rates of squatter settlements gradually increased which results in deterioration of urban poverty statistics. In that dimension, a hierarchical structure occurred in regard to land speculation and rent relationship. At that point, Erman (2001: 987) clarified that:

Several *gecekondu* laws were passed and let the construction of buildings of up to four-storeys leading to commercialization of *gecekondu*, and it is interpreted as the government's bribing those who suffered the most from their liberal policies, thus silencing them by giving them the hope of becoming rich, apartmentalisation of *gecekondu* became a widespread phenomenon. At that context, those who became better-off through the commercialization of the *gecekondu* were leaving their *gecekondus* and moving to apartments.

Moreover, Şengül (2003: 164) evaluated that period with those words, as follows:

During this period, not only did a squatter amnesty law issued in 1985 legalize all existing squatter settlements, but a process of transformation was initiated, with the preparation of development plans for all squatter neighborhoods to transform these areas into apartment blocks. In turn, each squatter owner was allowed to turn over his/ her plot of land to private developers in return for a few flats in the apartment block that would be built there. This scheme has been implemented in a considerable number of squatter areas and has transformed these areas into residential settings dominated by apartment blocks.

According to Tok (2005), supports of squatter settlers at the implementation of neo-liberal policies of party government returned them as rewards. State tendency towards the irregular access to urban spatial field has the objective of blocking social turmoil and social order legitimacy, is generally declared as generalized reciprocity and institutionalized redistributive justice. However, that orientation led to the emergence of '*immoral economy*', as to the extension of that '*negative reciprocity*' having informalized and personalized characters among squatters and state, it gave harm to impersonality and formal equality of exchange relationship (Buğra, 1998). As a result, stratification emerged due to the relations that hierarchy and exploitation embedded; raising families (advantageous section), isolated families (escape from poverty to a certain degree), and losers (unskilled, out of such relationship) came out as stratifications' categorized sides (Erder, 1996 cited in Taşkan, 2007: 64).

Furthermore, at that period, MP government had formulated the regulation concerning institutional arrangement towards poverty alleviation with the application of "Social

Assistance and Solidarity Foundation (SASF)". Foundation did not come out with having a formal social security understanding but it was based on the historical background of Ottoman traditional Vaqf (philanthropic foundation) system. It had the fundamental characteristic of the melange of public and private funds without proper delineation, which could be used in order to mobilize private donations under the guidance of state and alleviate the burden on the budget concerning welfare provision (Bonner *et al.*, 2003 cited in Buğra and Keyder, 2005: 28). In that context, state only takes over the responsibility of collecting donations and its delivery, and it is assumed that there is no need to finance social assistances from taxes (Buğra, 2005). At that point, Buğra clarified that (2007: 46):

It was hoped that the organization would function by mobilizing private donations to alleviate the burden of welfare provisioning on the state budget. However, the model could not work as it was planned initially, and public resources came to constitute the bulk of resources used for poverty alleviation. Welfare spending by the fund was not negligible, but the targeting of beneficiaries and the mode of disbursement of aid lacked transparency and efficiency, and the administrative structure seemed to reflect a desire (at least implicit desire) to keep social assistance outside the realm of social rights defined in the context of the formal redistributive system.

Carrying on the clarifications with developments after 1990s; a new period emerged with state's giving precedence to privatization due to the placement of neo-liberal policies. At that period, Turkish economy lived its terrible crisis (in 1994 and in 2001) and earthquake in 1999. Furthermore, the 1990s also faced with forced migration affecting mostly the urban poverty problem. At that point, Erman (2001: 988) clarifies the linkage with urban poverty and new comers, with those words:

The increasing migration from the south-east in the 1990s, to escape terrorism, also created cleavages. The newcomers to large cities, many of whom are people of Kurdish origin, have not been easily accepted into the existing migrant networks, and they have been experiencing social and political discrimination. As a result, they have created their own communities, usually in the most disadvantaged locations, and have ended up with impoverished lives and social stigma, creating a suitable atmosphere for radical action and social fragmentation.

In this sense, concerning urban poor, during the 1990s, in addition to the new comers from south-east, the only group identified as poor is not only squatter dwellers but also the ranks of the traditional middle classes joined to that group owing to the cutbacks at social expenditures of state and falling rates at wage levels (Şengül, 2003: 165). According to Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2001: 81);

For the continuation of the process of poverty in turns, there is the necessity of the formation of new network relations and urban land to occupy at urban fields. However, that process has been complicated by the slowing trend at

migration to metropol centers and decrease at the availability of the land which means that emergence of a new type of poverty.

According to Güvenç and Işık (2002: 213), after the 1990s globalization detrimental effects more clearly observed on the impoverished by the increase in urban segregation. Cities faced with polarization and fragmentation, in centers and residential areas, dual cities become more fragmented and multi-layered characteristics (Şengül, 2002: 165). In that context, that new form of urban poverty designated by Buğra and Keyder (2005: 219) as follows:

The indications of a significant decomposition and segregation seem to become concrete more than even before. In a general look, on the one side there is an increasing relative wealth and conspicuous culture accompanied by a growing withdrawal and isolation from common urban life patterns while forming an alternative on the basis of a distinguished exclusiveness; on the other side, there is worsening in life conditions with an attempt to generate new survival strategies, in a situation where the possibilities of social integration and opportunities of the informal sector narrowed down and traditional social protection mechanisms lost their significance. From the aspect of the poor, these circumstances would indicate to the emergence of a new form of poverty and with its exclusionary consequences.

Besides to changing nature of urban poverty, local politics entered into a new phase with 1989 local election by the local political success of Social Democratic Populist Party (SDPP). Poverty solution based topics took their places at local campaigns of party. In this sense, Istanbul metropolitan municipality mayor candidate of SDPP at that period put emphasis on free charge transportation facilities, free delivery of bread, water, and milk for low-income households, village clinics to each neighborhood, employment generation centers, free university courses (Çitçi *et. al.*, 2001: 186). SDPP local election campaign with the motto of 'Back Side of Istanbul' and 'Human First' dwelt upon the polarization and squatter settlement problem at the urban field (Erder and İncioğlu, 2004: 545).

In this respect, reaction towards the applications of MP and SDPP's success at submitting itself as the inheritor of the RPP at the municipal framework increased the votes of the party. In particular, MP officials frequently realized profit-seeking applications at urban areas in construction, trade, consumption instead of collective consumption and labor reproduction. However, SDPP inherited a municipal approach which is developed towards collective consumption and 'social justice' understanding in favor of urban poor (Doğan, 2004: 105). At 1989 local election, Karayalçın clarified his priority targets at publicity named 'Ankara, I Promise' as follows:

1. Transition from classical municipal understanding to autonomous local government approach,
2. Transparent and participatory municipalism approach,

3. Taking initiative towards the decentralization of whole public services,
4. Contribution to the improvement of income distribution, reaching to urban standards at squatter fields (Göymen, 1997: 72-73).

In this regard, Doğan (cited in Turan, 2008: 243) clarified Karayalçın Period with those words:

The first years of Karayalçın period were participatory, productive, revenue generator and local administration attempted to improve the life standards of the urban poor. However, at the following years, party became closer to neo-liberal arguments and retreated from meeting the needs of the poor neighborhoods.

At 1994 local elections, SDPP cannot demonstrate the same success as 1989 elections; Doğan (2004: 116) explained that unsucess with those clarifications:

It can be the outcome of the disappearance of the support to the social democrat municipal movements' representatives because of those reasons; first of all, SDPP municipalities cannot meet the hopes and promises towards participation (democratic), and collective consumption. Secondly, at metropolitan cities, municipal finance met by foreign credits, and the services and products that can be produce by municipality provided from private institutions.

At that context, at 1994 local election in Turkey, there was the social/ political agenda as ethnic and religious identities, in economic life with economic crisis; companies closed, production diminished and institutions making international evaluations decreased the credit rating of Turkey (Çitçi *et. al.*, 2001: 95). Islamist parties came to the front side at the representation of the urban poor and seized political control at greater metropolitan municipalities (Robins and Aksoy, 1995). Metropolitan mayorship of Istanbul and Ankara in that local election term was grasped by Welfare Party (WP) in 1994. At that point, White (2007: 24) clarified that “WP government success lies at its character of integration of hybrid masses and building local community networks. New solidarity kinds have been set up at each neighborhood for the new urban comers”. Additionally, Doğan (2004: 117) also added that WP local success depends on social assistance provision to the needy neighborhoods by municipality or vakıfs (supported by formal or informal ways by municipal administrations).

At that term, religious community networks organized for the assistance to the poor and new immigrants. First sample at poverty assistance institutionalization at municipalities was observed as setting up Ramadan tents; later coal, medicine, cheap book, school materials were delivered; and with ‘White Desk’ applications, communication technology was mostly used to inform local citizens about the social applications of municipal administrations (Erder and İncioğlu, 2004: 548-550). WP at local election took vote mostly from squatter

settlements and the poor neighborhoods from the urban centers; local organizations of that party worked out of local election as a social assistance and solidarity organization (Arat, 1999). WP was banned in 1998, the cadres of party entered into local elections under Virtue Party (VP), and this party controlled local power in 1999 local elections (party was banned in 2001 by Constitutional Court). VP municipal administrations applied cook-house, elderly, low income households assistances, and low price bread delivery applications. Erder and İncioğlu (2004: 551-555) stated that “the success of those parties at local elections was stemmed from the social assistances towards the impoverished, WP and VP municipal administrations took religious community solidarity experiences to the formation of local governments”.

From 1999 to 2004, lots of socio-economic affairs occurred in Turkey as earthquake in 1999 and 2000-2001 economic crisis. Subsequent economic crisis led the decline in economic growth from %5,1 in 1990 to %2,1 in 2002 (Sönmez, 2004: 15).⁴³ Economic crisis in 1994 brought many problems such as increase in unemployment, poverty, inequality in income distribution. At such a socio-economic context, in politics VP banned in 2001 and Justice and Development Party (JDP) founded by taking the highest vote at local election. *JDP* government gained political victory on 3 November 2002, at such an environment after 2001 economic crisis, with elucidating the escape from social erosion by the strength of family ties and Islamic solidarity culture. JDP government emphasizes that social assistances cause the danger of dependency of the impoverished and Party uses the slogan of “teaching people how to fish rather than giving them fish”. At the government program the principle caring institution is highlighted as the family, at the party program it is declared that “Turkish society is still intact after so many problems recently experienced, we largely owe it to our strong family structure” (AK Parti, 2003: 15).⁴⁴

Besides, party determination at public expenditure cutback promises to IMF reflected a typical ‘Conservative Liberalism’ formation which is not in harmony with social right concept (Buğra, 2008: 233). ‘Conservative Democracy’ document and book is influential in grasping JDP government political understanding. According to publication, it was declared that party with its whole institutions and councils is the supporter of a functioning market economy.⁴⁵ Moreover, at the 59th government program, one of the main targets of the party clarified as creating democratic market society. At the program, it was emphasized that

⁴³ For details, see, Sönmez, M., 2004. *100 Göstergede Kriz ve Yoksullaşma*, İletişim Yay., İstanbul

⁴⁴ For details, see, Akparti, 2003, <<http://www.akparti.org.tr/hukumetprg.doc>>.

⁴⁵ For details, see, www.akparti.org.tr/muhafazakar.doc (Erisim, 2 Eylül 2008), Yalçın Akdoğan, AK Parti, 2004; AKP Programı, <<http://www.akparti.org.tr>>.

“state should sustain policies for the impoverished and the vulnerable in cooperation with private organizations, NGOs and local governments”.⁴⁶

So that, rather than social rights based poverty alleviation policies, *philanthropic policies* came to the agenda that diminish the public responsibility related with social rights, leading to the exclusion of social problems from labor market (Hablemitoğlu, 2008: 105). Party government sees NGOs and municipalities are the key players at poverty alleviation. Hablemitoğlu (2008: 103-104) evaluated poverty struggle of JDP government as follows:

Government adopted neo-liberal economic understanding having the target to create market society cannot be in a harmony with social policy understanding based on citizenship which is situated at the opposite side of market society. Adopted social policies submitted as philanthropic and social assistances, which can be evaluated as ‘alms socialism’ and ‘conservative social democracy’. Party government is not dealing with the distribution of economic development to society. Populist neo-liberal policies were constructed under the mask of ‘assistance’ rather than provision of poverty alleviation with strong public arrangements. Neo-liberalism’s recommended policies of privatization, de-regulation and re-regulation, flexibility at labor market, minimum integration of state to the economic field lived during JDP government. Practices demonstrated that poverty is not defined as a structural problem and by social assistances ‘alms culture’ is reproduced.

In this respect, Şen (2009) stated that:

Each day has been confronting with the weakening of institutional social arrangements, abolishing limited social policy applications, devastating social rights with legal enactments and enhancing applications ignoring the impoverished problems with not taking serious solutions.

Poverty alleviation should not be realized without a citizenship contract between state and society; social right based responsibilities should be taken into account at the formulation of poverty reduction policies. The provision of social assistance has been functioning at a clientalist floor by giving priority towards adaptation and dependency to neo-liberal accumulation regime (Metin, 2011: 179). The context of JDP government at the articulation of market economy is based on forgetting the starting point of social policy understanding and its’ behind powers. Party government has insisting on an ideological setting based on traditional moral obligations, by destructing the understanding and functioning of social policy (Koray, 2007: 22).

⁴⁶ For details, see, 59. Hükümet Programı, ResmiGazete, 24 Mart 2003

IV.2. Central and Local Governments' Institutional, Legal Framework in Turkey at Poverty Reduction

IV.2.1. Social Assistance and Service Programs of Central Government at Poverty Struggle

Central government social assistance and service programs related with poverty struggle have been examined at the study, under the sub-headings of The Directorate of Social Services and Protection of Children, The Pension Fund for Civil Servants, Social Insurance Institution, Social Security Institution for Craftsmen, Social Assistance and Solidarity Fund and Foundations, Ministry of Health and Green Card for Health Care.

IV.2.1.1. The Directorate of Social Services and Protection of Children

The history of the Directorate of Social Services and Protection of Children began with *Hamidiye- Etfal Hastane-i Âlisi* in 1899 (Özbek, 1999: 18). After the reign of Abdülhamit the Second, it was abolished. At the starting period of the 20th Century *Himaye-i Etfal* Society was established in 1917. Later, it was restructured with Law No. 2828 and it took a new name, the Directorate of Social Services and Protection of Children, in 1983. The authority takes its delegated power from Constitution's item 61, which defines state's responsibility to the disadvantaged citizens in social and economic terms and also from the settling legislation Law No. 2828/ 9th and 26th articles.

At Article 9, it is clarified that;

- a) Institution has the responsibility to designate social assistance and service principles, policies and targets, to prepare and implement working plans and programs, to provide the coordination and the cooperation among the related ministries, institutions and organizations,
- b) Authority has responsibilities in strengthening the educational training of the family concerning bringing up a child, giving social assistance and consultancy; designating the children, the disabled and the elderly in deprivation, implementing services towards their care, protection.
- c) Developing and applying needed services and programs for the citizens and the households who are in deprivation, meeting their basic necessities in cash and kind, in harmony with the institution's revenues.

At the article 26, it is also added that:

Institution has the responsibility at the designation of the disabled, the elderly and other citizens need protection, care; examination of those vulnerable and their benefiting from social services.

In that context, Directorate social aids are given to the needy without any return and those social practices have protective, preventive, and supportive characteristics. Besides, those assistances are applied in coordination with other social services to provide effective assistances to the families. The Directorate of Social Services and Protection of Children regulation demonstrated the responsibilities of Directorate as “to render services for needy children in orphanages and kindergartens, services for old people at rest homes, care for children at nurseries and day care houses, and services for handicapped and paralyzed persons at rehabilitation centers”.⁴⁷

Moreover, while institution’s targeted beneficiaries mainly composed of the vulnerable children in need of protection, targeted groups are extended to the elderly, the disabled, the women exposed to violence and the families with problems. Common services implemented by the authority are institutional care, child adaptation, cash and in kind child care assistances, youth and child centers, nursery and daily child care, the disabled children rehabilitation and care services (Buğra and Keyder, 2005: 8). As to the 2010 statistics published at the Directorate’s website, in addition to social service administrations in all cities, the Directorate of Social Services and Protection of Children provides services by 74 children home, 323 child home, 85 affection home, 97 orphanages, 97 rest house, 5 elderly solidarity centers, 79 rehabilitation center, 37 child and youth center, 47 family consultation center, 85 community center and 43 women guest house (SHCEK, 2010: 16). For implementing those social based services and appropriate functioning of those previous and newly established centers, institution’s financial formation is critical that institution’s budget ratios from 2002 to 2011 and; allocated and expended pies of ‘current transfer’ in expense budget are analysed.

⁴⁷ For detail, see, SHCEK Law 2828 enacted 1983.

Table.4.2.1. The Directorate of Social Services and Protection of Children Allocated/Expended Pie at the Budget

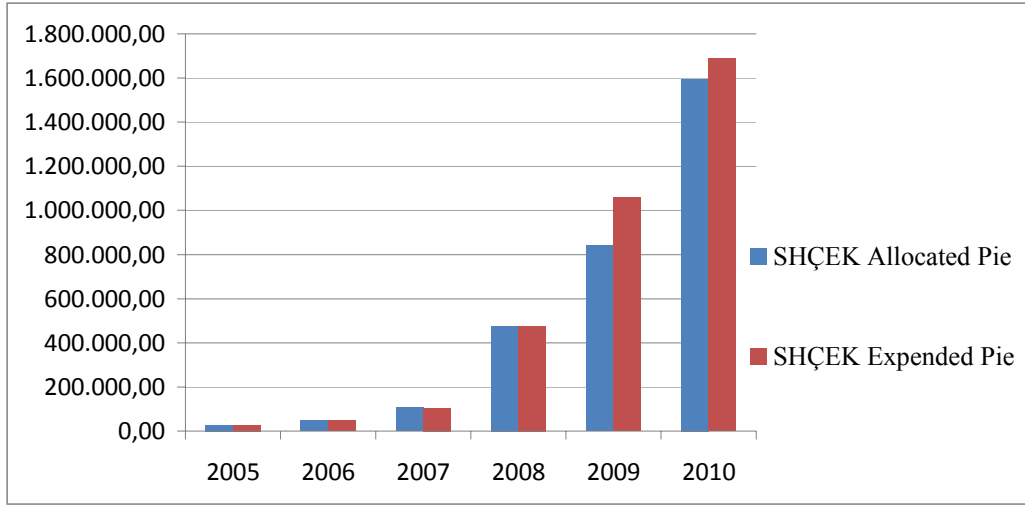
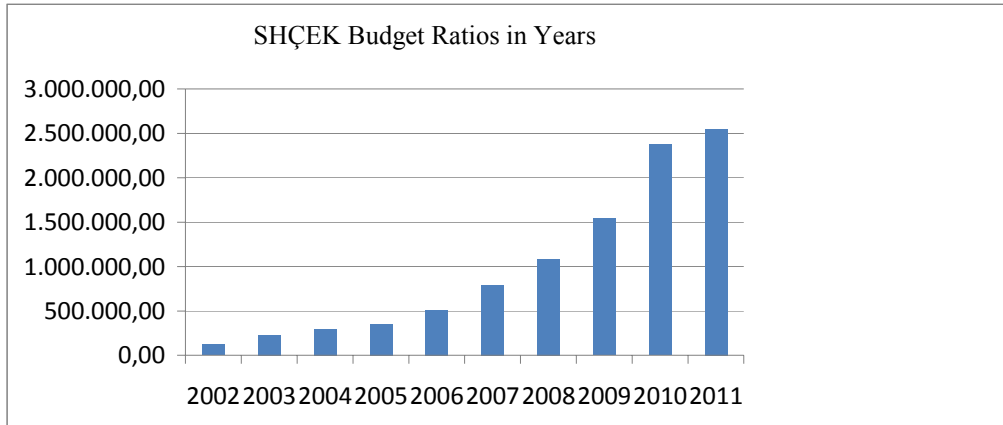


Table 4.2.1.1. The Directorate of Social Services and Protection of Children Budget Ratios in Years



Critically, it is seen that budget ratios are in harmony with ‘current transfers’ that increase gradually in each year. Furthermore, Social Service Law proposal submitted in 2005 (was not enacted) is critical for local administrations. It had the view of delegating lots of responsibilities of the institution to municipalities and SPAs; and at that proposal the role of Directorate defined with the coordination of social services among SPAs, municipalities, and NGOs.⁴⁸ Additionally, the critical point at that proposal is concerning with decentralization, good governance, performance based management which demonstrating the reflections of Law No. 5227 ‘Basic Principles of Public Administration and It’s Restructuring’. After the submission of the proposal, a meeting was held under the coordination of Directorate between assistant governors and mayors; and as an outcome of that gathering ‘Cooperation

⁴⁸ For details, see, SHÇEK, Sosyal Hizmetler Hakkında Kanun Tasarısı, <<http://www.shcek.gov.tr/portal/dosyalar/shcek/mevzuat/YeniKanun/SKurumKanunTasarisi.doc>>.

Report of Local administrations and The Directorate of Social Services and Protection of Children' was published (Aydın, 2009: 37). Afterwards, during 2-3 February 2006, 'Restructuring Social Services Congress' was held and criticisms towards social service proposals were discussed. At that framework, the proposal was criticized at several ways such as; it is not defining mutual expectations and responsibilities between local and central government, any standard and principle have been revealed at social service fields for local administrations. There are opponents claiming that SPAs would turn into an awkward institution if the proposal gains the chance of implementation.⁴⁹ In this sense, it is seen that a central government institution's responsibilities of social services, by those new regulations is trying to be diverted to local administrations; and it can be evaluated as the social policy responsibility transition effort from central government to local administrations.

IV.2.1.2. Social Security Institutions

IV.2.1.2.1. The Pension Fund for Civil Servants

Pension Fund, which is an influential administrative formation at combating poverty is different than the other social security institutions, because it has been functioning as a social assistance institution because of the origin of Law No. 2022 (Gül, 2004: 364). A critical program has been applied by Pension Fund since 1976, by Law No. 2022, which is 'assistance to the needy, elderly veterans and people with disabilities', a salary has been paid and health care provided to citizens. Institution had been restructured in several times, firstly established as 'Fund of Military Personnel' to serve military personnel in 1866, later 'Fund of Public Administration' was established in 1880. Two Funds merged in the name of 'Fund of Military and Civilian Authorities' in 1909. In 1949, the 'Pension Fund for Civil Servants of The Republic of Turkey' was established with the Law No. 5434 which was accepted in Turkish Grand National Assembly and it came into force in the same year, with this enactment social security rights of state officials rearranged.⁵⁰ The most serious policies concerning social assistance started to be developed during the last part of the 1970s (Gül *et. al.*, 2004: 395-6). The activities carried out in the Pension Fund for civil servants are as follows;

⁴⁹For details, see, Sosyal Hizmetlerin Yeniden Yapılandırılması Çalıştay Raporu, Kızılcıhamam, Ankara, 2006. <http://www.tepav.org.tr/tur/admin/dosyabul/upload/Sosyal_Hizmetlerin_Yeniden_Yapilandirilmasi_Calistayi.pdf>,pp 18-45.

⁵⁰ The Civil Servants Pension Fund, Social Insurance Institution, The Social Security Institution of Craftsmen Tradesmen and Other Self-Employed, SPO.

- Making transactions concerning pension, disability, duty disability; arises and cuts widower and orphan on salary, and pension premiums, death benefit, marriage benefits, single payment; gives back deduction and increases social relief.
- Putting needy and feeble people 65 years old, disabled and handicapped people who do not become 65 years old Turkish citizens on salary according to Law No. 2022.
- Providing medical benefits according to Law No. 5434 temporary article 139.
- Designating the needed income to perform aims and operates according to law writing.
- Paying transactions of monopoly shares to war disabled, martyr, widower and orphans.
- Establishing and operating “Rest House” and dispensatory.
- Operating tax refund transactions of widower and orphans taking salary from fund according to Law No. 2978 about Law of Tax Refund.⁵¹

Furthermore, Pension Fund institution’s income-expenditure stability indicated a negative trend after 1993 because of the Fund’s income insufficiency problem, and the authority’s budget started to give deficits. Tepekule (2008: 63) stated that “when comparing the insured citizens and deficit portions; it is the first institution that gives the most financial deficit comparing the other security institutions”.

IV.2.1.2.2. Social Insurance Institution

Social Insurance institution was established under the name of ‘Labor Insurances Institution’. At first years, Social Insurance Institution was only dealing with work injuries and occupational illnesses, with Law No. 5417 in 1950 old age, and with Law No. 5502 illnesses insurances were taken into the institutional framework. During 1965, with Law No. 506, institution’s name changed as Social Insurance Institution (Akbulak, 2004). By the legal enactment No. 102, insured citizens started to be protected towards working life varied risks; such as work injuries, occupational illnesses, maternity, old age, death, and unemployment (Egeli, 2007). In 2000, institution was restructured and categorized into General Directorate of Insurance Affairs and General Directorate of Health Affairs.

IV.2.1.2.3. Social Security Institution for Craftsmen (Bağ-Kur)

Craftsmen reached to social security in 1972 with the enactment of Law No. 1479, by Social Security Institution for Craftsmen Institution. That formation founded as a dependent

⁵¹ For details, see Emekli Sandığı Genel Müdürlüğü, History and Tasks, <<http://www.emekli.gov.tr/english/his.html>>

institution of Social Security Ministry but later the authority grasped its autonomy in administrative and financial terms. Social Security Institution for Craftsmen Institution's risk field stayed limited in comparison to the other institutions by covering disability, old age, and death insurances. However, with Law No. 3235 enactment in 05 November 1985, institution started to cover health insurance (TUSIAD, 1997). The scheme involves the self-employed outside the coverage of the Social Insurance Law such as craftsmen, artisans, small businessmen, technical and professional people who are registered to a chamber or professional association and shareholders of companies other than co-operatives and joint stock companies (TurkStat, 2004: 134). Finance of that institution provided by premiums from insured citizens and state budget.

By Social Security Institution Act No. 5502 in 2006; Social Insurance Institution, the Pension Fund, and the Social Security Institution for Craftsmen institutions removed provisions, their corporate entities called off and those institutions tied to the Social Security Agency. New Act No. 5502 is the revision of the Law No. 4947; Pension Fund which was not included in the legal framework of that law incorporated into legislation but the authority of ISKUR removed from the formation. Reform at social security system necessity declared mostly around different perspectives such as problems related to its scope, insufficiency of state contribution, hinders at premium collections, off-record applications, early retirement, funds inefficient evaluation, state intervention at politics, and financial crisis.

IV.2.1.3. Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation (SASF)

Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation (SASF) founded in 29.05.1986 by the Law No. 3294 under the control of Prime Ministry.⁵² General Secretary of the Fund which has been sustaining its' activities since 1986, restructured as 'Social Assistance and Solidarity General Directorate' tied unit of Prime Ministry and Fund administration diverted to that institution for strengthening its' existed institutional formation in 01.12.2004 by the Law No. 5263.⁵³ Furthermore, compatible with Law No 3294; for the provision of aid in cash and in kind to the needy, SASFs have been settled in each province and district of Turkey.⁵⁴ SASFs were active at provinces and they have the responsibility to meet the urgent basic needs of the poor. Those foundations management have been under the control of the presidency of

⁵² For details, see, Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışmayı Teşvik Kanunu, 1986. Resmi Gazete, 19134; 14.06.1986 Madde 1, 3.

⁵³ For details, see TC Başbakanlık Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Genel Müdürlüğü, 2006. *Sosyal Yardım Programları ve Proje Destekleri* (Ankara: Sosyal Yardımlaşma Ve Dayanışma Genel Müdürlüğü, 2006), s.6. 587; <[http:// www.sydtf. gov.tr/sydtf.html](http://www.sydtf.gov.tr/sydtf.html)>.

⁵⁴ For details, see 3294 S.K. item 7.

governor and boards of Director at the province level, and under the presidency of head official of district and boards of Directors at the district level. Each foundation is free at their decision-making process, and they have a judicial identity (Oğuz, 1999: 76). Additionally, the main targets of the SASF, as stated in the relevant Law No. 3294 are;

- To provide social assistance to the needy and vulnerable citizens, along with other individuals accepted to Turkey for any reason,
- To ensure equal income distribution taking additional measures for social justice,
- To promote social solidarity.⁵⁵

3294th Social Solidarity Law includes people who are in deprivation, not dependent to any social security institution and have salaries from these institutions (Sözer, 1998: 90). After 2001 crisis, institution gained additional responsibilities in order to tackle with the poverty problem. Authority does not only give efforts to provide the basic needs of the poor, it also tries to enhance the support at education, health services and to strengthen the poor's human capital.⁵⁶ In particular, the initiatives at capacity building and employment generation activities have been widened at national scale.⁵⁷ A recent step of the Social Assistance General Directorate is the regular cash assistance provisions program to the widowed by the 29.12.2011 decision of Social Assistance and Solidarity Fund Board. Within the context of that program, the vulnerable widowed women, who are not under security institution can take the right to take 250TL in each month with two month intervals.⁵⁸

After all those detailed clarifications concerning the institutional framework of SASF, the study will also dwell upon the main problems at the social assistance functioning process of Foundation. SASF established to provide aid in cash and in kind without any clear criteria of eligibility and, hence, without appeal to well defined social rights (Buğra and Keyder, 2003: 36). Fund mostly mentioned as *Fak-Fuk Fon*, in most times used its revenues for other targets particularly for the promotion of export instead of assistance towards the impoverished (Sallan Gül, 2002). According to Boratav (1991: 119), during 1987-1991, Fund revenues expended for MP's populist initiatives, such as at the creation of the elector base from the urban poor. Moreover, 18 May 1996 dated journal, it was mentioned that gathered 32.5 trillion's only 3.4 trillion expended for the poor; period's responsible state

⁵⁵ For details, see, SASF, The Role of State Coping with Poverty, <<http://www.sydtf.gov.tr/ENGLISH/ymsyvd.html>>.

⁵⁶ For details, see <<http://www.sydtf.gov.tr/sydtf.html>>.

⁵⁷ For details, see BYDK (1986–2004), *Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışmayı Teşvik Fonu Yıllık Raporları*, T.C. Başbakanlık Yüksek Denetleme Kurulu, Hizmete Özel, Ankara.

⁵⁸ For details, see <<http://www.sosyalyardimlar.gov.tr/tr/haberler/s/4814>>." [Eşi Vefat Etmiş Kadınlar İçin Sosyal Yardım Programı Başlatıldı](#)", (28.02.2012).

minister also accepted that financial ratio and stated that “from Fund, source diverted to budget; if not realized 860 trillion deficit would be enhanced”.⁵⁹ During JDP government in 2004, Foundation was transformed to General Directorate. However, the expected transition is not realized at relieving poverty (Çelik, 2010: 77). In that context, Metin (2011: 191) evaluated the problems of SASF as organizational structure of General Directorate and Foundation Committee, not transparency at the objective usage conditions of assistances, difficulty at the control mechanism leading to the openness of practices to the political effects. Fund has aiming to cut the expenses of the public expenditure and to reduce public bureaucracy but in time the Foundation had been centralized and Fund administration became more complex and bureaucratic. According to Gül (2004: 1-2):

The central and local officials saw the financial capacity of that institution as a reserve to their own policies. There are also other shortcomings related to the Foundation Act. The staff at this institution has no responsibility and also technical knowledge about poverty problems. The assistance areas are limited with short term projects; those actions are not related with human capital projects; they provide temporary solutions and do not support the people at increasing their standard of livings. There is an uncertainty at the designation of the poor, in general the aid is used for the people who are not the target group.

Moreover, after 2001, institution gained additional responsibilities. An influential highlighting point is the cooperation between WB and Turkey at poverty struggle with the *Social Risk Mitigation Project*. The WB began to contribute to social assistance provision by the Solidarity Fund through Social Risk Mitigation Project (SRMP). This project signed at 11 September 2001 between the WB and Turkish government. WB transferred a 15-year loan under the implementing institution of SASF for a five year program.⁶⁰ The main objective of that project is alleviating the negative effects of the 2001 economic crises on the impoverished at the short and long term period. WB Report highlighted the four basic goals of this project:

1. To provide direct and emergency income support to the poor affected by the 2001 crisis (Social risk mitigation)
2. To increase the social capacities of the state institutions responsible for delivering services and aids to the poor (social risk management)
3. To implement a basic social assistance system covering the poorest eight percent of the population, on the condition of using it to provide basic health and education services (mitigation and prevention of social risk)
4. To increase income and employment creation opportunities for the poor (social

⁵⁹ For details, see, Milliyet, 18 May, 1996.

⁶⁰ For details, see World Bank, Social Risk Mitigation Project, <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/SAFETYNETSAND_TRANSFERS/Resources/281945-1131468287118/1876750-1140107387177/TurkeyCCT.pdf>.

risk reduction) (WB, 2001: 1). The study clarifies these items in detail with the following sub-headings.

Rapid Response: This assistance program covers the aid programmes of the SASFs, targeted at poor families' problems about health, education. The assistance areas capture these fields; education, food, fuel and health assistance to the poor families who were affected from the 2001 crises.

Conditional Cash Transfers: This transfer is devoted to the poorest eight percent of the population for the formation of a social security network. This component involves this issue; the families who cannot send their children to the school or who have problems in reaching the health services for their children can take direct financial aid. It is hoped for a behavioral change at the families' attitude towards education and health to combat with poverty issues in their daily lives (WB, 2001: 23).

Institutional Development: With this component the General Directorate of SASF, the Social Services and Child Protection Agency and the State Institute of Statistics institutional capacities tried to be improved and developed; because these institutions are vital at the reduction of poverty (WB, 2000). The planned areas at this project includes these dimensions; development of these institutions' technical infrastructure, increase staff qualities by training activities (SYDTF, 2002: 2).

Local Initiatives: This project came into the agenda in 2002 (WB, 2001: 24).⁶¹ Within the framework of the local initiatives component, it was decided to give 1 000\$ to each person to participate in projects for generating income to the poor, 10 000\$ to applications for employment training and up to 50 000\$ to projects related to social centers.⁶²

IV.2.1.4. Ministry of Health and Green Card for Health Care

Ministry of Health and General Secretary of SASF signed an agreement in 1998. According to that agreement people who are unable to pay the cost of health services apply to province or district level of Social Solidarity Fund and get the certificate, their cost of health services are paid by General Secretary of Social Solidarity Fund up to a certain level. Another

⁶¹ For details, see, World Bank, 2001, *Social Risk Mitigation Project (PAD and PID)* <<http://www.wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDBP/IB/2>>.

⁶² For details, see, Milliyet 27 February 2002.

influential step comes with green card application began in 1992 for health care to those with monthly income less than one-third of the minimum wage. At the application of green card; there are three main conditions to benefit from the scope of the law; these are (Law No 3816/Article: 3):

- a- Being within the security of none of the social security institutions (except the ones who work less than 30 days in home services and the ones working part time and the ones working when called although they are insured),
- b- The income per capita being less than one third of the gross minimum wage,
- c- Being a law residing Turkish citizen living in Turkey (Karadeniz, 2010: 4).

In that context, number of green card holders increased especially during 2001 economic crises (Karadeniz, 2010: 4). In this term, economy shrank by 8%, registered insured numbers decreased, and green card applications increased at the nation wide (OECD/WB, 2008: 34).⁶³ Health care expenses' compensation coverage has been extended substantially (Köse and Durusoy, 2005: 47). Critically, green card application used as a political tool; a sample can be given from number of beneficiaries, before 2007 general election term the number of green card users covered 14.541.791 but decreased to 9.230.604 in 2008,⁶⁴ approximately 5 million cards cancelled at that period. Before that period, in some provinces green card delivery came close to the province total population whereas at some, the ratios become so much limited in comparison to those provinces (Çelik, 2010: 75).

IV.2.2. Social Assistance and Service Programs of Local Administrations at Poverty Struggle

Under that sub-heading, previous and recent municipal laws of 1580, 5393, 5216, and SPAs Laws of 3360 and 5302; Ministries' directorates have been examined in comparison with new and previous laws.

IV.2.2.1. Municipality Law No. 1580 (1930)

Municipal administration is a corporation established in the statute of public legal entity having powers of self-government (autonomous) both administratively and financially, to meet the local and common requirements of the county inhabitants and the decision maker of

⁶³ For details, see OECD, WB, (2008), OECD Reviews of Health System: Turkey (*in Turkish*) <http://www.tusak.saglik.gov.tr/pdf/kitaplar/200902201441250.OECD_Kitap.pdf>

⁶⁴ For details, see Sağlık Bakanlığı Yeşil Kart Bilgi Sistemi, <<http://sbu.saglik.gov.tr/yes-il/default.asp>>.

which is elected by the electors.⁶⁵ Municipal administrations' functions and responsibilities designated at Municipal Law No. 1580 but at that framework; General Health Law No. 1593 (Umumi Hifzıssihha Kanunu) enacted in 1930 is influential at the demonstration of municipalities' general health services that related articles have been clarified below;

Article 20:

Cleaning up the neighborhoods' from harmful insects; struggling with epidemic illnesses, establishing urgent health aid organization, and managing hospital, dispensary, and maternal hospital.

Other items including social based responsibilities have been highlighted below;

Article 154:

Doctors and midwives have the responsibility of the impoverished women child birth'.

Article 161:

Abandoned children up to six years has to be supported by municipal administrations; if local administration has no private institutional formation; those children can be adopted by families for bringing up and care.

Article 162:

At neighborhoods' above 10.000 population, municipalities can establish nursing care houses.

Article 165:

Children below the age of 10, having family or orphan; if their life and health, morality has been threatening, municipal administration can adopt those children'.

Moreover, municipalities carried out social policies which are critical at combating poverty struggle, with respect to the article 15 of Municipality Law No. 1580 enacted in 1930. The Law gived general responsibilities to municipalities at the provision of health and social welfare services. Besides, items no 18, 34, 48, 69 were also related to protection and welfare of the children and the poor.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ For details, see Municipality Law No. 5393, Article 3.

⁶⁶ For details, see, 1580 Sayılı Belediye Kanunu, 1930, <<http://www.ankara-bel.gov.tr/mahalli/4.htm> >

Article 15:

Regarding to laws and regulations, municipalities have responsibilities and duties to organize and to provide health, peace, and social services to the people at their province.

Article 18:

To protect and to take care of mentally ill, sick people, deserted and lonely children.

Article 34:

To take care of the twins of the poor families, to help the orphan, the poor children by giving cash aid, providing food, clothing, accommodation, medicine and help their education, and help to improve their moral values, to look after the poor and the sick people and provide medicine to them, to burry death poor people, to take care of the disabled people who have nobody to look after.

Article 48:

To find jobs for homeless people, to send back poor people to their hometown who cannot able to work; to protect the women and the children who have nobody to take care and look after.

Article 69:

To build houses to accommodate poor people.⁶⁷

At the Municipality Law No. 1580, two critical points have been influential; firstly, the specific social roles of municipalities were not emphasized in a clear way. Generally all articles dwelt upon the poor citizens' needs; and secondly the articles designated the needy as the orphan and the poor; no article emphasized the elderly and the other vulnerable groups. For the disabled, a regulation was enacted in 1997 (30/5/1997-KHK- 572/4) concerning social, cultural activities and transportation with free services. Regulation emphasized the need of cooperation and participation of whole stakeholders for opening up courses to teach arts and profession (30/5/1997-KHK- 572/4).⁶⁸ Only with the Law No. 5393, mayors rights related to those tasks concerning disabled are mentioned in a detailed way.

IV.2.2.2. Municipality Law No. 5393 (2005)

Municipality Law No. 5393 enacted in 2005 is vital at grasping the changing and increasing roles of municipal administrations at poverty struggle. At that law, municipalities' social responsibilities extension has seen in an obvious way in comparison with the previous Municipality Law No. 1580. In addition to traditional responsibilities of municipalities listed

⁶⁷ For details, see, 1580 Sayılı Belediye Kanunu, 1930, <<http://www.ankara-bel.gov.tr/mahalli/4.htm>>

⁶⁸ For details, see, 1580 Sayılı Belediye Kanunu, 1930, <<http://www.ankara-bel.gov.tr/mahalli/4.htm>>

at the previous law concerning infrastructure of the city, now social responsibilities, especially social services and social assistance areas of the municipality are emphasized in the Law No. 5393.

Article 13:

Everyone is a fellow-citizen of the county which he lives in. The fellow-citizens shall be entitled to participate in the decisions and services of the municipality, to acquire knowledge about the municipal activities and to benefit from the aids of the municipal administration. It is a basic principle to extend aid without hurting human feelings.

Paragraph A of article 14 of the Municipal Law No. 5393 states that:

In addition to infrastructure, irrigation, reconstruction, transportation, city traffic and etc., the municipality must work for improving housing conditions, health, social and cultural relations, youth sport services, social services and aid, economy and commerce, and provide such services in the closest possible areas to the people and through most convenient methods. The metropolitan municipalities and municipalities which have population over 50.000 are required to open women shelters and childcare centers.⁶⁹

Article 15/m:

In order to improve and take under control regional economy and commerce, to restrict the activities of the street sellers who work without license; to transfer the foodstuff confiscated by the municipality to the nutrition banks if not taken back within two days against payment of fine; to distribute the other stuff to the people in destitute if not taken back within thirty days against payment of fine.

Duties and Powers of the Mayor

Article 38-The following are the duties and powers of the Mayor:

- m) To take necessary measures for peace, welfare, health and happiness of the inhabitants of the county.
- n) To use the appropriations reserved in the budget for the poor people and those who are in destitute; to carry out the services in favor of the disabled and to construct houses for disabled⁷⁰.

In that context, it is clearly seen that the Law No. 5393 engages other vulnerable groups in the society with not only establishing new institutions for women, children, and youth but also for the disabled. Additionally, the roles of mayor have also designated at social service provision at the Article 38. In the Law No. 5393, establishment of the professional centers for the disabled became compulsory for municipalities. In paragraph N of article 38, it was also stated that as ‘for poor people and the disabled as well as constituting rehabilitation

⁶⁹ For details, see, 5393 Sayılı Belediye Kanunu Madde 14/a.

⁷⁰ For details, see, Municipality Law No.5393, Article 38.

centers for disabled' appropriations reserved in the budget.⁷¹ Furthermore, at the municipal expenditures at the part of the budget; there is also the article concerning social services of the vulnerable groups.

Article 60- The expenditure of the Municipality:

I) Social services and aids to be rendered to the poor people and those who are in destitute and with narrow income.

Article 76-City Council:

City council shall be responsible from promotion of urbanization and fellow-citizenship vision, preservation of the rights of the inhabitants and materializing the rules stipulating developmental consistency, environmental care, social solidarity, transparency, participation in management and stable operation of control mechanism. The municipalities shall provide the necessary assistance and support to the city council to enable performance of above listed activities effectively in cooperation with professional groups in the status of public institution, trade unions, notaries, universities (if any), concerned non-governmental organizations, political parties, public institutions and corporations, representatives of executive officers of parish, and other authorized bodies taking part in the city council. The opinions declared by the city council shall be put on the agenda and assessed during the first meeting of the municipal council. Working principles and procedures of the city council shall be determined with a regulation to be prepared by the Ministry of Interior.⁷²

From those clarifications, it is observed that LA21 process provides the citizen participation to local social solidarity issues by the new participatory platforms of city councils and working groups of LA21. Local citizens gain the chance to preserve their individual interest and prevent his/ her alienation from the political system and feel more responsible for public. This leads to citizens' interest to maintain and preserve community services and facilities (Önez, 2006: 60-62). LA21 city councils and working groups facilitate the participation of different organizations to debate their different agendas and approaches during the poverty problem analysis and formulation stages of the Action Plan. At the formulation of policies, citizens can easily put their ideas and desires about urban problems. This process indicates sharing of responsibilities and active involvement of citizens at poverty struggle. Participation of community to the local issues provides the legitimization of the local governments' decisions. With the LA21 participatory platforms local administrative units block the criticisms of their activities and gain the support of the community (Çukurçayır, 2001: 44-5). With the LA21 tool, local administrations' implementations are approved by the community with the help of city councils and working groups.

⁷¹ For details, see, 5393 Sayılı Belediye Kanunu Madde 38/n.

⁷² For details, see, Municipality Law Nr.5393, Article 76.

Article 77:

Municipality organizes and applies programs for the purposes of the participation of voluntary people, in order to provide their cooperation and participation in the activities of health, education, sport, environment, social service and aid, library, recreational park, traffic, cultural services and services for elders, women, children, disabled people, poor and needy in the providence.⁷³

For the first time, social services for the women and the children are mentioned in the law and the responsibility is given to the municipalities in addition to central government⁷⁴.

IV.2.2.3. Metropolitan Municipality Law No. 5216 (2004)

Metropolitan municipality is determined at the Law No. 5216, at Article 3, as follows:

Administratively and financially autonomous public legal entity of which decision making organs are elected by the voters and which comprises at least three district or first degree municipality; establishes coordination between the municipalities: undertakes the duties and responsibilities conferred upon by the laws and uses its powers whenever deemed necessary.⁷⁵

Social policy roles and assistance fields at poverty struggle are approximately standardized with the Metropolitan Municipality Law No. 5216 and Municipality Law No. 5393. At the Law No. 5393, the social responsibilities that are given to municipalities, similarly now listed for metropolitan municipalities.

Article 7, is related to the designation of the vulnerable groups and article 18/m is concerning about the disabled activities and centers, and the required budget for the poor. The related articles concerning poverty and poverty struggle are clarified below;

Article 7:

To provide social and cultural services for adult, youth, children, women, disabled and seniors; to establish social institutions, courses to increase employment opportunities for people are some of the new social obligations of the metropolitan municipalities expected by the central authority.⁷⁶

Article 18/m:

To utilize the municipality money for poor and needy people distributed in the budget and to support the activities about disabled people and open centers for

⁷³ For details, see, 5393 Sayılı Belediye Kanunu Madde 77.

⁷⁴ For details, see, Municipality Law Nr. 5393, Article 77.

⁷⁵ For details, see, Greater Municipality Law Nr. 5216.

⁷⁶ For details, see, Resmi Gazete 5216 Sayılı Büyükşehir Belediye Kanunu, 2004. Madde 7, Kabul Tarihi: 10.7.2004.

them. In the same manner the expenditure of services for poor and disabled people were included in the expenses part of the budget.⁷⁷

In the Law of Greater Municipality No. 5216, social assistance and social services have clearly emphasized in the expenses section of metropolitan municipality budget and for the first time as in Law No. 5393, to support the poor, the needy and the disabled emphasized under the responsibilities of municipalities in article 24/j and article 24/o.

Article 24: The Expenses of Metropolitan Municipality:

- j) Social services and aid for low income, poor, needy, disabled people and orphans.
- o) The expenses for sport, social, cultural and scientific activities.⁷⁸

IV.2.2.4. Special Provincial Administrations (SPAs) Law No. 5302 (2005)

SPA is defined at the Law No. 5302 article 3, as the public entity enjoying administrative and financial autonomy, which is set up to meet the local and common needs of the people dwelling in the province, and whose decision-making branch is elected and made up by electors.⁷⁹ SPA Law No. 3360 defined the responsibilities of local administration at poverty struggle in social and economic fields.⁸⁰ At the social field, related responsibility of local authority was emphasized as opening up hospital, outpatient clinic, nurseries and orphanages. According to Law No. 4109 related to assistance to the needy soldier families, item 11; SAP assisted vulnerable soldier families; and Law No. 2828 related to Social Service and Child Protection, item 18 the administrative body gave contribution rate (3360 Law No/ item 78). However, those assistance areas do not have direct contribution at the solution of poverty problem. Furthermore, SPAs cannot realize those responsibilities and related social assistance areas' responsibilities diverted to Ministry of Health. At economic field responsibilities that defined at Law No. 3360 item 78 gave direct duties to SPAs. Those responsibilities were as follows; setting up farm instruments stores, opening up farm product exhibitions and arranging competitions, setting commercial and industrial chambers, contributing initiatives that are useful for provincial economic development, supporting existed initiatives. However, SPAs cannot fulfill related responsibilities and in time those tasks diverted to related ministries.

⁷⁷ For details, see, Resmi Gazete 5216 Sayılı Büyükşehir Belediye Kanunu, 2004. Madde 18/m, Kabul Tarihi: 10.7.2004.

⁷⁸ For details, see, Resmi Gazete 5216 Sayılı Büyükşehir Belediye Kanunu, Madde 7, Kabul Tarihi: 10.7.2004.

⁷⁹ For details, see, Special Provincial Administration Act - No:5302.

⁸⁰ For details, see, <<http://www.istanbulcevor.gov.tr/pdf/ilozelkanunu.pdf>>.

New Law No. 5302 enacted at 2005 and poverty struggle responsibilities of local administration have been defined in a more detailed framework. The important highlighting point here is that is the application of *micro credit* instrument. Micro-credit integrated to the local administrations' implementation fields with the article 6/a.

Article 6/a: SPA shall have the duty and entitlement to do the following, provided that they are of a local and common nature:

Within provincial boundaries: services relating to health, agriculture, industry and trade; environmental arrangement plan of the province, public works and housing, protection of soil, prevention of erosion, social services and assistance, granting micro loans to the poor, nurseries and orphanages; procurement of plots of lands for primary and secondary education schools, and the meeting of their needs for the construction, maintenance and repairs of their schools.⁸¹

IV.2.2.5. Recent Regulations concerning Poverty Alleviation

Municipal Law No. 5393 and Metropolitan Municipality Law No. 5216 have influential articles about the responsibilities of local administrations to the vulnerable groups covering children, women, elderly, disabled but at the Municipal Law No. 1580 those groups were not emphasized in a detailed way and some groups had not taken into account like the elderly group. Furthermore, SPA Law No. 5302 has also new articles on poverty alleviation struggle; particularly granting micro loans to the needy is given under the responsibility of local administration. After the clarification of local administrative legal framework; for a deep examination of the increase at poverty alleviation responsibilities of local administrations, Ministerial directives to local authorities on social services have been examined.

Children Protection Law No. 5395 came into force on 15.07.2005 and it gives also clues about social responsibilities of municipalities after the Municipal Laws.⁸²

Article 5:

- a) Protective and supporting precautions such as guidance, education, health and nutrition should exist in the children's own family.
- b) Guidance precautions which provide the correct way to rise up a child for families and also for children at the solution of problems related with their education and development.

⁸¹ For details, see, 5302 Special Provincial Act, p.2.

⁸² For details, see Resmi Gazete, 5395 Sayılı Çocuk Esirgeme Kanunu, Madde 45/1, Kabul Tarihi: 15.07.2005.

c) Taking precautions at the provision of shelter for homeless parents and also pregnant women who have life risk.

Article 45:

Ministry of National Education, the Directorate of Social Services and Protection of Children and municipalities are responsible for the provision and application of the precautions concerning shelter and consultancy.

According to another Law No. 5378 enacted at 07.07.2005 related with the disabled; crucial arrangements concerning the disabled have been highlighted and particularly municipalities gained lots of responsibilities on that legal framework.

Article 13:

Social and occupational rehabilitation services are applied by municipalities. At the submission of those services if municipalities consider it necessary, local authorities can make cooperation with Community and Apprenticeship Training Centers. If the disabled citizens demands cannot meet, disabled can take service from the nearest center and related municipality pays that service quantity to the purchased center and provides the service from its' budget.⁸³

Temporary Article 2:

Institutional installations belonging to public institutions, existed whole road, pavement, open and green field, sport fields and similar social and cultural infrastructure areas and real and corporate bodies installations and every installation giving general open service, from the enactment of that law in seven years has to be in appropriate condition to the access of disabled.

Temporary Article 3:

Metropolitan municipalities and municipalities take precautions at the provision of public transportation for the appropriate access of disabled. Existed private or public transportation vehicles will be at an appropriate condition for the disabled starting from the enactment of that law in 7 years.

At that law, it was clarified that the most important responsibility is at local administrations; those arrangements realized on the direction of the activation plans of municipalities and related other public institutions' applications followed by Prime Ministry Disabled Administration Directorate. Moreover, Social Service Guidance for Local Administrations (*Yerel Yönetimler Sosyal Hizmet Rehberi*) published by the Ministry of Interior in 2005. That related guide emphasizes social service responsibilities of local administrations by those local

⁸³ For details, see, Resmi Gazete, 5378 Sayılı Özürlüler ve Bazı Kanun ve Kanun Hakkında Kararnamelerde Değişiklik Yapılması Hakkında Kanun, Madde 38/n, Madde 13, Kabul Tarihi: 01.07.2005.

laws, such as 5393, 5216, and 5378. At the Social Service Guidance, the basic initiatives and the target group that in need of social service provision has been clarified in detail.

Some of the basic initiatives are listed as follow:

- Defining the whole needy groups and making inventory studies at the registration process of the impoverished,
- Categorizing the aid and services according to the social and economic position of the needy,
- Generating a constant material resource system,
- Forming an effective counseling, urgent help, and online assistance system,
- Developing cooperation with the other social service units and institutions,
- Generating long-term plans concerning aids and social services,
- Setting up rehabilitation centers,
- Arranging awareness-raising campaigns for local citizens.

Target Group and Activation Fields are also demonstrated as; protection and care of needy families; children, youth, elderly, disabled and women vulnerable to violence and exploitation, orphans, unemployed, street children, immigrants facing adaptation problems to urban life, children and adults have crime tendency.⁸⁴ Even though the laws contain long lists of social tasks of local administration, the same functions are carried out by different institutions (Directorate of Social Services and Protection of Children, Solidarity Fund, municipalities and SPAs). Overlapping responsibilities between central and local government institutions create challenges; and it also hinders effective implementation of poverty related services.

⁸⁴ For details, see, İçişleri Bakanlığı Strateji Merkezi Başkanlığı, (2005), Yerel Yönetimler Sosyal Hizmet Rehberi, Yayın No.6, Ankara, p. 11.

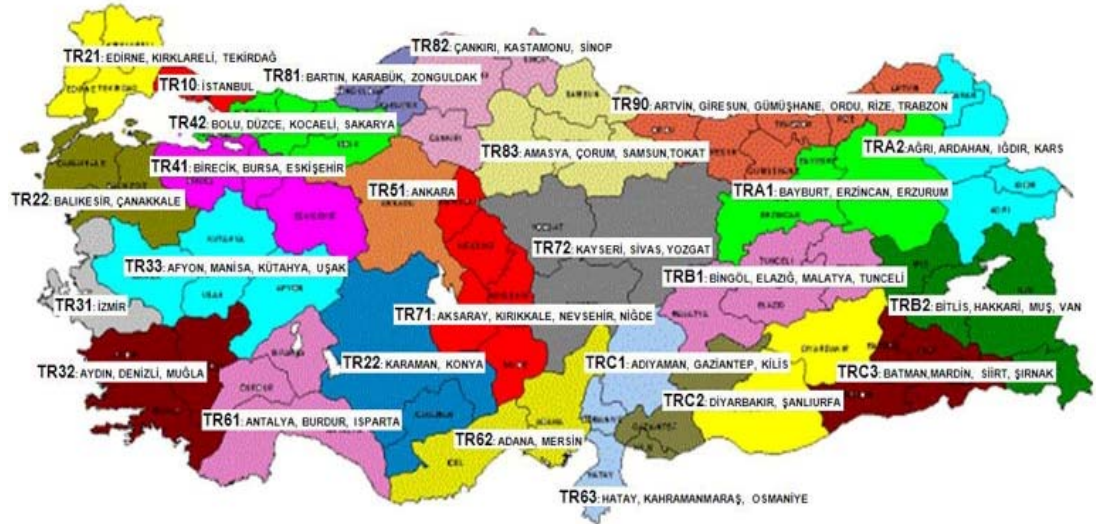
CHAPTER V

CASE STUDIES OF AYDIN, DENİZLİ AND MUĞLA

V.1. TR 32 GEKA Region

The TR32 GEKA Region is composed of Aydın, Denizli, and Muğla provinces. The cities of Aydın and Muğla cities are located along the coastal strip of Aegean area and Denizli is at the inside of the region. Denizli province has a location connecting Mediterranean, Central Anatolia, and Aegean region. GEKA Region's population density of 84 is below the national density statistics with the rank of 11 among 26 regional units. The urbanization rate demonstrates an accelerating trend with %12,3. In this sense, the urban population ratio is %57 with the rate of 1.544.638 and 1.163.260 citizens have been living at districts and villages. Net migration rate of 0,4 is again ranked 11 in comparison with whole statistical regional units (among 26 regional units) in Turkey.

Figure 2.3.4. Statistical Regional Units in Turkey and TR32 GEKA Region



85

⁸⁵ 26 Statistical Regional Units in Turkey, < <http://www.dpt.gov.tr/bgyu/biid/ibbs.html>>.

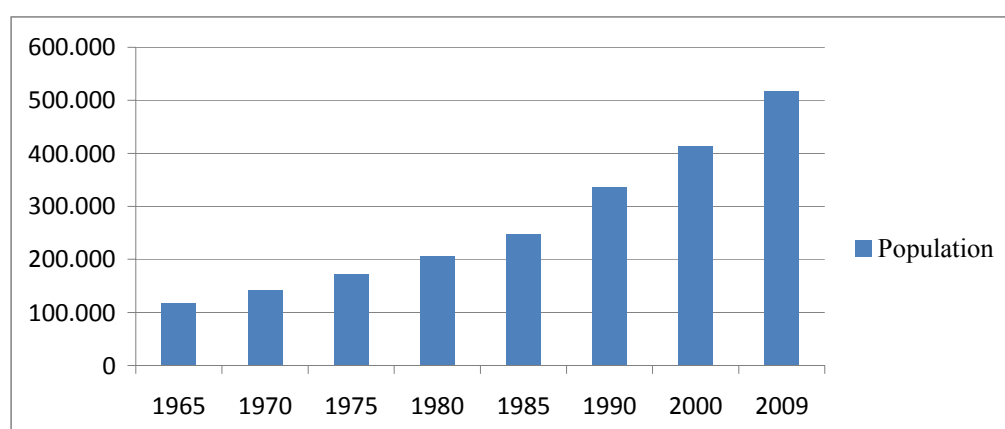
In demographic sense, the young population has an overwhelming influence in the region. According to 2009 statistics, %37 of the region's population is below the age of 25. The population aged between 25-65 composed %53 of the total demographic amount. Furthermore, the literacy rate is 1.231.238; illiterate population has covered 149.173 people, 148.993 of them are above the age of 15 (TurkStat, 2009). Employed populations' categorized occupational statistics illustrated at the TurkStat Report (2009); as %52,1 in service sector, %27,3 in agriculture and %20,5 in industrial sector. In this context, the region's unemployment ratio is %14,2 and the labor participation rate is %53,9. Lastly, the unemployment ratio aside from the agriculture sector is %13,6 and the employment portion is %44,6 (TurkStat, 2009). The gross value added per-capita, according to 2006 statistics, is 6850\$.

V.2. Denizli Case

Denizli is located in the Aegean Region, province is the second largest city of the TR32 GEKA region and specifically this province is one of the leading cities in Turkey in terms of economic development. The province has made a crucial attract after the transition from import substitution industrialization strategy to the export-oriented growth strategy in a competitive international environment of the textile industrial branch.

According to ADKNS (Registered Population System Based on Addresses); total population of Denizli province is 926.362 and at that population statistics, central district's population is 488.768; additionally, excluding the central district; there are 87 municipalities and 358 villages at Denizli provincial boarders.

Table 5.2.1. Denizli Province Population Change in Years



As maintained by TurkStat (2009) data, the province's population annual rise is % 9,3 ranking 41 among the provinces of Turkey and the population density is 79 with illustrating the 31th position among other provinces. The migration rate (per thousand) is -1.7 with 33 percent in Turkey, having below ratio comparing other GEKA cities of Aydın and Muğla.

The urbanization level rose from %48,69 to %68,1 with covering the statistics of 2004 and 2009 ratios by highlighting the change in five year term. However, Denizli province urbanization ratio, mainly the annual population rise is below Turkey's average rates (TurkStat, 2009).

Furthermore, labor force integration statistics demonstrate that the industrial and agricultural labor total ratio is above Turkey's average. In this sense, in Denizli province the most important industrial branch is the textile industry with its high employment capacity and its contribution to added value.⁸⁶ Denizli unemployment rate of %9,4 (Turkstat, 2009) is the lowest ratio among the GEKA provinces. However, the textile crisis negatively affected labor force integration to the labor market. Lastly, Green card ratio of %9,03 is a high degree among the provinces of Turkey concerning the total average rate of %14,93.

After those statistical clarifications to ease the illustration of the profile of Denizli province, a brief provincial economic development story is given generally by dwelling upon the critical industry of textile to demonstrate the changing trend at growth strategies in province. At this point, the economic development strategy of Denizli province can be analyzed by taking the year 1980 as the key term by mainly categorizing it into two periods: firstly covering from 1950 to 1980s and secondly after the 1980s onwards. At the first period, capital accumulation was oriented to set up integrated businesses, but that process was confronted with many drawbacks, such as the lack of organized industry, and the high cost of infrastructure leading to the withdrawal of some investments. From the 1950s onwards, industrialization strategy based on small scale production type mostly for inner market needs and demands, oriented to organize Fordist mode of production. Hence, similar with other developing countries; industrialization is used as an integration strategy for articulating the city to the world economy by mostly using low cost labor-dense production strategy. After the 1980s, the province had started to use the export-oriented growth strategy possibilities especially in textile sector production and the city grasped advantage at international market in price and quality dimensions (Erendil, 2000: 98-99).

⁸⁶ For details, see, <www.denizli.gov.tr>.

Generally speaking, Denizli is mostly evaluated at the literature by ‘new industrial zones’, and as a ring of global industrial chain, and the province is counted among the cities titled ‘Anatolian Tigers’, including Çorum, Kahramanmaraş, Gaziantep, Edirne; which are not in a series economic development and absolutely in giving migration trend by 1980 onwards (Ataay, 2006: 186; DPT, 2003; Dikmen, 2000). Consequently, with those new economic initiatives, the argument started to be shaped around a decentralized industrial process rather than an import-substitution model takes nation-state its centre (Şengül, 2004a: 147). In this respect, Varol (2002) stated that “some entrepreneurs generated success stories at that period by integrating into western markets in export mostly in towel and bathrobe production, and increased their capital accumulation processes”. As a result of industrial development, Denizli started to be seen as an attraction center but later that development trend led to large costs and burdens on the urbanization dynamic. The city has been exposed to an intense stream of migration by the hope of finding jobs (Torlak, 2007: 503). In other words, the same success has not been observed in urbanization and province mostly highlighted as one of the best samples of Turkey which has not been able to urbanize. In this respect, the city has developed swiftly as a result of migration, with putting pressure on housing, infrastructure, health, and environment issues. According to report of 1/25000 Environment Organization Study Plan of Denizli (1994), Esentepe, Karşıyaka, Yeşilyurt, Aktepe, Bahçelievler, and Sevindik neighborhoods in Denizli were regions surrounded by squatter settlements, and local dwellers of those spatial areas were exposed to the social and economic challenges of poverty (Torlak, 2007: 505). Therefore, while industrial development seemed to originate good steps for the economic development of the province, it does not hinder the emergence of drawbacks threatening urban scale. As mentioned above, problems came out after export oriented development strategy. Those related problems can be summarized as follows; one-sector based local industrial organization model generating risks against financial crises of international markets; small scale corporations’ organized labor and labor bargaining power is limited, investments to local industrial formations lead to capacity excesses, local enterprises have mostly family based formations with low institutionalization and professionalization levels; local businesses mostly professionalized on the products that have low added value for economic development, the population rise caused by migration is not compatible with provided urban infrastructure; local institutions’ capacity at urban development process concerning physical and social infrastructure is not supported by the investments of central government.

Besides, flexible specialization model created advantages from the 1980s up to the 1990s and onwards. However, particularly, after the 1998 crisis, that development model started to

generate disadvantages. The in-itself and looser local industrial organizational model was confronted with bottlenecks, and to solve the local economic problems decentralized local institutional models need started to be declared by local and central institutions. The sharing of responsibility arguments between central and local government institutions gained weight (Özaslan, 2005: 574).

V.2.1. Denizli Municipal Administration

First municipal administration was set up in 1876; and the first known municipal mayor was Hacı Molla Ahmet Efendi. With the establishment of the Turkish Republic; Denizli gained the provincial status (www.denizli.bel.tr); the municipal administration's development concerning the achievement of modern machines and qualified technical staff was realized after that period (Toker, 1968: 96).

At the previous term before the foundation of the Turkish Republic, municipal services were insufficient and closed economy hegemony was seen at trade, culture and social relations. In this respect, an attempt in economy came with 1950s urbanization rates which gradually increased in years. As a result, the critical role of municipal administration came out at meeting the demands of local citizens (Toker, 1968: 96, www.denizli.bel.tr). The establishment of new schools affected the cultural life of the province and the foundation of economic enterprises led to massive labor need in city. In this sense, migration launched due to the new employment opportunities in the province, and the rise at demographic rate caused the emergence of problems in local service provision (www.denizli.bel.tr). The critical period came up with the export-oriented industrialization dynamic. Economic crisis negatively affected the textile industry and led to a rise in unemployment and poverty statistics. When the socio-economic situation of the province was deeply affected by economic crisis, municipal administrative formation has also been tackling with struggles on the provision of municipal services.

In addition to challenges at the provision of municipal services; the municipality status transition arguments came to the local agenda. Since the 1990s, there has been a big struggle towards achieving the 'Metropolitan Municipality Status' of Denizli municipality. From 1998 to 2002, lots of local administration reform packages and metropolitan municipality law drafts have been trying to be enacted with capturing the population criterion covering 300.000 and 500.000 but Denizli municipality did not meet the required population level at that term.

During 2001, a new concept came out titled ‘unified municipality’. At the way of ‘unified municipality’ concept, lots of villages turned into contiguous areas and most of them transformed their administrative structures to municipal formations that led to administrative fragmentations and disintegrations at city level (Özgür, 2008: 239-241). Mayor Aygören with his political victory at the 1999 municipal election, generally gave effort to establish a council and working platform to generate common decision-making process for interpenetrated 14 municipalities at Denizli central level; but as a result of those gatherings, distrust and hesitation towards that effort had emerged. Working platform made some meetings together by mostly supporting the notion of ‘unified municipality’ with the target of the provision of wide scale services in a cooperative framework (Özgür, 2008: 240).

In this respect, fragmented administrative formation is the main hinderance for an effective management of urban services at the provincial level. The peripheral municipalities, villages’ enlargement and their surrounding around Denizli province complicated the healthy development of urban space. At the previous Municipal Law article, it was declared that “spatial areas surpassing 2000 population municipal administration can be set up”; and that related item had been in force from 1930-2004. It leads to rapid municipalization of Denizli that engendering and accelerating fragmentation. Only at the central district in that period there were 22 municipalities. That problem creates tightening of Denizli to centre and hindering its development. Besides, environmental arrangement and development plans implementation were confronted with challenges because each mayor of district municipality generated different development plans for their responsible areas (Özgür, 2008: 250). That context changed in time with a draft law submission to the Assembly in 2003 by JDP Denizli deputies. At that proposal, it was declared that “Denizli municipality should be the only administrative authority, not only for 14 municipalities as stated in previous argument; but also for wider area covering 50 defined spatial settlements”. Approximately, 50 municipality and village are envisaged for tying to Denizli Municipality as neighborhoods’. That attempt at that period was generally evaluated by local citizens’ as the second step towards the thought of ‘unified municipality’⁸⁷. Related proposal covering no phase of ‘unified municipality’ discussed above was legalized under the law number 5026. It was approved by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey but vetoed by the President with demonstrating the elections as a blockage (Özgür, 2008: 241).

⁸⁷ There have been approaches related with ‘Unified Municipality’ in Denizli in each local term and a chart has been prepared by Hüseyin Özgür, included in the appendix part of the study.

With Municipal Law No. 5393 enacted in 2005 article 11 is related with the termination of the legal entity status of municipalities and villages; at the central municipality 13 municipality and 10 villages' incorporated bodies were abrogated and at 2009 local election, they were tied to central districts as neighborhoods.

V.2.1.1. Poverty Struggle under Denizli Municipal Administration

Table 5.2.1.1. Local Elections in Denizli

LOCAL ELECTIONS	2009	2004	1999
DENİZLİ	Justice and Development Party (JDP)	Justice and Development Party (JDP)	True Path Party (TPP)

For a comprehensive analysis of the Denizli municipal case, development of poverty alleviation process in three local election terms covering 2000-2011 periods has been deeply analysed. Working Reports and Activity Reports of Denizli Municipality have been investigated in order to make a critical evaluation of poverty struggle in three political party periods. Those reports have not covered the whole data and information concerning poverty institutional formations and assistance categorization fields that in-depth interview method has also been applied for gaining detailed information from the related social staff at local administration. All of those poverty related practices have been analysed in terms of institutional (established units, designation of poor process, and social expert staff), political (relations with central government) and provided social assistance categories (generally applied social services and their amounts).

V.2.1.1.1. TPP Mayorship Period: 1999-2004

TPP gained political victory at 1999 local elections, and in the distribution of votes according to political parties, it was seen that TPP took %26,86 rate by taking 91.223 of the votes under the mayorship of Ali Aygören.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ For details, see, <http://www.yerelnet.org.tr/secimler/secim_analizleri1999.php> The important point of that election is that it is first time that the local and general elections were made together. DLP was the winner party at the national level and at the second rank; NAP took the control of the municipalities more than DLP. The Virtue Party took over Ankara and İstanbul municipal control, but in İzmir DLP gained the municipality election.

At this part of the thesis study, the link between TPP and the party's poverty alleviation initiatives is examined by the help of Municipal Activity Reports. In this sense, concerning the *institutional framework of the municipal administrative formation*, there has been no specific unit concerning poverty alleviation; in particular, 'Health and Social Affairs Department', 'Cultural Affairs Department' and with social housing projects 'Infrastructure and Investments Department' dealt with poverty related activities. During the mayorship of Ali Aygören, there was no institutionalization at poverty struggle; social affairs efforts have been implemented by diverse Departments; under the TPP government. Departments' title, formation and responsibility areas were changed in years and the new responsible areas' designation only complicated Department's functioning process.

In particular, at the TPP period, at the *institutional framework*, social affairs towards the impoverished were not categorized like the elderly, the disabled, the children and the women. Those related institutional units' formation came up with after the settling of LA21 working groups and councils; and 'Culture, Education and Social Affairs Department' social affairs group formations. At that point, volunteers' contribution to poverty alleviation struggle has emerged after the foundation of the Sevgi Eli institution, coordinated under LA21 women group. LA21 social and economy women working groups started 'pilot case activity' concerning poverty in Karşıyaka neighborhood for struggling unemployment and migration problems. In that neighborhood, women delegates designated 100 households with an applied questionnaire.⁸⁹

In addition to those social practices, *provided social assistance categories and general assistance applications* of the Denizli Municipality can be clarified as, Ramadan month free-charge meal delivery to the impoverished, financial educational support to students in need, arrangement of collective marriage ceremonies, clothing and furniture. Critically, related period collective and social housing projects initiatives formed the starting point for the JDP government at the sustenance of those projects. At that period there was a fragmented type of poverty struggle; it was hoped for a trickle down benefit of the Department to the whole sections of the society living at Denizli province. In policy and service delivery, LA21 women working group is influential that act poverty related initiatives in a collaborative manner with 'Social Affairs Department'. Furthermore, if an evaluation is made in accordance with Cockburn's (1977) local states social assistance typologies, local

⁸⁹ For details, see, Önez, Zuhâl, 2006, Local Agenda 21 and Participation to Local Administration: A Case Study in Denizli, METU, Unpublished Master Thesis. The findings of the survey study demonstrate that; the citizens migrated from Ağrı, Muş and Erzurum. They have at least 9 children between the ages of 7-16, most of them have no identity card and their monthly wages are very low. Later, the women group sustained pilot zone activities in İlbadı, Sevindik, Fatih and İstiklal districts.

administration is giving effort at the material condition of existence of the poor through cash and kind assistances in a limited sense. As it is seen from the examinations of Activity Reports, there has been no effort at the generation of human capital by educational training activities and capacity generation courses. Markedly, concerning the maintenance of social cohesion, the poor sections of the society is not categorized such as the disabled, the women, the elderly and the children at the provision of different services compatible with the needs and demands of each vulnerable group. Finally, it can be stated that municipality is generally dealing with social and welfare services with cash and kind assistances under the maintenance of order and social cohesion.

V.2.1.1.2. JDP Mayorship Period: 2004- 2011

JDP gained political victory at local election under the mayorship of Nihat Zeybekci in 2004 by taking %42,22 of votes and Party sustained its political victory in the 2009 local election (Mayor resigned and Osman Zolan was assigned to municipal mayorship). Mayor Nihat Zeybekci at the term from 2004 to 2011 was a businessman and also an entrepreneur; and at the analysis of the council's composition, it was seen that the entrepreneurs' numbers were influential at the municipal council; approximately, 50 percent of the members were composed of merchants and businessmen.

At the examination of *institutional framework JDP municipal administration* and the party's poverty initiatives based on Municipal Activity Reports; it is seen that poverty elimination struggle was started with 'Education and Culture Department' by establishing sub-units of Children and Social Affairs branches. *Disabled Coordination Center*⁹⁰ was set up under 'Education and Culture Department'. Social staff of that unit have made home visits for the designation of the disabled since 2005, and at the interviews they declared their main target as the determination of the disabled citizens' needs and demands. In this sense, the disabled information has registered on the municipal digital platform for the formation of a disabled data network at the provincial level. Furthermore, *Sevgi Eli Store* founded in the JDP municipal administration period, is an institution that has applied social activities mostly in cooperation with municipal staff and LA21 working groups.⁹¹ Sevgi Eli has been delivering

⁹⁰ Disabled Coordination Centers some related activities can be summarized as follows; 55 neighborhoods' categorized into five group; and each day 11 neighborhood was investigated for the designation of disabled citizens; in that way, 280 disabled citizens registered to Department's data base. 75 disabled citizens' hospital transportation 3 times a week realized by Sevgi Eli vehicle. For blind citizens, 4 vehicles with battery, 50 wheelchair and 30 sticks were distributed. For disabled citizens at water bills % 50 discounts were made and free-charge passes distributed.

⁹¹ LA21 women working group has been sustaining pilot zone activities; campaigns arranged in cooperation of local stakeholders and free-charge "tubligation and women sterilization" applications

assistances mostly with the support of *charitable donations* concerning clothing, furniture, heating with coal and wood, and cleaning home activities. Their financial necessity has been met by the municipal budget and Sevgi Eli has bureaus at four districts in Denizli. It does not only give assistance in municipal boarders, but also to the needy districts such as Acıpayam, Tavas, Çameli, Beyağaç, Buldan, and Çardak covering 18 district, 134 village and 79 neighborhood. Additionally, Sevgi Eli vehicles give support to the Disabled Coordination Center with its three vehicles at free-charge disabled transportation. Critically, the most important institution at combating poverty, ‘Social Assistance Affairs Department’ was set up in 2007 with taking over the responsibilities of ‘Education and Culture Department’ later again confronted with the change in title as ‘Culture, Education and Social Assistance Affairs Department’. Besides, *Information and Community Centers* were established mostly for primary students’ after school activities at needy regions of the province.

JDP social assistances (*provided social assistance categories*) have been sustaining in an accelerating dynamic mostly in the delivery of nourishment packets and clothing aid generally during Ramadan periods and festivals to the applied citizens. Other assistant fields can be listed as cash assistance, educational financial support, distribution of school pinafores, collars, and educational materials, free story books delivery to students, wood/coal aid, home cleaning, arrangement of marriage ceremonies and collective circumcisions. The categorization of assistances in years has been deeply investigated, and tables have been prepared for the illustration of those social affairs which is included at the appendix part of the research study.

At that context, JDP municipal administration under Liberal-Conservative paradigm on poverty alleviation; philanthropic based policies at the poverty alleviation initiatives originated with its inner institutional formation. At that poverty paradigm, civil society based assistances are indispensable elements of neo-liberal market economy, society has been rediscovered and poverty solutions have been attributed out of political will. Sevgi-Eli can be a sample which has been activating social assistances with its financial revenue from municipal budget and charitable donations. Social based responsibilities of state have been

made under family planning activities, Education commission of women working group arranged two classrooms in Denizli Solidarity House to solve illiteracy problem of the adults in Karşıyaka; training funds and scholarships provided for the needy students. Health Commission arranged seminars for the poor families concerning health, diabetic and epidemic illnesses. Economy commission encouraged the poor zone in the preparation of district’s annual expense budget and resources. Poor households began to sell their home made products at their district’s marketplace. Environment commission made planting activities to the needy primary schools. Implemented projects; Education working group; at Sevindik “Communication in Family”, Social working group “Bring Up a Child”, Environment working group “Clean Environment and Clean Society”, seminar to Katip Çelebi Primary School “Mouth and Teeth Cleaning”.

tackling with the cooperation of municipality and civil-based struggles under the JDP political government. A moral community has trying to be created that interpret poverty as the concerns of whole society and at such an environment, social rights have been left behind and poverty problems have been diverted to social philanthropic values and norms of the society.

As to the Cockburn's (1977) social assistance typologies of local states, Denizli municipal administration has augmented cash assistance amounts with comprising more citizens as beneficiaries, and similarly, kind assistance proportions have an overwhelming influence where their proportions have a rising trend under the applications of 'Social, Education and Cultural Department' of JDP municipal administration. The main emphasis is still given to the material condition of existence of the impoverished by cash and kind assistances and social cohesion and maintenance of order with welfare support services. Different from the TPP government, the vulnerable have started to be evaluated as diverse groups and institutional formations have been founded such as Disabled Center and Information and Community Centers for children. Consequently, there has been no much effort concerning the generation of human capital under municipal administration but some educational training courses and workshops have been arranged for the integration of the women and the disabled to the labor market in a limited sense.

V.2.1.1.2.1. Social Assistance Financial Share at Denizli Municipal Budget in 2000-2010 Period

Local administrations' efforts at combating poverty can be evaluated with the change in the related sub-items of budget ratios. Municipalities' expenditure budget covering '*current transfers*' is composing the social targeted assistances related with poverty affairs. In this respect, current transfers other composed sub-entries can be listed as; local administration assistances, non-profit organizations aids, household transfers, employment losses, foreign based transfers, and pie allocated from income (Hazman, 2010: 147-148).⁹²

⁹² At the thesis study, current transfer pies have tried to be evaluated in terms of 2000-2010. However, that budget item in Working Reports does not demonstrate the 'Social Transfer Expenses' clearly, those amounts have been articulated at other budget items of Social and Economic Affairs that especially in Aydın Case, last 5 years Social Transfer Expenses have not been evaluated in detail.

Table 5.2.1.2. Current Expense Pies in Budget

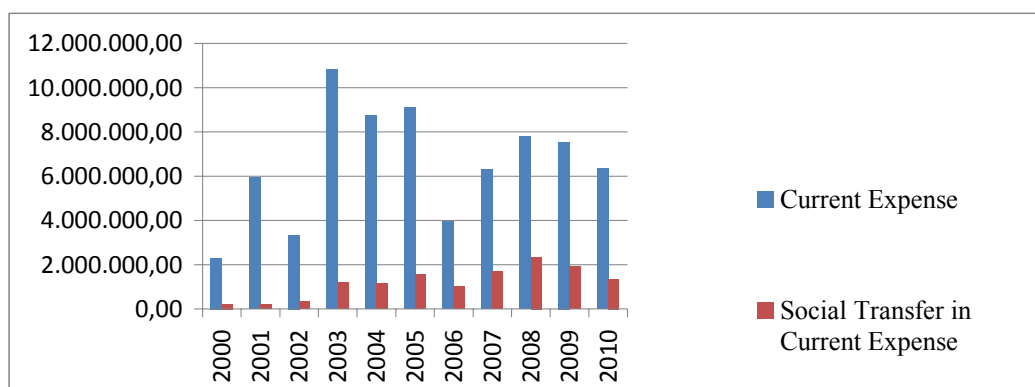


Table 5.2.1.3. Pie of Current Transfer/ Social Transfer Expenses

YEARS	Total Expense	Pie of Current Transfer Expenses	Pie of Social Transfer Expenses	%Social Transfer Pie at Current Transfer
2000	24.811, 858,00	2.307.633,00	233.630,00	0,10
2001	42.916, 318,00	5.944.691,00	219.800,00	0,03
2002	43.410, 658,60	3.341.177,42	344.487.000	0,10
2003	65.717, 898,00	10.806.893,00	1.187.537,00	0,10
2004	78.814, 451,00	8.750.182,00	1.159.473,00	0,13
2005	135.872, 453,40	9.106.267,07	1.585.465,00	0,17
2006	139.199, 344,15	3.938.984,17	1.016.980,77	0,25
2007	240.000, 000,00	6.289.318,75	1.699.754,28	0,27
2008	250.000, 000,00	7.804.252,28	2.344.785,15	0,30
2009	285.000, 000,00	7.556.790,00	1.906.000,00	0,25
2010	300.000, 000,00	6.365.600,00	1.357.000,00	0,21

As it was seen from the diagram; social transfer share until 2006 (covering TPP municipal administration) gradually increases, and especially during 2008 and 2009 that ratio reaches its highest proportion. It can also be stated that during the TPP political government that ratio had a rising trend and also during the JDP government that allocated social transfer expenditure rose compatible with the rise in current transfer expenditure.

V.2.1.2. Poverty Struggle Process of Denizli JDP Municipal Administration: Social, Education and Culture Department's 2005-2010 Term Social Affairs

This part of the study has been prepared by the decipheres of the interviews with the local officials of Denizli municipal administration 'Social Department'. Department and its related branches at poverty processes are examined including those discussion parts that formed the

contingency variables of Denizli municipal administration; institutional framework, categorization of social assistances, local- central based relations. Besides, negative and positive sides of the institution at poverty struggle, and the solution proposals concerning which institution or institutions should be responsible at combating poverty for better solutions are also evaluated. With those listed items, different contingency variables of Denizli municipal administration at poverty struggle that lead to the contingent local authority variation in comparison to Muğla and Aydın cases have been examined in detail.

V.2.1.2.1. Different Contingency Variables of Denizli Municipal Administration that Lead to Local Variation at Poverty Struggle

Table.5.2.1.4. Contingency Variables of Local Administrations

Institutional Framework	Application of the Poor and Designation Process and the Responsible Institutional Branches,
	Service Provision and Distribution Activities (Positive or Negative Discrimination),
	Cooperation with Other Institutions and Implemented Common Projects,
	Participation of the Poor (participatory platforms),
	Expert Staff and In-service Training Activities,
	Capacity Generation and Training Activities
Categorization of Assistances	General Applied Social Services
	Social Assistance Beneficiaries Numbers and Social Assistances Amounts
Local-Central Based Relations	Party Relations with Central Government
	Decentralization Based Constraints
	Municipal Mayor Initiatives
	Legal and Financial Handicaps
Other	Socio-economic Aspects of Province

V.2.1.2.1.1. Institutional Contingency Variables of Denizli Municipal Administration

At the Denizli municipal administration poverty alleviation is under the responsibility of ‘Social and Cultural Affairs Department which was set up in 2005 activating its affairs with 23 social staff and its other related administrative units of Sevgi Eli, Disabled Coordination Center and Information Houses. The Disabled Coordination Center, Information Houses and Sevgi Eli are all dependent units which have been financed by municipal administration. However, Sevgi Eli also takes civil-base donations at the provision of social assistances. At

the previous term covering the period before 2005; there was no targeted unit for poverty activities; mostly whole Departments were tackling urban affairs, with hoping a trickle-down benefit for the whole local citizens' under the related Departments of Education, Health, Urban Regeneration. By the foundation of that unit, specific units have been established to combat with poverty.

Application of the Poor and Definition Process:

Within the first year of the Department in 2005; a social commission was established which is responsible for the recognition of the poor at the local level covering municipal boarders in Denizli. One woman and one man social municipal officials from 'Social Affairs Department' are accountable for going to the needys' houses for household investigation. Sevgi Eli institution's three vehicles have the service responsibility at that investigation process.

Furthermore, 'Social and Cultural Affairs Department' staff usually apply for the information to the mukhtars, municipal police Department, village clinics, community health centers, family doctors and water subscription reading unit to grasp a detailed list of the needy. Other than those specific units' knowledge at the recognition of the impoverished; Department's local representatives emphasized that the volunteers announce the needy to the Department and also the impoverished citizens' neighbors call for assistance for those local citizens. However, as it was learned from the interviews, generally the poor come to municipal 'Social Department' for making their own application particularly for a two year term. The 'Urgent Assistance Desk' and the staff are ready to respond for the needs of the poor who apply for municipal assistance. Social staff of the Department Oğuz (2011)⁹³ declared that:

There have been too many applications especially for cash aid that generally social staff have no time for household investigation as realized in the previous term but now local citizens have more information concerning the assistance process of the municipal administration.

In this sense, it can be evaluated that the current designation process can create problems because the impoverished generally feel shame for demanding help from local and central authorities. Home investigations should be made regularly by the formation of more research groups within the Department's structure.

⁹³ Interview with Behiye Oğuz.

In this respect, at the application procedure of the needy, the format of the application form is influential at the completion of the process. The impoverished apply to the Department with the *application form* composed of the following sub-headings; identity information, place of residence document, a certificate from the mukhtar demonstrating that the individual has no salary and movable estate (poverty document). Information part that is searched by the commission of the municipality covers those sub-fields; marital status, total household number, used social security rights and their categories, green card ownership status, state of health, housing conditions, the number of students at the household, and assistance from SASF. The other necessary written documents are; identity registration or booklet of the applicant, head of the households mother, father, wife, children, sister, brother, and third degree family members' from the Civil Registry; tax rolls of these people from Tax Administration; estate rolls from Land Registry; title deed rolls from municipality, and lastly the motor vehicle document from the Police Department.⁹⁴ As it is seen from those sub-items included at the application form, it can be stated that the application process is bureaucratic to complete and also hardens the disabled and the elderly people who have no relatives to assist that application process.

Service Provision and Distribution:

From the interviews with local officials, it is seen that the municipal administration makes 'positive discrimination' practices at the provision of services to the needy especially to the most vulnerable parts of the city covering municipal boarders such as Karşıyaka, İlbadi, and Sevindik. It is also declared that in some neighborhoods, such as Karakovan neighborhood, municipal social staff are afraid to provide social assistances because of the behaviour of the people (destroying cars and creating chaos) in the distribution of sources.⁹⁵ At that point, GÜNGÖR (2011) claimed that:

The impoverished who have been living at that neighborhood see the municipal authority as a fountain and they demand a big financial share from local administration. Some of the citizens who take assistance at that spatial area are arrested by the municipal police while making beggary; and it is claimed that the caught financial source is equal with a state official's monthly salary.⁹⁶

Furthermore, at the service provision and distribution activities of social assistances, *cooperation with other institutions* is a vital issue for realizing successful practices. As it was learned from the interviews, not much cooperation samples emerged with Governorate and SPA units and Departments. One of the main handicaps at this issue is explained as

⁹⁴ Interview with Hüdaverdi Otaklı.

⁹⁵ Interview with Sami GÜNGÖR.

⁹⁶ Interview with Sami GÜNGÖR.

limited knowledge sharing among institutions. However, collaboration with NGOs is at a high level with Kimse Yok mu, Gök Kuşağı and Deniz Feneri Associations. Those civil society organizations also get the demands of the needy citizens from the municipality for setting up cooperation at poverty struggle. Additionally, PASVAK (Pamukkale Health and Education Assistance Foundation) activated in 15.07.2001 by Law No. 24463 published in the Official Gazette, is a unit of Pamukkale University. This Foundation is accountable for daily meal delivery under the coordination of Denizli Municipality.⁹⁷ In all things considered, that high degree collaboration of JDP municipal government with NGOs at the alleviation of poverty can be the demonstration of Liberal-Conservative policies implementation with its major emphasis on the role of NGOs at poverty struggle.

Participatory Platforms:

At the research study, one of the negative side interrupted poverty alleviation process is declared as *participatory platforms insufficiency* for the poor, such as public days and community meetings. The impoverished are generally deprived of declaring their daily problems and needs. From the deciphers, it has been found that the poor usually use the Department's face to face meetings with social affairs staff and written application form to explain their needs and demands.⁹⁸

Expert Staff and In-service Training Activities:

Last influential drawback stemming from central government is designated by Oğuz and Otaklı (2011) as "Governorate and SASF institutions do not give assistance in terms of expert staff for municipal administration at combating poverty".⁹⁹ In accordance with this issue, in-service training activities of social staff is a vital issue because "more trained social staff leads to better poverty alleviation practices" concerning poor designation and delivery of social services that prevent corruption and clientalism arguments. Additionally, Otaklı (2011) emphasized that "in-service training activities have been sustained under the topics covering; 'stress management' and 'speaking techniques' but no specific training activity on poverty put forward as a service-training activity program".¹⁰⁰

Capacity Generation and Training Activities:

In addition to central government based problems, another dimension emphasized by municipal officials is *employment generation activities* of municipal administration which

⁹⁷ Interview with Hüdaverdi Otaklı.

⁹⁸ Interview with Hüdaverdi Otaklı.

⁹⁹ Interview with Behiye Oğuz and Hüdaverdi Otaklı.

¹⁰⁰ Interview with Hüdaverdi Otaklı.

has a central role at the creation of human capital. Gökçe and Oğuz (2011) focused on the view that:

The local administration cannot meet the demands of the poor at their integration of labor market. Local authorities do not have much possibilities at the engagement of the needy to the municipal cadres, the municipality only provides priority at labor force integration to Bel-Taş private institution which is a cooperate institution of local administration at the provision of privatized services.¹⁰¹

It is seen that local administration at upper-hand policies has limited capacity that urgent solutions concerning employment generation for the poor should come from the central government.

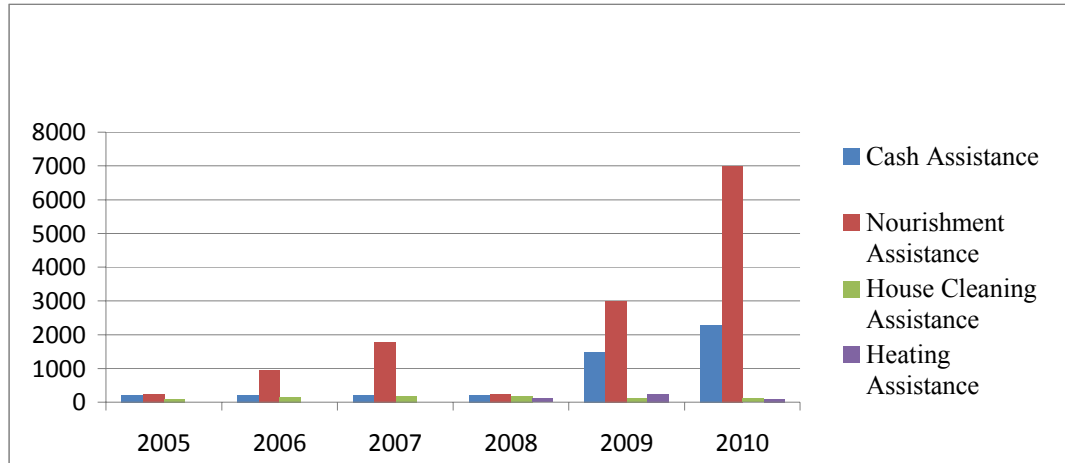
V.2.1.2.1.2. Contingency Variables of Denizli Municipal Administration Stemming From Categorization of Assistancess:

Table 5.2.1.5. Social, Education and Culture Department Poverty Alleviation Initiatives

2005 (JDP)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 21.050,00 TL Cash Assistance for 207 citizens • 250 Units Nourishment Aid (packet) • House Cleaning for 100 Households
2006 (JDP)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 49.796,09 Cash Assistance for 207 citizens • 950 Units Nourishment Aid (packet) • House Cleaning for 150 Households
2007 (JDP)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 76.650,00 TL Cash Assistance for 207 citizens • 1800 Unist Nourishment Aid (packet) • 185 House Cleaning for 100 Households
2008 (JDP)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 21.050,00 TL Cash Assistance for 207 citizens • 250 Units Nourishment Aid (packet) • 185 House Cleaning for 100 Households • Wood Coal Assistance for 113 Households
2009 (JDP)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 243.300,00TL Cash Assistance for 1490 citizens • 3000 Units Nourishment Aid (packet) • 128 House Cleaning • Wood Coal Assistance for 238 Households
2010 (JDP) (Until November)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 354.000,000 Cash Assistance for 2302 citizens • 7000 Units Nourishment Aid (packet) • 110 House Cleaning • Wood Coal Assistance for 100 Households

¹⁰¹ Interview with Behiye Oğuz

Table 5.2.1.6. JDP Municipal Administration's Categorization of Social Assistances



As it is seen from the diagrams concerning the *provided services categorizations and amounts*, most of the vulnerable citizens facilitated from nourishment aid; and at the second step cash assistance comes to the front side at the categorization of social assistance. House cleaning activities for the elderly, ill health citizens and heating assistance are provided in limited dimension among social affairs activities of the JDP municipal government. Specifically, as it was emphasized before the JDP municipal administration gives mostly cash and kind assistances for material condition of the existence of the poor and for the maintenance of order and social cohesion.

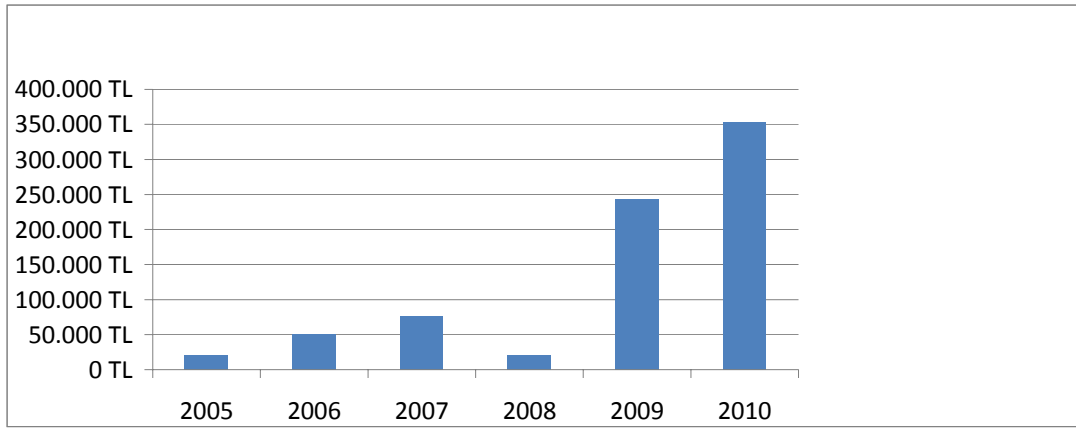
In accordance with those clarifications, concerning the most demanded assistance of the needy; the head of Department Hüdaverdi Otaklı (2011) stated that:

The poor usually demand for cash aid that assistance field is problematic and central government behavior on that term is much more complicated. At the Ministry of Interior's meetings in Ankara (civil auditors supervision and tutelage authority is creating handicap on local administration); the delegates declare their demand that the municipalities should not have the responsibility of the provision of cash aid, and they claim that the municipalities should be responsible for only covering the provision of assistance in kind by mostly nourishment and coal aid. With the new law, the central government still put strains on that service provision. This only hardens the assistance process and leads to delays that deteriorate the impoverished daily survival capacities. According to the solution of that constraint; the central administrative bodies can come and make the needed scrutiny, the municipal unit can respond to central government as if there is any illegality or corruption at the provision of assistance.

Furthermore, Denizli Municipality has provided cash aid in three per-month intervals after the recognition of the citizens by the social commission. According to Otaklı (2011), "if that aid is given monthly, at that time the individual becomes a dependent citizen to the municipality". In related with cash aid assistance, a social commission is liable for the

designation of cash aid and its quantity; when the cash assistance is defined as a decision at the commission then the process is carried on by sending that decision to Editor Office Department, and thirdly, the decision is approved by Municipal Committee, at the last step Accounting Department distributes the cash aid to the poor with a signature. At the conditions when the poor has ill health; his/ her daughter or son can come and take the assistance quantity; or if the citizen has no relative, at that time officials of ‘Social Affairs Department’ go to the needy’s home and deliver that assistance.

Table 5.2.1.7. JDP Municipal Administration Cash Assistance Quantity

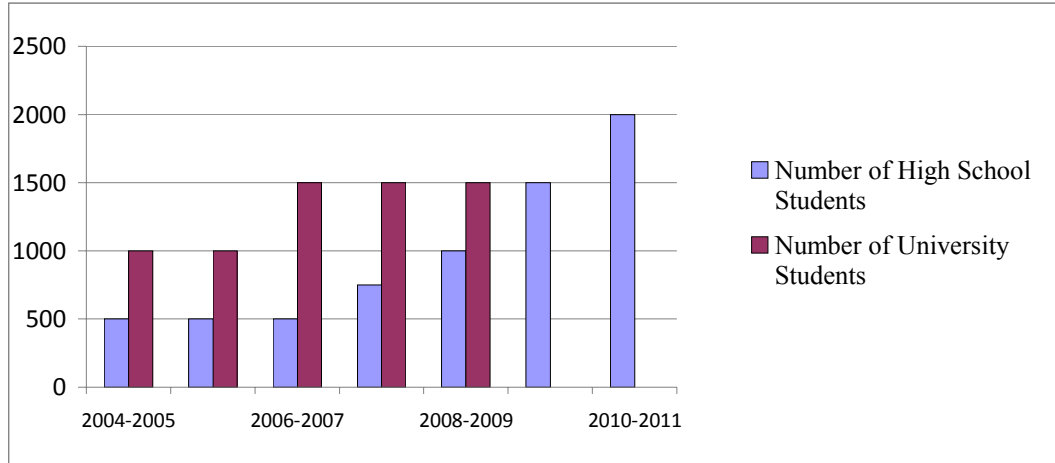


During the JDP government, as it is illustrated at the chart above; in last two years; cash assistance rates increased depending upon the rise in the number at the applied citizens to the Department. At that point, while from 2005 to 2008; the number of cash aid beneficiaries was 1028; that number reached 3792 in 2010.

Table 5.2.1.8. JDP Municipal Administration Scholarship Amounts

Scholarship Year	Amount per Month	Number of High School Students
2004-2005	40 TL	500
2005-2006	40 TL	500
2006-2007	50 TL	500
2007-2008	50 TL	750
2008-2009	50 TL	1000
2009-2010	50 TL	1500
2010-2011	50 TL	2000
Scholarship Year	Amount per Month	Number of University Students
2004-2005	80 TL	1.000
2005-2006	80 TL	1.000
2006-2007	100 TL	1.500
2007-2008	100 TL	1.500
2008-2009	120 TL	1.500

Table 5.2.1.9. JDP Municipal Administration Number of High School and University Students Using Scholarship Assistance



From the diagram and the chart, it can be evaluated that financial assistance of high school students and the number of beneficiary students gradually rises; on the other hand because of legal handicap on the university students' scholarship process, now those students can only take aid from central government institutions. Lastly during 2008 year term, this assistance field was abrogated.

V.2.1.2.1.3. Contingency Variables of Denizli Municipal Administration Stemming From Local and Central Based Relations

Local and Central Government Relations:

Most of the municipal officials have the opinion that Municipal Law No. 5393 recognizes many responsibilities for local administration with submitting a decentralized poverty alleviation framework but local representatives evaluated those responsibilities' inside (power required for those responsibilities) as an empty box generating futile solutions at combating poverty.

At this point, officials of Denizli Municipality Güngör and Otaklı (2011) claimed that:

If the responsibility concerning poverty is given to local institutional framework; at the implementation process, the central government does not create constraints, that manner of central government only slows down the assistance process. Central government should have a collaborationist attitude at the transition of social based responsibilities to local administrations at poverty alleviation. Interference of central government at the distribution of municipal social assistances creates objectivity problem because of the multi-headed institutional framework at poverty alleviation process. Central government puts pressure on local authorities with a top-down administrative attitude; and they do not think whether that conduct hardens local government

poverty elimination process or not, and additionally, they do not want to share their technical material such as registrations and documents concerning poverty data and it prevents a better designation of the poor at the urban level.¹⁰²

Likewise, in related central government interference issue, Güngör (2011) also clarified that:

Central audit institutions' different decisions lead to different ways of functioning in poverty struggle among municipal administrations in Turkey. However, the diversity is not only connected with central government intervention; personal quality, technical capacity and number of professionalized expertise in municipal cadre are also related with that issue. Municipalities have diverse poverty alleviation practices, which has no commonality or similarity among local administrations in Turkey. Each local authority has been providing their poverty related services via city council or other formations like Sevgi-Eli or by only Education, Culture and Social Affairs Department.¹⁰³

It has been also found from the deciphers that most of the local representatives have the opinion that if successive solutions are hoped at poverty struggle, standardization should be provided at the process of poverty alleviation. However, as emphasized before because of the different contingency variables of local authorities, stemming from uneven development, local authorities cannot provide systematic solutions to the poverty problem.

Furthermore, related with Sevgi-Eli institution; it is learned from the interviews that central government also interferes to social based assistances concerning the municipal border based constraints at the provision of services in combating poverty struggle. The central government audit officials come and ask such questions to municipal officials as, "why do you assist the needy at Çameli district; it is not your area of responsibility?". In this respect, Güngör (2011) clarified that:

Denizli central municipality is one of the strongest administrative authorities at the urban level. For this reason, the responsibility should be on the shoulders of that central municipality; on the other hand when the municipality provides social assistances for the needy who are living out of municipal boarders; local administration has been confronting with lots of restrictions.¹⁰⁴

Another problem which is originated from a central government practice lies at the applications of SOY-BIS program. By the program with the identity card number, it can be found whether the applicant has a salary from a social security institution or a real estate. As it was grasped from the social assistance application form, lots of procedures have been included for the applicants' fulfillment and also the social commission search for that harden

¹⁰² Interview with Sami Güngör and Hüdaverdi Otaklı.

¹⁰³ Interview with Sami Güngör.

¹⁰⁴ Interview with Sami Güngör.

and slow down the assistance process. It has been evaluated as bureaucracy on the shoulders of the poor; and at that point the elderly and the disabled are putting on the spot. Program generates constraints at the implementation of social affairs concerning poverty. As it was clarified by Otaklı (2011):

Governorate rejected giving that program to municipalities; the reason behind that issue is emphasized as the lack of confidence to the staff of the municipality who are responsible for the poverty alleviation practices and the fear of technical clumsiness with the collaborative usage of the program.

Local officials accused central government of creating needless bureaucracy and delays at the provision of services to the needy neighborhoods. In this regard, Otaklı and Güngör stated that (2011):

If the same program is given to the municipal Department then it leads to document savings and blocking wastefulness; the needy do not wait for assistance in line; in the same manner the staff do not need to spend much time for that bureaucratic burdens; and those functions can be implemented with little expenditure by the impoverished and also by the municipal budget. While the central government wants from local government any cost service provision; they do not act in that way; and that expended amount would be diverted to other required fields related with poverty alleviation. Central government should give the same program to the municipalities (Central government does not want to use that program by the municipality for the reason that lots of special statute people's estates and salaries have been found afterwards). If the state trusts Governorate personal or staff; state should also trust the municipalities' personnel. Furthermore, while SOY-BIS program eases the research process; the program is technically an awkward program and Governorate afraid from more slowing down of its functioning with the integration of the municipality to that program that they do not want to share that program with municipalities.

Furthermore, another problem related with central government is explained by municipal officials as the provision of the same social assistance by different local and central government institutions at the same time. Oğuz (2011) determines that "a citizen gets cash and kind assistance from municipality, SPA and SASF; his/ her meal from PASVAK as an NGO, and becomes a dependent to the society".¹⁰⁵

Party Politics and Municipal Mayor Initiatives:

After all of those hinderances confronted at struggling poverty, most of the municipal staff evaluated the allocated budget for social affairs as sufficient. At that point, Otaklı (2011) stated that:

Mayor (Nihat Zeybekci) eases the social and economic assistance process and gives limitless support to the Social Department. There are no financial

¹⁰⁵ Interview with Sami Güngör.

constraints at poverty struggle; the mayor wants to be relaxed on conscience at the delivery of social assistances to the impoverished.

It is observed that *mayor initiatives* at social assistance provision are influential to ease poverty alleviation process. In this regard, similar party organization types at local and central government has also strong ties for an effective poverty alleviation struggle mainly in financial terms. Moreover, officials also make general evaluations concerning the financial capacities of municipalities in Turkey at combating poverty and Güngör (2011) declared that:

Social expenses of local administrations concerning the 'social transfer expenditure' section at the budget has not demonstrated similarity among small and big municipal formations; it can be seen from budget proportions of local administrations allocated for social affairs; sometimes a small municipality budget is same as with a central municipal administration budget.¹⁰⁶

In that respect, allocated financial amounts should be compatible with the defined targets at poverty struggle. As it is observed from the clarifications, social staff have the common belief about the sufficient financial share at the provision of social assistance.

Besides, the last item of the interview deciphers is related with the *solution proposals* of the social staff concerning poverty problem. Most officials directed their solution proposals for poverty alleviation as the well functioning of decentralized poverty alleviation practices by municipal administration. At that term, they hoped for a better realization of decentralization, local representatives declared their opinion as uniting the related institutional bodies like foundations, civil society institutions, associations into one institutional formation. At that point, they believed that the municipal administration has strengths with its institutional and technical capacities (that other administrative formations have not) which are precious in combating poverty and in that condition the coordination and cooperation capacity with mukhtars is counted as an advantage of the municipal administration.¹⁰⁷ Most of the local representatives have also the belief that central government's designation of the poor process at the local level is difficult than local administrations; the municipality is advantageous in rapid service provision with the cooperation of mukhtars and volunteer citizens.

Moreover, Gökçe and Oğuz (2011) declared their solution proposal towards the integration of the poor to the labor market with those words:

Social assistances generally cause dependency and readiness especially for the young who have no handicap to employ. Policies should be formulated for

¹⁰⁶ Interview with Sami Güngör.

¹⁰⁷ Interview with Hüdaverdi Otaklı.

engaging them to labor market. If employment opportunities are provided by municipal administrations, problems may be not eliminated but alleviated at urban scale. However, it is only one dimension of that problem, municipal administration cannot solve the problem itself; at that direction educational opportunities for the young should be enhanced by central government initiatives; basic education (primary education) possibilities and the number of mixed schools should be augmented.¹⁰⁸

To recapitulate, most of the local officials have positive expectations concerning the poverty struggle of the municipal administration. At that point, Otaklı (2011) emphasized that “if poverty is wanted to be alleviated, municipality should be more active at poverty alleviation; central government should divert more financial source to the municipality but also control the distribution of those resources transition to the demands and needs of the impoverished in the right direction”.

V.2.2. Denizli SPA

After the clarifications referring to poverty alleviation practices of Denizli Municipality, at the provincial level; the other crucial local government institution at combating poverty comes out as Denizli SPA. Those two local administrations have complementary sides at poverty struggle (urban and rural poverty) concerning their responsible spatial areas. At Annual Report (2008) of Denizli SPA, the aims and objectives of the administration which have strong ties with poverty, are listed as follows;

1) Rural Development

The main target at rural development is declared as developing rural infrastructure with a participatory framework by taking into account the national agricultural policies, and giving priority towards human health in agricultural development. The second objective is stated as “physical and social infrastructure affairs sustenance should be compatible with alleviating urban-rural and socio-economic groups’ service provision differences and gaps, in an approach that responds the demands and needs of the community”. Thirdly, vegetal production is targeted to be diversified with alleviating the negative effects on human and environment health by taking the precautions towards enhancing the efficiency and quality. Furthermore, income level of the producers is targeted to be increased with stock raising and animal based production improvement. Lastly, local administration has the objective to support the establishment of agricultural cooperations and companies for strengthening the economic capacities of rural producers.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ Interview with Sevgi Gökçe and Behiye Oğuz.

¹⁰⁹ Rural Development Activities: From 2004 to 2008; 2134 km pave with asphalt with second layer, 113 km pave with asphalt with first layer, 233 km repair, 190 km stabilized covering, 22km asphalt

2) Improving Social Prosperity

a) Enhancing Quality in Education and Health

For the alleviation of the rural gap; effective, qualified, reachable health service provision is one of the main objectives of the local institution, with a compatible manner to the needs and demands of citizens. Likewise, other objectives of the institution can be listed as the provision of equal opportunity in education and enhancing infrastructural investments for the improvement of educational quality at primary and high-schools.

Table 5.2.2.1.Denizli SPA Education and Health Expenditures

Educational Services	Unit	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	Total
School Construction	Number	19	16	11	13	17	45	76
School Maintenance	Number	127	117	72	53	87	83	456
School Repairment	Number	-	1	2	4	1	10	8
School Natural Gas transitions	Number	-	-	-	6	16	8	22
Expropriation in Education	Number	-	-	-	3	3	3	6
Purchasing Property	Number	-	-	-	4	7	62	11
Purchasing Service	Number	-	-	-	1	4	23	5
Youth and Sport Construction Affairs	YTL	24.126	-	-	-	28.320	-	52.446
Youth and Sport Maintenance Affairs	YTL	63.720	-	-	-	41.612	-	105.332
Youth and Sport Property Purchasing	YTL	17.688	-	-	466.831	360.570		854.089
Youth and Sport Awarding	YTL	-	-	-	-	19.626		19.626

¹¹⁰

maintenance. From 2004 to 2008; 344.619 meter canalization network, 47 unit septic installations has been implemented. KÖYDES Project: Local government started that Project in national scale in 2005 mainly for the provision and improvement of rural infrastructure; particularly for the villages that have no drinking water and road. From 2005-2008 period the allocated total budget was 48.284.000 TL.

¹¹⁰ Denizli SPA, 2010, Special Services towards Denizli.

From 2004-2008; 1.012.820TL investment was realized by Education Department of Denizli SPA, In particular, charitable endowment in province affects the educational field comprehensively, ten school buildings incorporating primary and high schools were constructed by those endowments.¹¹¹ An agreement signed with the Housing Development Administration of Turkey and SPA; as maintained by protocol items, Denizli SPA has allocated a definite pie in five year term for constructing seven educational institutions for the needy regions at the urban level.¹¹² For enhancing quality in education and health, ‘Education Department’ and ‘Health Department’ affairs have critical responsibilities that some of the initiatives have been illustrated in the appendix part of the research study.

b) Micro Investments (Micro Credit)

Micro-investments have targeted small entrepreneurs and disadvantaged groups who have no required income and capital accumulation for translating their occupational skills to income. Micro credit has contributed to the alleviation of unemployment at contiguous area of Denizli SPA. In this respect, credit beneficiaries are mostly women entrepreneurs, with the assumption that the women can use kind and cash assistances effectively for the needs of household members.¹¹³ At that point, Micro Credit Office officials declared their main target as the provision of credit to the needy compatible with their capacities and raising their motivation for capital accumulation at the alleviation of poverty.¹¹⁴

The Micro Credit Office has been sustaining its activities by the Governorate since 2008; before this period, the Office is depended to ‘Health Affairs Department’ of SPA and applied social practices in coordination with ‘Denizli Provincial Social Affairs Department’. Critically, Denizli Micro Credit affairs have been activating in cooperation with “Türkiye İsrافی Önleme Foundation” (TİSVA). At the below charts, the sectoral and professional classifications of micro-credit usages are illustrated.

Table 5.2.2.2. Denizli Micro-Credit Professional Categorizations

Supporting Farmers	Cattle purchasing, beekeeping materials purchasing
Supporting Youth	Youth informatics program

¹¹¹ Denizli SPA, 2004-2008 Investments.

¹¹² Denizli SPA, 2010, Special Services towards Denizli.

¹¹³ Interview with SASF, social staff Serkan Arıcan.

¹¹⁴ Denizli Micro Credit Office, 2011, Monthly Activity Report.

Table 5.2.2.2 (Continued)

Supporting Artisans and Craftsman	Pen shop businesses support at achieving data processing program
Supporting Housewives	Capital accumulation support for women entrepreneurs

115

Table 5.2.2.3. Denizli Micro-Credit Sectoral Categorization

Category	Previous Term	General Sum	Change
Agriculture	2.300,00	6.153,00	%62.62
Stock-Raising	8.700,00	8.700,00	%0.00
Trade	172.000,00	221.500,00	%22.35
Service	152.721,50	152.721,50	%0.00
Production	270.000,00	276.000,00	%2.71
Total	605.721,50	666.074,50	%8.92

Category	Previous Term	General Sum
Number of Centers	43	43
Number of Groups	228	236
Number of Members	660	700

116

c) Social Services and Assistancess

At the Activity Report (2008) of Denizli SPA, it was stated that “social services and assistances would be provided for the alleviation of poverty and the social protection of vulnerable individuals and groups”. Additionally, it was also mentioned that “SPA should facilitate from international institutions financial projects, and provide social services to needy sections by developing new service models for the newly emerging social problems”.

c.1. The critical target at social assistance and service is the recognition of the needy citizens identities, addresses and critically their needs for the provision of required aids and assistances, in relation to economic, social, and health aspects of the vulnerable sides and the disadvantaged sections of the society; in this case rehabilitation services provision of the street children and the disabled children is one of the main objectives of that specific field. Some social assistance targeted areas mostly implemented by ‘Social and Cultural Affairs Department’ are listed as follows;

¹¹⁵ 500 citizens facilitate from micro-credit up to 2010s.

¹¹⁶ Denizli Micro Credit Office, 2011, Monthly Activity Report.

- Repair and maintenance activities of 50 schools,
- 4 spatial field expropriation activities for school construction,
- Nursery home maintenance project; rehabilitation center strengthening towards earthquake activities, Protective family project covering 25 orphans ‘protective family’ project.
- In community training centers, 80 training courses were opened including capacity training, and information about cultural estates, 9 pre-school constructions were completed.
- Department provided 70 unit central primary districts fuel need.¹¹⁷

Specifically, one of the most important projects related to poverty at the field of Denizli SPA is the ‘DEY-BIS Disabled Inventory Project’. The program has been implementing since 13 November 2008 with the objective of transferring whole data concerning the disabled at the provincial level. The target of that project was declared as creating easiness at the provision of the disabled needs in the social state framework, and integrating whole public institutions at the solution of the disabled problems in provincial level. By the help of that program, whole districts records are merged under a central database. Hence, the related institutions can reach that data on program’s website for updating and search. The project partners are Denizli SPA, Denizli Province Health Directorate, Denizli Social Affairs Directorate and Denizli Municipality ([www. dioi.gov.tr/](http://www.dioi.gov.tr/)).

V.2.2.1.Strengths and Weaknesses of Denizli SPA at Poverty Alleviation Process

Research study is not only comprised of Denizli municipal administration officials’ opinions at combating poverty; views of SPA and Governorate representatives on that dimension are also tried to be grasped by the deep interview method. SPA has also been tackling with poverty, but local authority’s specific units such as ‘Social, Education and Culture Department’ and ‘Health Department’ have not been functioning as specific departments of the municipal administration at poverty alleviation process that only a general evaluation has been made in considering the same contingency variables that lead to local variation at poverty struggle.

First of all, representatives started their clarifications with the enactment of 5302 SPA Law in 2005, claiming that the law created problems after its application. SPA officials Özen and Özkan (2011) stated that:

Departments of SPA are planning to merge with Provincial Directorates, but the law could not reach to its expected results and remained futile afterwards. One

¹¹⁷ Denizli SPA, 2008, Annual Report.

of the negative sides of the institution is the strategic plans which are not compatible with performance plans that lead to drawbacks at existed administrative applications covering also poverty.¹¹⁸

In addition to those legal and institutional drawbacks affecting the well functioning of social affairs, Özkan and Özen (2011) explained other institutional problems at poverty struggle as insufficiency of technical staff at combating poverty and limited in-service training activities covering poverty related topics.

In regard to decentralization and central government interference to poverty process, SPA officials have the belief that Governorate and assistant governors have too much responsibility and power at the alleviation of poverty process. At that point, Özkan (2011) clarified that:

Most of the officials prefer to be passive at poverty struggle, they do not want to use their potential and responsibility in favor of the poor, that it creates obstacles in collaborations with related poverty institutions. Centralized administrative system should be simplified to ease the poverty elimination process. Particularly, due to the political pressure on central government officials, these officials do not want to state their own opinions at the meetings and stand in a hesitated manner at poverty based issues.¹¹⁹

Besides, representatives have also positive evaluations concerning the poverty alleviation experiences of local administration, declaring that the municipal administration can take decisions more rapidly than SPA, but it does not mean that SPA is inactive. From the interviews, it is seen that local representatives have focused on responsibility fields of Governorate, SPA and municipal administration concerning poverty and Özen (2011) claimed that “responsible areas diversification can be evaluated as an advantage at the provision of urban services”.¹²⁰

After the illustration of the negative and positive sides at poverty alleviation, solution proposals of local officials have been examined in detail. In this sense, SPA officials have the belief that the provision of cash aid should not be the main solution at poverty alleviation. The poverty solution proposal of social staff is oriented towards human capital generation by creating employment opportunities. At that point, Özen and Özkan (2011) clarified that:

The poor used to take cash assistance and they become a dependent afterwards that for blocking laziness, efforts should be taken at integration of the needy to

¹¹⁸ Interview with Pelin Aslı Özen.

¹¹⁹ Interview with İsmail Özkan.

¹²⁰ Interview with Pelin Aslı Özen.

the labor market. Some cooperative efforts have been implemented in collaboration with IS-KUR; marble based training activities are held with the target of employment generation for the impoverished by Denizli SPA.¹²¹

Likewise, SPA representatives also submitted a similar strategy at combating poverty with municipal representatives by emphasizing that poverty struggle should be merged and all local stakeholders should launch collaborative efforts. In this regard, officials have attributed a special role to municipal administrations by demonstrating its strengths in comparison to the other institutions concerning poverty. At that dimension, they advocated an adequate budget allocation to municipal administration and central government control in finance and administrative applications. Furthermore, Özkan (2011) dwelt upon the significance of social based projects, stating that “unhappy families and divorce rates are increasing in these years; in combating poverty not only financial terms but moral values become apparent; bigger projects in cooperation with local stakeholders should be put into practice”.

V.2.3. Denizli SASF

Denizli SASF¹²² staff organized their poverty related activities according to the SASF regulation, the staff is composed of 12 officials and %90 of them have university degree.¹²³ In service-training program activities have been held on technical issues at national and international scale.¹²⁴ The poverty alleviation process of Denizli SASF has been examined under the same topics applied to local authorities to make a comparison with central-local based poverty struggle.

A. Institutional Framework:

Application of the Poor and Definition Process:

Social Assistance Desk has functioning for both enlightenment and application procedures. SOY-BIS program is used if the applicant allows for that scrutiny. In this sense, after the

¹²¹ Interview with İsmail Özkan.

¹²² Denizli Governorate has been sustaining its poverty alleviation practices in line with Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation regulatory Act. In each month a monthly pie from General Directorate is allocated to each provincial Department (additional pie is allocated before Ramadan month and at two terms of school period). Furthermore, General Directorate shares 12 additional periodic month right quantity, for project applications or other activities concerning employment generation.

¹²³ The number of the staff is determined according to the 2006 regulative framework; according to that regulation there are 13 groups and 5 statute including social assistance and investigation personal. As maintained by norm cadre program; social staff should be 4 year university graduate. Besides, population is an influential criterion at the designation of Foundation staff (Fatih Işık; head of the Denizli Social Affairs Department).

¹²⁴ Interview with Murat Oturaklı.

fulfillment of the application form only the copy of the identity card is needed for the completion of the application procedure (at that examination the applicant's tax, estate, motor vehicle ownership, 2022, green card, agriculture and other foundation assistances can be controlled). After the submission of the application form, SASF Social Commission starts the home investigations. Social staff Oturaklı (2011) declared that, "sometimes for the designation of the needy mukhtars and needy citizens' neighbors call the SASF desk for assistance". Later, 'Trustee Committee' decides the amount of assistance and selects the needy citizens for poor assistance.¹²⁵ Similar with municipal application form, SASF also demands for the fulfillment of an application form including those sub-items clarified at the following part.

Application Form: The first part of the application form is composed of the identity information of the applicant and his/ her wife or husband. The second part is comprised of three parts; the first part is covering informative optional items concerning age, gender, educational position, the students at the household, professional knowledge, income, housing, the number of the households and the individuals, disabled condition, chronic illness, social security formation, health security condition, and the reason of the application. At the following part, assistance fields that the applicant applies for are categorized into six parts; household aid; nourishment, coal, housing, cash, pass (ticket) and other; educational assistances: students materials, stationery, boat, student housing, provisional cash transfer and other educational aids part; health aid: cure aids or supports, provisional cash transfer, other: disabled aids; disabled materials, special education for the disabled and other aids: special target aids; catastrophe aids, cook-house, other; project initiatives income generative aids, employment target educative projects, other project aids. The last part covers the signature section concerning the approval part.

Service Provision and Distribution: From the interviews it is seen that SASF administration has no positive discrimination samples at the provision of services to the needy. In this respect, at the service provision and distribution, cooperation activities have been arranged by Projects Directorate with NGOs and public institutions. With Province Health Directorate 'Teeth Health Project' (tooth brush and paste delivery to students) and 'Health Control Project' were applied for primary school students of the impoverished neighborhoods. In cooperation with 'Denizli Provincial Social Affairs Directorate', SASF set up community and youth centers and the project has been supported with an inner project by setting up

¹²⁵ Interview with Murat Oturaklı.

computer labs.¹²⁶ Some other projects implemented can be listed as; ‘Sexual Exploitation Rehabilitation Project’ applied with the cooperation of SPA, IS-KUR, Police Directorate, Denizli Municipality, Chamber of Commerce and Industry; ‘Social Integration of Vulnerable Citizens into Society’ project applied with the cooperation of Police Directorate. Finally, with NGOs, corporate activities have been arranged such as the project of ‘Cooperation for the Assistance to the Needy and the Impoverished’.

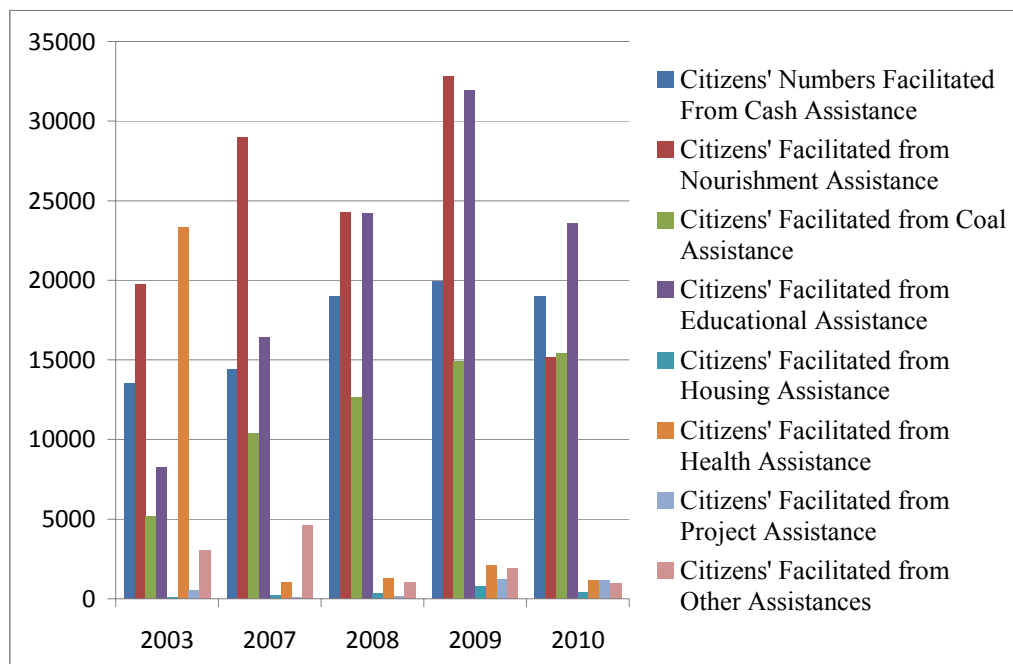
Expert Staff and Participatory Platforms:

Denizli SASF and IS-KUR implemented ‘Setting up Ties with Social Assistance System with Employment Activation Plan’ for increasing the social staff capacity. As it was learned from the interviews with the social staff, the only possibility of the poor to facilitate from Foundation is the application form; there are no participatory platforms to engage the poor to the Foundation.

B. Categorization of Assistances:

From the interviews with SASF staff, it has been found that mostly cash assistance has been demanded by the impoverished. Activity Reports have been taken from Denizli SASF and statistical data concerning social assistances and the number of the beneficiaries are illustrated at the below chart.

Table 5.2.3.1. Denizli SASF Social Assistance Categories



¹²⁶ Interview with SASF head official Fatih Işık.

From the chart, it is observed that SASF has mostly distributed assistance in cash and kind such as nourishment, coal, and education. The number of applied citizens is lowest in project, health and housing assistance fields. However, when examining the financial amount of assistance fields; while few citizens facilitated from project aid, the financial amount has the highest ratio among other assistant fields in recent years. Besides, none of the categorized assistance fields has an overwhelming influence on the others; but generally nourishment, cash, education, and health aids have average ratios among others excluding the project aids. Lastly, at the Activity Reports, it is seen that there are no capacity generation and training activities for the impoverished.

V.2.3.1. Strengths and Weaknesses of SASF at Poverty Alleviation Process

Denizli SASF has been sustaining its activities as a central based institution tied to the Denizli Governorate. The Trustee Committee is the main decision organ of the Foundation composed of strong representatives comprising Governor and representatives of Provincial Directorates. Foundation officials have evaluated both strengths and weaknesses of that decision-making organ. It is determined that the strength of the Foundation is stemming from its supportive members from variety of public institutions.

In this context, Işık (2011) claimed that:

By the help of those delegates, urgent solutions related with poverty come in a short time with not causing delays at poverty alleviation practices.¹²⁷

However, as it was learned from the interviews, the strengths of Trustee Committee sometimes create obstacles at the functioning of poverty struggle because of the political power holders' own interests. Provision of urgent assistance right of SASF is the other strength of Foundation. Each week, gatherings have been held that give the possibility to whole delegates to meet for discussing applied local citizens' needs, and the decisive decisions are taken at those gatherings. Besides, the Head of Foundation has vital powers at poverty alleviation practices such as the responsibility of meeting an urgent need with 500TL cash aid.¹²⁸ At poverty alleviation a general problem has been emphasized by Işık (2011) as:

Financial sources have been distributing for the same assistance areas to the same applicant by poverty related institutions of local and central government. It creates financial wastefulness, extravagances at the budgets of public institutions and leads to the dependency of the impoverished. At the solution of

¹²⁷ Interview with Fatih Işık.

¹²⁸ Interview with Fatih Işık.

the problem, the categorization of assistances should be made by one responsible institution at the functioning of poverty process.¹²⁹

Furthermore, SASF representatives of Işık and Oturaklı (2011) evaluated their budget as having a more regular and sufficient framework than municipality and SPA. However, Işık and Oturaklı (2011) also claimed that:

It does not mean that SASF has sufficient assistance areas for all impoverished citizens. The institution provides per three month cash aids, (limited with 150TL) which are not adequate to provide the households' survivability".¹³⁰

In this regard, Güngör (2011) claimed that:

While SASF is seemed to be an advantageous institution at poverty struggle in financial terms, concerning the amount of budget per year, if the volunteers and charitable donations do not advocate SASF budget, the institution turns towards a futile institution at combating poverty. SASF cannot distribute resources in a qualified manner and the budget resources are mostly diverted to state with demonstrating excesses at transfer expenditure section of the budget.¹³¹

Furthermore, a negative side of Foundation at poverty alleviation practice is emphasized as the SASF's institutional framework at the designation of the poor process. At that point, Arıcan (2011) declared that:

At the determination of the poor, the social security condition and minimum income level is used but that designation criteria create ambiguity in practice. In most cases, it is seen that while the individual is not enrolled in any kind of security institution; financial capacity of the applicant is in a good condition at meeting the needs of a household. Critically, on the other side there are disadvantaged applicants who are under the social security umbrella but having worse livelihood conditions than the people who have no social security. At that condition, Foundation cannot have the legal possibility to make cash or kind assistance to these people and orient them to the municipal Department.¹³²

As it was learned from Denizli municipality's local staff, local administration officials can take decisions at the municipal council meetings concerning cash or kind assistance delivery to the Social Security Organization for Artisans and the Self-Employed and debtors of the Social Insurance Institution if the individual has an urgent need with a valid and acceptable reason.¹³³

Besides, SASF and Governorate officials have submitted their solution proposals at the eradication of the negative sides at poverty alleviation process by the establishment of a

¹²⁹ Interview with Fatih Işık.

¹³⁰ Interview with Murat Oturaklı.

¹³¹ Interview with Sami Güngör.

¹³² Interview with Serkan Arıcan.

¹³³ Interview with Behiye Oğuz and Hüdaverdi Otaklı.

collaborative framework comprising central government, NGOs and local institutions. At that point, Ertekin (2011) designated a central role to central government at the allocation of financial budget and at the right usage of allocated budget.¹³⁴ At that point, Işık (2011) stated that:

The poverty alleviation decision concerning strategies and practices should be local but the needy should not go to variety of institution for assistance in cash and kind. The key solution proposal is on the side of the establishment of one institution regardless of local or central based, to coordinate and organize the assistance activities for blocking the same person aid.¹³⁵

Lastly, SASF officials are the supporters of project-based struggle at the alleviation of poverty and they demand for the allocation of more financial resources to those projects. Oturaklı (2011) declared that “our main target is not alleviating but eliminating poverty by project-based struggles with the engagement of local and civil society organizations.”¹³⁶

By the help of the examination of Activity and Working Reports of Denizli municipality, at three local election terms, it is observed that during the TPP municipal administration period, there has been no specific unit at struggling poverty (there is no institutionalization of poverty). Besides poverty related activities are not categorized for diverse groups such as the elderly, the disabled and children. Critically, it is observed that there has been no effort at the generation of human capital.

During the JDP municipal administration, at the institutional framework different sub-units have been established for the disabled and the children. Sevgi-Eli has been founded which has been delivering social assistances with the support of charitable donations. Provided social assistance categories have been increased, more people have started to facilitate from social assistances in cash and in kind. In this context, similar with the TPP municipal administration, the main emphasis is given to the cash and kind aids under welfare support services and again municipality does not give much effort to the generation of human capital.

In addition to the analysis of Denizli case with Activity Reports, JDP municipal administration’s period has been deeply searched at the study by the examination of ‘Social, Cultural and Education Department’ poverty alleviation practices to find out the different contingency variables of the municipal administration at struggling poverty by the help of the deep interview method. Under the category of the institutional contingency variables, it is observed that especially Sevgi-Eli and Social Affairs Department have strong collaborative

¹³⁴ Interview with Halil İbrahim Ertekin.

¹³⁵ Interview with Fatih Işık.

¹³⁶ Interview with Murat Oturaklı.

activities with NGOs. Furthermore, at the provided services categorizations, JDP municipal administration has been providing high amounts of kind and cash assistances. At the contingency variables related with local and central based relations; most of the delegates declared the central government interference problem at the provision of cash assistance and the social service delivery of Sevgi-Eli to the areas that are out of municipal borders. However, same party politics of municipal administration and municipal mayor initiatives at the struggle of poverty ease the poverty alleviation process. From the decipheres of the interviews, local delegates have the same belief that he municipal administration provides sufficient financial share at the provision of social assistances.

In this respect, in addition to the poverty related activities of Denizli Municipality, poverty struggle practices of Denizli SPA have also been examined. Local authority provides ‘micro credit’ which have been activating in cooperation with TISVA. The target group has been designated as small entrepreneurs and the disadvantaged groups who have no required income. In addition to micro-credit facilities, local administration is also implementing DEY-BIS project for meeting the disabled needs.

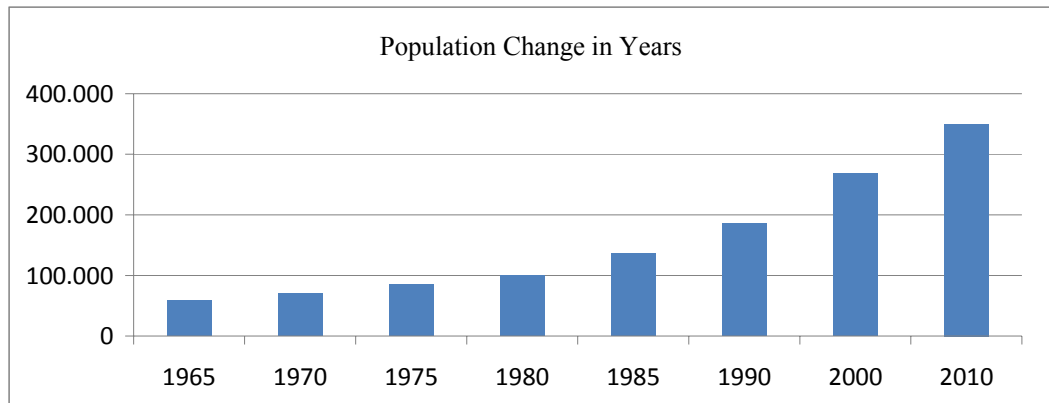
The last examined poverty related institution in Denizli case is ‘Denizli SASF’. As it was mentioned before, the most important institutional contingency variable of that central based institution is the SOY-BIS program that provides a comparative advantage in concerning the poverty related activities of municipal administration. Governorate rejected to give that program to local authorities that it leads to needless bureaucracy and burden at the implementation of social assistances. Foundation has many cooperative activities with other public and civil organizations at combating poverty, and at the categorization of assistances, Foundation’s staff declared that the institution has a sufficient financial share at the provision of cash and kind aid. In related with the institutional organization of the Foundation, representatives clarified that ‘Trustee Committee’ can take urgent action at poverty issues, but they also declared that sometimes the strength of the Committee can create handicaps at the functioning of poverty struggle because of the representatives’ own interests. Consequently, while Foundation has strengths in comparison to local administrations, there have been also technical, financial and administrative handicaps that affecting the well functioning of poverty related activities.

V.3. Muğla Case

Muğla province is located at the Aegean Region in the south-west of Turkey, and it is one of the leading cities in Turkey in terms of economic development especially in the tourism sector. Specifically, the city has traditional Turkish houses and demonstrates an Aegean type of living. Influential touristic locations are located along the coastline of the city exceeding 1000 km. Apart from tourism; coal-mining in Yatağan, chrome in Fethiye, and SEKA paper mills in Dalaman are the other critical sectors of the province.

According to the 2009 ADNKS system, the total population of the city is 802.381; and that demographic ratio consists of 410.089 male and 392.292 women. The population of the central district is 339.757; and aside from the central district, there are 11 districts, 65 municipality and 395 villages.¹³⁷ The term covering 1927-2000, city's population continuously rose and by the 1985 onwards with the development of tourism sector as a locomotive sector, and with the accelerating trend at migration, the province's population statistics reached above average of Turkey (Çolak, 2005: 26). As indicated by Turkstat (2009) data, the province's population annual rise is %13,8 and population density is 62. Lastly, migration rate (per thousand) is illustrated 2.2 ratio among the provinces of Turkey. Urbanization level is augmented from % 37,51 to %42,3 from the year 2004 to 2009.

Table 5.3.1.1. Muğla Population Change in Years



138

As maintained by SPA (2009) data, annual population rise and per capita income, additionally the agricultural labor engagement to labor force are above the average rates of Turkey. In this sense, industry is based on agriculture in Muğla and corporations mostly set

¹³⁷ For details, see, <<http://www.geka.org.tr/icerik/3/112/anasayfa.htm>>

¹³⁸ Population covering only the province and district centers.

up by state economic enterprises. Industrial employment at labor force is below Turkey's average rates; an organized industrial zone has not been developed up to the foundation of Akçaova Region (Dođru, 2006). In this context, manufacture production type has not developed at the province because of the difficulties in transportation routes; transportation networks insufficiency up to recent times has led to delays in the creation of strong ties and relations with national markets (TurkStat, 2009).¹³⁹ As a result of infrastructural rigidity, Muđla has a closed economy formation with small scale production which only meets the basic necessities of its local hinterland (Tekeli, 1993: 146). At the 19th Century, Muđla had a critical role in regional relations; the city demonstrated neither urban nor rural characteristics. In the relations with developed cities in trade and commerce, surplus product which is produced in rural fields gathered and diverted to consumer centers that the province was evaluated as a buffer mechanism and a market place among provinces (Aktüre, 1933: 55). Furthermore, at the province, the culture of tourism activities and education developed because of the origins of the province location, and social and economic dimensions of the city.

A quick overview of province can be grasped by starting from the term of 1950s. After that period, with the development of technology; new lifestyles, production types, and occupational areas especially in non-agricultural fields emerged mostly at the city center. At that term, migration to city center was not much at the provincial level, only some villagers who had been living insufficiencies in relation to land problems, migrated to urban area and tried to engage in the labor force. Those related spatial areas are mostly illustrated as Keramettin, Camikebir, Hacı Rüstem, Orta Mahalle, Balıbey, and Karsıyaka neighbours (Dođru, 2006). Besides, up to the 1960s, in Muđla province commercial networks and relations had regional characteristic; the economic needs and demands of province were obtained from metropolitan spatial areas (Osmaı, 1993: 211). In the 1970s, basic classes of the province were composed of farmers, who have a big population density at the city level (Muđla İl Yıllığı, 1978: 196).¹⁴⁰ After the 1980s, the number of people employed in the agricultural sector gradually decreased because of the development of the tourism sector, and the pie of the service sector at employment rose significantly (Çolak, 2005: 26). At this period, the settling of Muđla School of Social Science contributed to the educational capacity of the province and also to the urban economy. Hence, by the increase in the number of university students, the city's commercial activities started to be shaped within the direction of the needs and demands of students. Reflection of these attempts on the urban

¹³⁹ For details, see, TUIK, 2009, Bölgesel Göstergeler, TR32 Aydın, Denizli, Muđla, XIII.

¹⁴⁰ For details, see, Muđla İl Yıllığı. 1978. Kaya Müstakhan İş Yayıncılık, Ankara.

economy can be stated as the transition from production to consumption economy (Muğla Valiliği, 2004).¹⁴¹ Furthermore, related with industrial aspect; a paper organized industrial zone was settled during 1996. However, the expected development did not come afterwards that only led to small-scale based industrial sector formations. Discussed industrial underdevelopment is mostly evaluated as the result of the insufficiency in geographical conditions (Muğla Sanayi ve Ticaret İl Müdürlüğü, 2004).¹⁴²

Besides, concerning with poverty, employment statistics at TurkStat (2008) report is illustrated as; %10,1 unemployment ratio and %10,9 green card ratio, which is at a high degree among the provinces of Turkey with the average of %14.93. Critically, the unemployment ratio is higher at the district centers in comparison to the central district (Çolak, 2005: 26). Women labor engagement is very low at the urban level concerning men labor force engagement data. Lastly, according to the HDI, Muğla is ranked 12 after İzmir in the Aegean Region and the city demonstrates a parallelism with the level of socio-economic development concerning HDI (Çolak, 2005: 27).

V.3.1. Muğla Municipal Administration

After the administrative reform in 1839; Ottoman urban administration has been put into a rapid transformation and reregulation process. By the enactment of Provincial Administrative Regulation in 1870 (Vilayet Nizamnamesi); first municipal organization was set up in 1857 after 14 years of the establishment of municipal setting in İstanbul in 1871 (Tekeli, 1993: 78). The first mayor in Muğla was Zorbazzade Ragıp. Approximately 40 years between the terms 1914-1963, RPP administrated that local authority (Akça, 2002: 97). From the establishment of the Turkish Republic to the 1950s; municipal services application demonstrated similar characteristics with the other provinces of Turkey in terms of the provision of local citizens' health conditions and urban development (Tekeli, 1993: 163). By the 1970s onwards, municipal organization was fully active on urban development¹⁴³ and in each local election after that period, the social democrat parties; particularly RPP municipal candidates took power at local elections.

¹⁴¹ For details, see, Muğla Valiliği. 2004-1. 2004 yılı başlarında, Muğla Valiliği'nin Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan'ın ili ziyaretinde hazırlanmış olduğu broşür.

¹⁴² For details, see, Muğla Sanayi ve Ticaret İl Müdürlüğü. 2004.

¹⁴³ For details, see, Muğla Belediyesi, 2010-2014 "Stratejik Planlar" <<http://www.sp.gov.tr/documents/planlar/MuglaBelediyesiSP1014.pdf>>.

Critically, even in 1999, when the RPP was under %10 national threshold and was out of the Parliament; the RPP took the votes of %14 in general elections and %37 in municipal election in Muğla. At the other side in the 2002 general election, RPP took 34,5 percent of the votes and in 2004 when the JDP government had been a single party government at the national level on the 28 March 2004 election, the RPP mayor candidate gained the victory with 43 percent of the votes. At the political victory of the mayors from social democrat parties, there is the reflection of positive impression of previous municipal mayors on local citizens and their trust in political party organizations (Gavcar, 2007: 32).

V.3.1.1. Poverty Struggle under Muğla Municipal Administration

Table 5.3.1.2. Muğla Local Elections

LOCAL ELECTIONS	2009	2004	1999
MUĞLA	Republican People's Party (RPP)	Republican People's Party (RPP)	Republican People's Party (RPP)

For a comprehensive analysis of the Muğla municipal case, development of poverty alleviation process in three local election terms covering the 2000-2011 period has been deeply analysed. In all cases, same method is used at that examination; Working Reports and Activity Reports of Muğla municipal administration have been investigated in order to make a critical evaluation of poverty struggle in three political party periods. While those reports do not cover the whole data and information concerning poverty institutional formations and assistance categorization fields, the deep interview method has been applied for gaining detailed information from the related social staff at local administration. As it is observed from the chart above in each local election, there is the same party hegemony at municipal administration that poverty alleviation practices and initiatives of RPP are examined in detail. All of these poverty related practices have been analysed in terms of institutional, political and social assistance categories that lead to contingent local variation at combating poverty.

V.3.1.1.1. RPP Mayorship Periods: 1999-2011

The RPP government as a Social Democrat Party gained local political victory during 1999, 2004, 2009 local elections, under the mayorship of Osman Gürün; with those following rates in years; %37,1, %43,1, %35,8. At the examination of RPP municipal administration's *institutional framework*, it is observed that 'Social and Cultural Affairs Department' in years is institutionalized under 'Education, Culture and Social Affairs Department'. Critically,

‘Health Department’ is the other related institutional body accountable for mostly the vulnerable sides of the city. That related Department implements social assistances for the elderly, the children and the women with two vital formations of Rest House and Women Solidarity Centers. In this respect, ‘Health Department’ is liable for the cure and treatment, health control affairs, provision of nourishment, cleaning, maintenance and heating services of Rest Houses. Besides, with the examination of Activity Reports of RPP municipal administration; it has been found that ‘Education, Culture and Social Affairs Department’ provided those *social assistance categories* such as cash aid, nourishment and heating (coal and wood), educational aids, free-charge meal at Ramadan periods, free-charge meal delivery for the disabled students. In years, Department has started cultural activities by opening up courses which are not oriented towards the poor. In this context, the target at the arrangement of those courses is emphasized by municipal officials as engaging all sections of the society for enhancing and creating employment opportunities of the participants with making no positive discrimination (most of the participants that applied are the housewives). As to the Cockburn’s (1977) local state social assistance typologies, Muğla municipal administration has distributed limited cash and kind assistance to the impoverished applied to the Department in comparison to Denizli municipal administration. In this regard, as it was learned from the social staff many branch courses have been arranged, however the objective of those courses is not enhancing the capabilities of the impoverished related with the generation of their human capital. Consequently, the institutional framework of municipal administration is not classified for engaging different vulnerable groups such as the disabled, the young and the children for the maintenance of social cohesion.

V.3.1.1.1.1. Social Assistance Financial Share at Budget in 2000-2010 Period

Table 5.3.1.3. Social Assistance Share at Municipal Budget

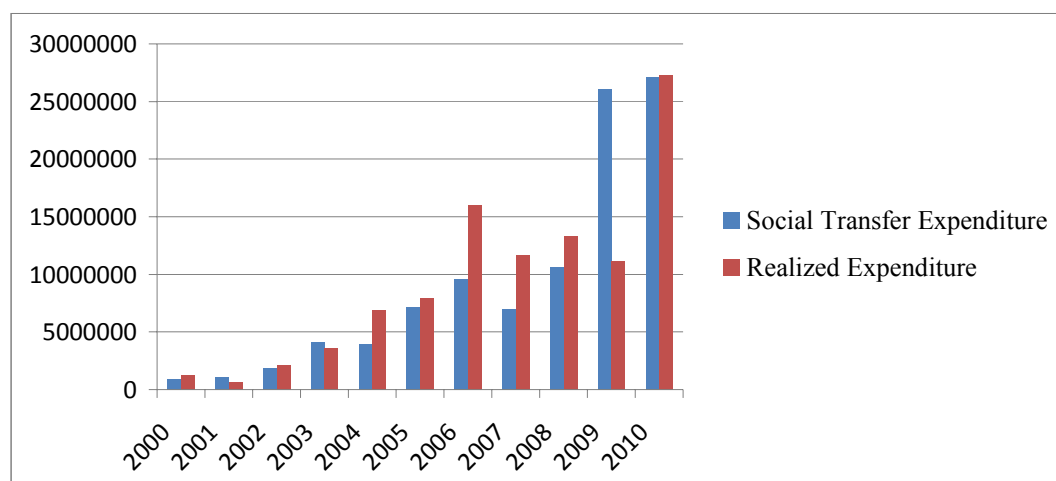


Table 5.3.1.4. Muğla Municipal Administration Current Transfer Pies

YEARS	Total Expense	Current Transfer	Pie of Social Transfer Expenses	Realized Social Transfer Expenses	Social Transfer/Total Expense %
2000	4.218.381,00	1.025.600,00	12.350,00	9.513,00	0.009
2001	6.363.834,00	1.295.750,00	6.360,00	10.861,00	0.008
2002	6.636.834,00	2.779.500,00	21.500,00	18.747,00	0.006
2003	11.142.505,00	3.024.500,00	36.500,00	41.375,00	0.003
2004	15.705.767,00	5.473.000,00	69.000,00	39.857,90	0.002
2005	21.780.360,00	7.133.462,00	79.500,00	71.386,05	0.003
2006	34.504.884,00	-	160.000,00	95.773,48	0.002
2007	39.200.000,00	-	117.000,00	70.151,65	0.001
2008	53.512.323,00	-	133.000,00	106.283,91	0.001
2009	68.550.000,00	-	112.000,00	261.040,10	0.003
2010	64.070.000,00	-	273.000,00	271.008,60	0.004

As it is observed from the chart above the pie of social transfer expenses only decreased in two years of 2001 and 2009, concerning the accelerating wave in municipal budget and also the pie of social targeted expenses. In the evaluation of the realized transfer expenditure, that proportion has augmented at the allocated budget in the years 2001, 2003, 2009. So, it can be stated that while that ratio seemed to have a decreasing trend according to the stable rise in years, the expended budget also increases on the contrary to the decrease at the allocated budget concerning social targeted financial expense.

V.3.1.2. Poverty Struggle Process of Muğla RPP Municipal Administration: Social, Education and Culture Department's 2005-2010 Term Social Affairs

The Department was set up in 1995 with the name of 'Education and Cultural Affairs Department' and in 2005 that Department's title was changed as 'Social and Cultural Affairs Department'. Department has been sustaining social and cultural activities by the staff composed of the following people: one head of the Department, 3 Social Commission officials and 17 technical personal. In this context, officials provide material needs of Culture House, Özbekler House, Konakaltı Culture Center and Cook-House and orient the needy citizens at education and poor aid applications; and give information concerning arranged courses. In this respect, Department has been providing free-charge meal at Cook-House for 60 disabled and needy citizens in each day since 1986; and approximately 200 people can get low-cost daily meal. Cash aid is mostly given to the elderly, ill health and the people aged over 40-45. The social commission has not been divided according to the

disabled and the elderly categories like in Denizli (Disabled Coordination Center)¹⁴⁴, the Rehabilitation Center provided services to the vulnerable. On the contrary, as it was learned from the interviews of the social staff, Rest House has been activating affairs under municipal formation and it meets the expenses of the daily needs of the elderly and that related formation is currently providing services for only one vulnerable elderly person. Furthermore, the poverty alleviation process of the RPP municipal government Department has been evaluated as the same with Denizli municipal administration under those listed topics to demonstrate the different contingency variables of Muğla municipal administration that lead to contingent local variation at poverty struggle such as institutional framework, categorization of social assistances, and local- central based relations. Besides, negative and positive sides of the institution at poverty struggle and solution proposals have also been examined in detail.

V.3.1.2.1. Different Contingency Variables of Muğla Municipal Administration that Lead to Local Variation at Poverty Struggle

V.3.1.2.1.1. Institutional Contingency Variables of Muğla Municipal Administration

Application of the Poor and Definition Process:

Within the first year of the establishment of the Department in 2005, a social commission like in Denizli, was not established for the designation of the poor, Municipal Police had made home investigations and soon after reported it to ‘Social Affairs Department’ for the final decision at the designation of the beneficiaries for cash and kind assistances. In this respect, there is a research group composed of three officials in Municipal Police Department; mukhtar, relatives, neighbors and also volunteers help in this designation process, afterwards that list of the needy has been reported to the Department.¹⁴⁵ Specifically, Municipal Police has been dealing with the home investigation activities of the needy citizens in cooperation with ‘Social and Cultural Affairs Department’, but sometimes other Departments such as Editor Office, Science Affairs are directly in contact with Municipal Police and take the demands coming from the needy citizens; such as home maintenance, environment arrangement, and project assistance activities.

¹⁴⁴ Department also provides service and purchases materials for the disabled which have also been designated at the chart of Activity Reports.

¹⁴⁵ Interview with the Municipal Police Department Officials; Ayhan Hasdemir, İbrahim Uysal.

Similar with other municipal administrations' in Turkey, an application form should be completed by the needy that necessitates some bureaucratic processing, such as the applicant's real estate tax records from SPA, birth records samples of the applicants and his/her family from Province Population and Citizenship Directorate; title deeds records from Land Registry Directorate and lastly tax records from Directorate. The applicant delivers his/her petition and application form to the related Department of the municipality. At that point, while this process has similarities with Denizli Municipality, 'Muğla Social and Cultural Affairs Department' generate different evaluation criterion at the designation of the needy. This related Department has formed a grading chart in addition to the application form at the decision of the cash and kind aid.¹⁴⁶ Hence, the criteria table, the application form and report of Municipal Police home investigations are the main definers at the designation of the needy by the 'Social and Cultural Affairs Department'.¹⁴⁷

Service Provision and Distribution:

Interviews illustrated that there is no positive discrimination samples at the urban level but women working group started to visits and street dialogues at the needy neighborhoods of Kiramettin, Karşıyaka, and Şeyh. Women working group have been trying to determine the needs and demands of the poor, and they are targeted to share that knowledge with the municipal Department for originating a collaborative formation at the alleviation of poverty.¹⁴⁸ Critically, Municipal Department officials of Birgül and Ereşter (2011) designated that "gypsies and migrants are the most vulnerable groups at the provincial level settling at those related neighborhoods". In this context, these households' children have priority at the engagement of opened courses and branches. Local officials give the sample of brass band group formation comprised of gypsy children by municipal social staff for advocating their social integration at the urban scale.

Furthermore, in terms of service provision NGOs, Muğla University and Municipality originated cooperative projects; one of them can be stated as the arranged courses for needy students by volunteer university students. At that point, local administration gives contribution by arranging those course spaces in Culture Houses. At that framework, with the cooperation of Society Training Directorate, specific courses have been arranged. At

¹⁴⁶ Related form has been illustrated at the appendix part of the study.

¹⁴⁷ Interview with Ali Birgül.

¹⁴⁸ Interview with Ali Birgül and Hülya Ereşter.

these courses the main objective is not capacity generation of the poor for sustaining their survivability, especially housewives have been facilitating from those activities.

Participatory Platforms:

Besides, good poverty alleviation activities are observed by the newly established women working group; with their home visits and street dialogues which are initiated for the enlightenment of the needy and participation of the poor. While these are good steps at poverty struggle, local official Uysal (2011) stated that there is the need of more home visits and face to face meetings for better solutions at struggling poverty.¹⁴⁹

Expert Staff and In-Service Training Activities:

Furthermore, another problem impeding good practices at the alleviation of poverty is declared by the social staff as technical and expert personal insufficiency in local administrations among the provinces of Turkey. At that point, Birgül and Ereşter (2011) clarified that:

Poverty is not concerning with only financial problems but also physiological and social integration based problems and there is a need of qualified and expertise staff graduated from psychology and sociology departments, to be employed at the Social Departments of municipalities. In-service training activities are also influential in increasing the capacities of the staff related with poverty based issues.¹⁵⁰

Capacity Generation and Training Activities:

From the interviews it has been found that many courses have been arranged under ‘Social and Cultural Affairs Department’ but none of them has the target to enhance the livelihoods of the needy. Specifically, courses have been arranged in variety of topics in capacity generation, especially on handcraft with the participation of house-wives and free-time saving activities for children in summer term courses with no-charge. However, while these courses are not held in order to raise the impoverished livelihood standards by employment generation practices, social staff Çakmaklı and Uysal (2011) declared that “course participants with the engagement of those arranged courses in a five year term, gained the certificate of being an instructor of that related course branch”. Briefly, from the interviews with local officials it has been understood that all have the opinion that capacity generation

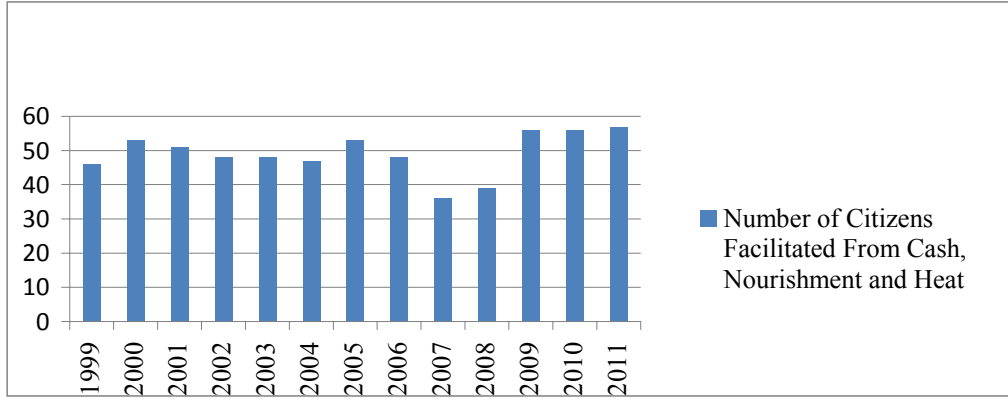
¹⁴⁹ Interview with Soner Uysal.

¹⁵⁰ Interview with Hülya Ereşter and Ali Birgül.

courses should be arranged under the local administration framework mainly for the impoverished.¹⁵¹

V.3.1.2.1.2. Contingency Variables of Muğla Municipal Administration Stemming From Categorization of Assistanes

Table 5.3.1.5. Municipal Administration Categorization of Social Assistanes

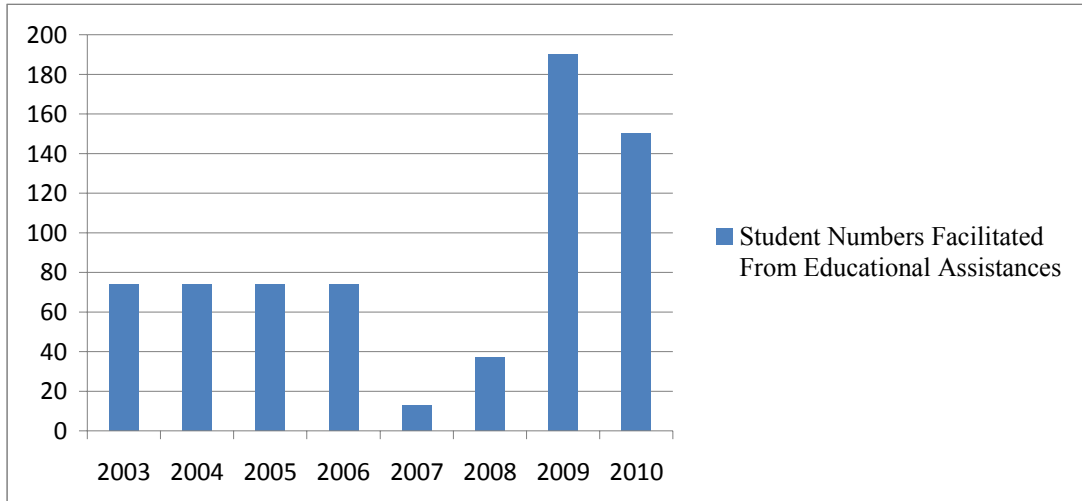


As it is illustrated at the chart above, ‘Social and Cultural Affairs Department’ has the principle that the needy citizens who facilitate from the cash assistance can directly get Ramadan nourishment aid and coal assistance from the municipality. In this sense, it can be stated that the people who apply for cash assistance are adopted as poor by the municipal Department. Cash assistance amount has been changed for each month between 75-100TL; and there has been no defined period for the continuation of this assistance. As maintained by Hülya Ereşter the head of the ‘Social and Cultural Affairs Department’ “if the needy citizen can get aid from a number of public institution and he/ she does not declare this in the application process; the cash assistance is interrupted by municipal Department”. According to the chart, at the number of needy citizens at last three years, a stable trend is seen, approximately each year only 45-55 people take those social services from Department. Lastly, related with cash assistance there is also a general value about its creation of dependency if it is provided by other public institutions with an amount surpassing the amount of the Department.¹⁵²

¹⁵¹ Interview with Ömür Çakmaklı, Soner Uysal and Ali Birgül.

¹⁵² Interview with Ali Birgül.

Table 5.3.1.6. Muğla Municipal Administration Educational Assitances



153

From the chart observed, it can be argued that during the term covering the 2003-2006 periods; nearly the same number of students facilitated from educational financial assistance, but that number has its lowest ratio in 2007; and that ratio has an accelerating trend in the last three year term. In this context, 2009-2010 student numbers demonstrate us the proportion of high school students in Muğla who applied for assistance. In this sense, Women Solidarity House, an independent institution from the municipal administration has also been delivering educational assistance to university students in coordination with that municipal Department by wholly volunteer donations.

Another drawback at combating poverty at the institutional formation of Department is the non-categorization of the poor assistances such as units for disabled, elderly and children. As it was understood from the decipheres of the interviews, those activities have been coordinated under 'Health Affairs Department'.¹⁵⁴

V.3.1.2.1.2.1. Women Solidarity Center

Women Solidarity Center has been in activation since 2002 as an independent branch of the municipal administration; and the related center's social staff is composed of 9-10 women volunteers. The Center's staff has a legal head representative for regulating formal activities under the municipal administration and implementing the decisions taken by the municipal council concerning Solidarity Center. Social staff Bütün (2011) designated the categorized

¹⁵³ Except university students; primary, high school can facilitate from that educational assistances, the aid period cannot pass 8 months of educational term. The students in Muğla can take 75 TL, and outside city learning activities Directorate allocates 100 TL for each student.

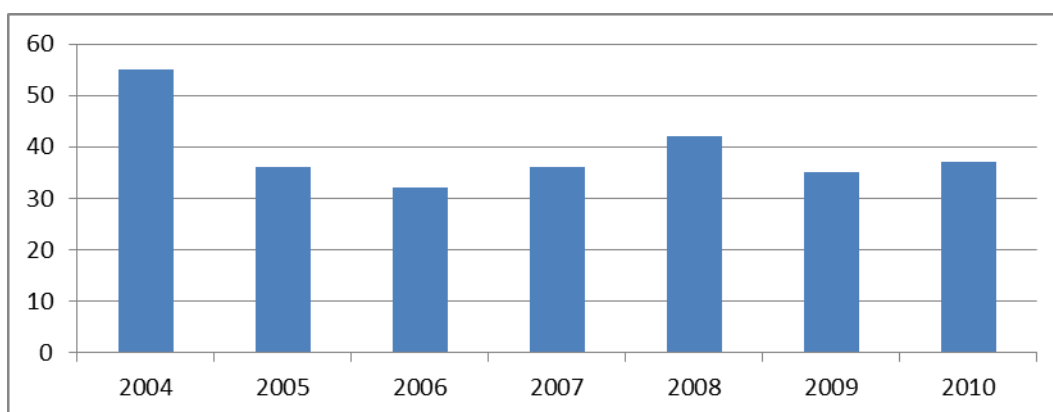
¹⁵⁴ Interview with Soner Uysal.

assistance fields as provision of clothing, white-goods, furniture, and educational financial assistances. Charitable donations of cash aids and second hand goods that are not needed and surplus at home, are distributed to the needy people who applied to that center. No regular budget is allocated for that center by municipal administration. Financial source of center is tried to be meet by the settling of bazaar and festivals; and hand-made products income, transferring of lost money by Municipal Police Department. In this respect, the municipal administration is only responsible for meeting the building, staff, and kitchen expenditures of Women Solidarity Center.

Table 5.3.1.7. Women Solidarity Center Poverty Alleviation Initiatives

Years	Students and Cash Assistance Quantity
2010	37 students Expert Doctorship (3 students) 200 TL University student 100 TL High school student 60 TL
2009	35 students Expert Doctorship 200 TL University student 100 TL High school student 50 TL
2008	42 students Expert Doctorship 200 TL University student 100 TL High school student 50 TL
2007	36 students University student 150 TL High school student 40 TL
2006	32 students University student 150 TL High school student 40 TL
2005	36 students University student 150 TL High school student 40 TL

Table 5.3.1.8. Number of Students Facilitated From Women Solidarity Center Cash Assistance



From the chart, it is seen that the center provides assistances for approximately the similar number of local citizens in each year. Women Solidarity Center social staff Bütün (2011) declared the drawbacks confronted during the social assistance provision process as follows:

More furniture is required to be delivered to the needy citizens; in those years white-goods are not given as donation. The most critical issue hindering the assistance process is lacking of an allocated budget for the center, donation quantities decreased in recent years; for a better functioning of activities generation of more corporate activities with public and private institutions is needed.¹⁵⁵

V.3.1.2.1.3. Contingency Variables of Muğla Municipal Administration Stemming From Local and Central Based Relations

Financial Drawback:

Muğla municipal officials, Daşcı and Birgül (2011) declared that:

Municipal allocated budget pie for social assistance, particularly at cash aid is limited (varied between 75-100 TL per month for each citizen), and for an effective functioning of the poverty alleviation process that financial allocation of central government to local administrations should be increased.¹⁵⁶

Critically, none of the social officials have dwelled upon the political constraints between local authority and central government. Muğla municipality as a Social Democrat Party has been sustaining its social assistance activities under mayor initiatives with making no categorization and variation at social affairs with limited number of beneficiaries. It can be clearly stated that, Muğla Social Democratic municipal government cannot form an efficient poverty alleviation system, and local authority designated poverty problem only in financial assistance (cash assistance) in the direction of absolute poverty understanding; and municipal administration does not take into account the needs of different vulnerable groups.

After the elucidation of contingency variables of Muğla municipal administration, local representatives' solution proposals have been evaluated, which are mostly oriented towards setting up a good solidarity with Governorate and also SASF. Most of the municipal officials find a unified poverty struggle sufficient under the cooperation of whole poverty related institutions. However, in that unified system, they attributed the supervision authority role to central government. Ereşter and Uysal (2011) focused on the advantageous side of municipalities as their close contact with local citizens at combating poverty.¹⁵⁷ At that point, Birgül (2011) also stated that "local administrations can be the central authority at combating

¹⁵⁵ Interview with Leyla Bütün.

¹⁵⁶ Interview with Ali Birgül and Hüseyin Daşcı.

¹⁵⁷ Interview with Hülya Ereşter and Soner Uysal.

poverty at that unified system, if the required financial resource is allocated from the central government for social assistances".¹⁵⁸ Another common belief of the officials lies in the cooperation of NGOs, public institutions, municipal Departments and working group activities for realizing successive poverty alleviation practices.¹⁵⁹

V.3.2. Muğla SPA

Muğla SPA's relation with the poverty struggle tried to be evaluated with the help of Activity Reports mainly published after the enactment of 5302 SPA Law Act. At the Annual Report (2010) 2010-2014 strategic aims which have strong ties at combating poverty are designated as follows;

I. Strategic Targets Concerning Rural Development:

- a) Enhancing life quality at the rural area and the provision of rural development with realizing the services of infrastructure, transportation, irrigation, and housing.
- b) Developing rural infrastructure in a participatory framework for realizing rural development consistent with national agricultural policies.

II. Strategic Targets Concerning Improving Social Prosperity:

- a) Enhancing Quality in Education and Health:
 - a.1.) Creating equal opportunity in education; enhancing the physical capacity of pre-school, primary and, high schools for improving the quality of education.
 - a.2.) For the young in the 12-24 age group in education and employed-unemployed for their evaluation of spare times, moving them away from bad habits and enhancing their skills; opening up courses in direction with their demands and capacities.
 - a.3.) Developing training possibilities for whole sections of the society compatible to their age, capacity, educational level and needs, and improving their guidance, training, activities.

b) Micro Investments:

Micro investment facilities have been launched within the Muğla provincial borders at Orhaniye, Muslihittin, Düğerek, Orta neighborhoods; Akçakoca, Yenice, Doğanköy, İkizce, Gülağzı villages and 56 groups formed for the designation of the impoverished. It was emphasized by local official Almış (2011) that "224 needy citizens used micro-credit; 156.800 TL credit has been provided. 25.300 TL of the distributed credit has returned by the cycle of returning of those debts via the used groups". The credits usage fields generally

¹⁵⁸ Interview with Ali Birgül.

¹⁵⁹ Interview with Ömür Çakmaklı.

depend on women's capacity, knowledge, and creativeness. Some of the credit usage areas are listed below;

Table 5.3.2.1. Muğla Micro Investments:

Target Area	Credit	Number of Users
Production	48.300	69
Agriculture	4.900	7
Services	8.400	12
Occupation and Trade	32.900	47
Shops	9.800	14
Animal Husbandry	51.800	74
General Sum	156.800	224

Micro credit provision has been sustaining in cooperation with TİSVA; and a protocol was signed with TİSVA and SPA demonstrating the responsibilities of the Foundation and also SPA on 31 December 2009. Up to that time, with this cooperation 457 women took 330.447,50 TL micro credits. At the published Activity Report of SPA (2010), it was emphasized that the Foundation realizes micro credit activities voluntarily and the staff make that credit provision affairs as social responsibility logic with no-charge. Additionally, for the provision of transparency, the 'Independent International Supervision Institute of Price Water House-Cooper' makes the control of that social responsibility project of Foundation's micro credit applications. The Foundation declares their demand as more financial revenue from Governorate and SPA for reaching a wider area at the urban level.¹⁶⁰

At Muğla SPA, with the Provincial General Council decision on 08 January 2010; 'Culture and Social Affairs Department' started to be responsible for the application of micro credit. In this sense, micro credit application instruction declared the micro credit target as the provision of credit especially to the poor women for supporting their income generative activities living in rural and urban areas. In this regard, the distribution of credits tied to those following provisions;

a) Being poor,

Having no occupational background; not under any social security network; having an annual income below 2.000TL, not having 2.000 square meters registered real estate and not having ownership of a business,

b) Being in the position to generate income; it can be in-or outside the home,

¹⁶⁰ Türkiye İsrافی Önleme Vakfı, Mütevelli Heyeti Başkanı, Prof. Dr. Aziz Akgül.

- c) Having the idea of occupation or business,
- d) Engaging training activities in need.¹⁶¹

The Audit Court criticized ‘Social and Cultural Department’ in their cooperation with Foundation TİSVA. At that point, SPA official Almış (2011) declared the reason for choosing that cooperation with the following words:

Department is overburdened, institutional body is also responsible for Educational Department’s activities because of not having an institutional formation related with educational activities and assistances, and an extra bureaucracy is now on the shoulders of Department, so that micro credit application procedure has chosen to be activated by Foundation.¹⁶²

III. Strategic Targets Concerning Social Services and Assistances:

Muğla SPA clarified their strategic targets at social services and assistances as follows;

- a) Definition of principles related with social aid and services compatible with social service policies; and preparing, applying working plans and policies.
- b) Designation of the vulnerable children, the disabled and the elderly; their care, shelter and rehabilitation activities.
- c) Prior planning and implementing of natural disaster origin problems.
- d) Temporary and continuous services towards the needy.

V.3.2.1. Strengths and Weaknesses of Muğla SPA at Poverty Alleviation Process

A general evaluation concerning SPA poverty related activities has been made considering the same contingency variables such as institutional, local-central administrations based and categorization of social assistances. Most of the officials stated that the central district of the province has not been affected from poverty because of the socio-economic development of Muğla province stemming from geographical conditions of weather, tourism, agriculture, mining, and fishery. Local officials also added that in the central district, poverty is not the main problem; rural areas are more affected from poverty phenomenon. Besides, local representative Çimen (2011) tied the limited number of the poor at the province to the cultural norms and values of the province and he declared that “people used to survive by taking from nature, not choosing to beg and turn it into capital by him/ herself at the market”.¹⁶³ As it is seen from these clarifications, local variation at poverty also stems from the originalities of the province’s socio-economic and geographical conditions.

¹⁶¹ For details, see, Micro Credit Guideline, 08.01.2011, Culture and Social Affairs Directorate.

¹⁶² Interview with Abdullah Almış.

¹⁶³ Interview with Ahmet Ali Çimen.

Besides, related to the institutional contingency variables, local official Çelik (2011) declared that:

Muğla SPA is a powerful local authority with its active contributions to villages' development by service provision at irrigation, roads and drinking water. The SPA is a technically developed local administration and especially at rural poverty its strength comes from service quality, financial budget sufficiency, common cooperation capacity and timely activities that do not create delays in needs.¹⁶⁴

At that point, 'Muğla Social and Cultural Affairs Department' officials declared the institutional problem as their technical incapacity in grasping social based activities and the job description of Department is claimed to be complicated in years. In this respect, local representatives remarked on the change and diversification of responsible areas of Department that generated problems at the provision of education, culture, social and affairs. Consequently, local officials demonstrated the main handicap at poverty alleviation as the over responsibility of the Department.¹⁶⁵ In this context, officials gave the sample of TISVA in micro-credit cooperation, which generated drawbacks and hesitation among local officials at provincial level.¹⁶⁶ Furthermore, local SPA delegates tied the problem of the over-responsibility on Departments to the enactment of new SPA Law. In this respect, Almış (2011) claimed that:

By the enforcement of that regulation responsibility areas of Provincial Directorates and SPA Departments were made complicated, and while the law created burdens on the Departments, the needed power at service provisions was not given to local authorities.¹⁶⁷

In this sense, while local officials counted lots of drawbacks, they also focused on advantageous sides of local authority. Local representative Çelik (2011) claimed that "SPA has strengths in project applications covering EU integration projects; human resource, rural development, IPA (pre-accession financial support) projects".¹⁶⁸ Moreover, other implemented cooperative projects were determined as 'Non-Problem Generations' in the Future'; where Health Provincial Directorate, Muğla Service Provision Foundation, municipality and SPA act together.¹⁶⁹ From the interviews, it was understood that there has no social targeted project in cooperation with national organizations concerning poverty struggle; each Department has fragmented applications in social affairs for public good.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁴ Interview with Veli Çelik.

¹⁶⁵ Interview with Abdullah Almış.

¹⁶⁶ Interview with Ahmet Selçuk Çimen.

¹⁶⁷ Interview with Abdullah Almış.

¹⁶⁸ Interview with Veli Çelik.

¹⁶⁹ Interview with Abdullah Almış.

¹⁷⁰ Interview with Ahmet Selçuk Çimen.

Furthermore, related to the insufficiency of social targeted projects, Çelik (2011) added that “income generative activities and projects should be arranged towards the impoverished for contributing to the poverty alleviation practices at the urban level”.¹⁷¹ Briefly, local officials think that SPA is a strong local administrative authority that covers the boarder out of the contiguous areas of the municipality. At that point, Çimen (2011) claimed that “SPA should implement effective policies in rural fields because the population living at country-side when confronted with rural handicaps and inefficiencies migrated to urban areas and causing urban based local service problems”.¹⁷²

The policy proposal of SPA officials is oriented towards standardization at poverty struggle implementations and applications of local and central government institutions which are critical for increasing the service quality at combating poverty. Representatives have the opinion that each poverty related institution’s independent applications create challenges that they focused on the necessity of the institutionalization process at the designation of local citizens’ needs and demands. In this context, most delegates believe that central government based policy formulation and control can generate better solutions at poverty alleviation.¹⁷³ Besides, officials assume that the needed budget should be transferred to local institutions for reaching good solutions because they think that the budget of local administrations is limited at the application of social affairs. At that point, as a solution proposal, Çimen (2011) suggested that “central government should realize the required financial transfer to local administrations compatible with their populations’ need, and control if that allocated financial share is distributed for social assistance or not”.¹⁷⁴ Furthermore, Çelik (2011) has the belief that local administrative authorities have more potentials than central government in terms of behavior, attitudes, and visions which are different from central government officials.¹⁷⁵

V.3.3. Muğla SASF

The Governorate has sustained their poverty related activities under SASF, mostly compatible with the demands of the needy who are not under social security network. Muğla SASF has six staff comprising of a social commission, accountancy, and a bureau. As it was learned from local officials of the Foundation; every two weeks, the decision-making organ of ‘Trustee Committee’ comes together for information sharing and designation of the poor

¹⁷¹ Interview with Veli Çelik.

¹⁷² Interview with Ahmet Selçuk Çimen.

¹⁷³ Interview with Ahmet Selçuk Çimen.

¹⁷⁴ Interview with Ahmet Selçuk Çimen.

¹⁷⁵ Interview with Veli Çelik.

who are eligible for assistance. The main target of the SASF according to the head official is “the right person and the required, appropriate help”.¹⁷⁶ For a deep analysis of Muğla SASF, the poverty alleviation process has been evaluated under the same topics applied at municipal administration such as institutional formation and categorization of assistances.

A. Institutional Framework

Application of the Poor and Definition Process:

A social commission with two personnel is responsible for central neighborhood home visits and two other commissions are liable for villages in Göktepe and Gazeller at the search of needy citizens. The SOY-BIS program and application form is used by SASF and green-card Departments in a similar way among whole provinces of Turkey that clarifications cannot be repeated about the program and application form which is same with Denizli case province. As it was learned from the interviews, at the designation of the needy not only the social commission staff, but also mukhtar, neighbors, and volunteers have assisted that process.

Service Provision and Distribution:

From the interviews, it has been found that SASF administration has no positive discrimination samples. The Foundation has the effort to deliver social services to the all needy areas. Different from Denizli SASF, there is an organized social staff commission located in two zones with the responsibility to designate the poor at the most vulnerable parts of the province. It can be evaluated as a good step at the demonstration of the institutionalization process at combating poverty.

Furthermore, concerning the cooperation with other poverty related institutions; as it was learned from the interviews with SASF social staff, few cooperation samples occurred with local stakeholders. The most important projects was listed by Haney (2011) as ‘Cattle Breeding Project’ with the cooperation of Province Agriculture Department under the framework of SRAP project but it is emphasized that the project did not yield the expected results. Likewise, it was also emphasized that SASF has close contact with Muğla Municipality, and they act coordinately especially in the completion of social services which

¹⁷⁶ Interview with Mustafa Haney.

cannot be met by the possibilities of the Foundation.¹⁷⁷ Lastly, the KASTEB project was completed in 2010 with the cooperation of the Provincial Directorate of Agriculture leading to gains in rural development.¹⁷⁸

B. Categorization of Assistances

The assistance fields vary from cash aid maximum of 50-75TL per month mostly for house maintenance and sheltering; and kind aids include health, hiring, and education assistances. Different from other provinces, not much nourishment and heating aid are distributed at the urban field. Besides, with the evaluation of the Activity Reports of recent years; it is seen that assistances which are provided for the needy from high to low degree can be listed as cash, education, nourishment, kind, health and lastly project aids. In this respect, the number of the needy facilitated from those assistances has risen over the years compatible with the increase in the amounts of assistances. The categorization of assistances is illustrated at the following charts.

Table 5.3.3.1. Muğla SASF Number of Citizens Get Assistance

SASF	Number of Citizens Get Aid	Quantity
2006	49.539	5.407.963,11
2007	33.160	3.719.360,26
2008	47.661	3.919.365,00
2009	64.799	9.297.353,70
2010	58.557	6.320.464,33

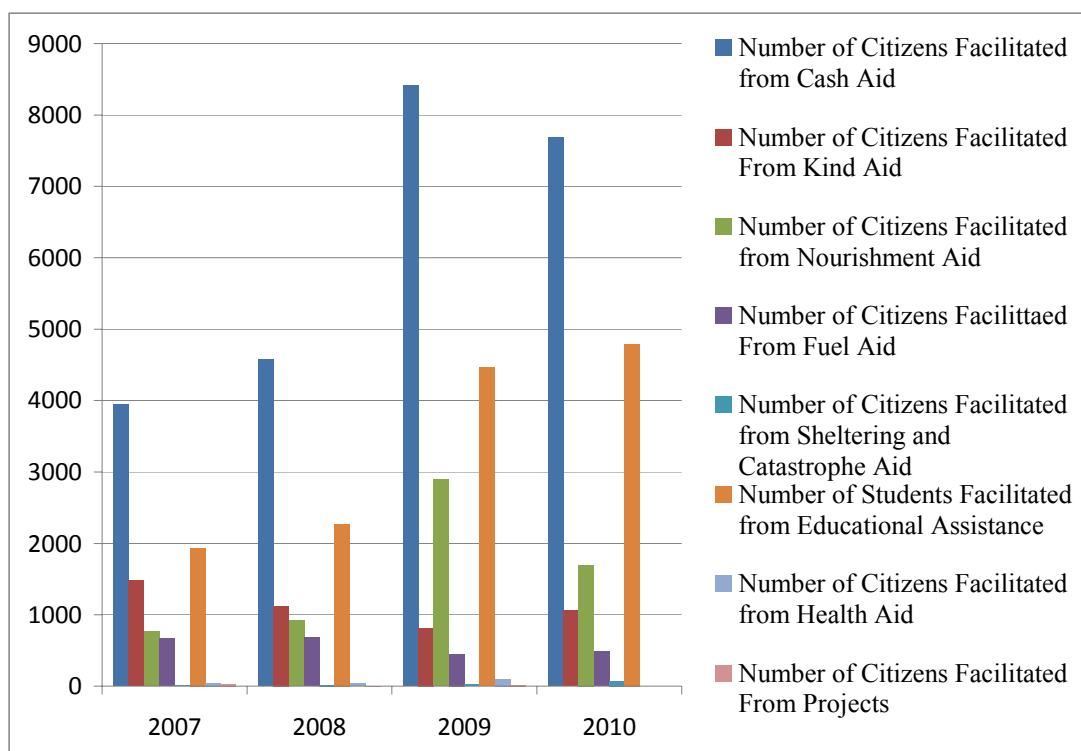
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¹⁷⁷ Interview with Mustafa Haney.

¹⁷⁸ Interview with Ahmet Ali Barış.

¹⁷⁹ Assistance budgets covering Muğla central district and also the peripheral districts.

Table 5.3.3.2. Muğla SASF Number of Citizens Facilitated from Assistances



V.3.3.1. Strengths and Weaknesses of SASF at Poverty Alleviation Process

First of all, the Foundation's officials emphasized the institutional based drawbacks that engender problems at the alleviation of poverty. Officials declared that the General Directorate of Foundation cannot give the needed support to the social staff, especially in officials' personal rights concerning their salaries. At that point, the Trustee Committee has the full authority and appreciation at the designation of personal rights. Additionally, representatives have found budget insufficient; the head of the Foundation Haney (2011) claimed that:

Public institutions and foundations cannot be compared in institutional dimensions; Foundation is dependent on the Trustee Committee; but municipal administration and SPA administrative bodies have their legal regulations and laws which have strengths over Act of the Foundation. In addition to legal drawback, physical conditions' insufficiency is affecting the functioning process; sometimes staff have to work in districts rather than offices of the Foundation. Moreover, technical personnel are also inadequate; staff branches should cover psychologists and sociologists for an effective implementation of poverty elimination struggle.

In this context, officials also designated their unsecured position at the designation of the poor citizens; they emphasized that security condition problems of the social commission, especially at the rural fields' assistance applications. At the other side of the angle, Muğla

municipal official Ereşter (2011) believes that the Governorate has been conducting its activities more comfortably in delivering assistances to a widespread area with respect to its sufficient financial capacity and regulative power in combating poverty.¹⁸⁰ In that sense, Governorate official Barış (2011) also claimed that:

At the previous terms, concerning the prior periods of the establishment of the Foundation, municipalities share a payment from their budgets that augmented the financial sources; but now local administrations use their own budgets for their own affairs. The payments which have been taken from municipalities are abolished to form their own poverty struggles.¹⁸¹

Furthermore, most of the municipal administration officials think that the SOY-BIS program creates an advantageous process for Foundations, but at that point delegates of the Foundation also stated that while that program seemed to be a good program; there are drawbacks at its implementation process. Officials illustrated a sample from student applicants' applications in educational assistance. At that point, Haney (2011) declared that:

The students' family should allow the applicant's form for the investigation; but most of the families do not allow for that investigation. Additionally, SOY-BIS demonstrates only the applicant's condition not his/ her family, leading to problems in the checking process.

Similar points have been declared on the dependency issue of the impoverished by the officials of the Foundation, claiming that "the needy get assistance from variety of public institutions and become dependent, to solve this problem an institutionalized control mechanism is needed to hinder dependency". Moreover, concerning the educational assistance, the new law is evaluated as a handicap with the item that indicates university students can only take assistance from Credit Institutions.¹⁸² Lastly, it was declared that "there has been no in service-training activity since 2009", and additionally officials have emphasized that "there is the need for more expert staff at poverty alleviation".

As a solution proposal, the same issue is also discussed by the Governorate and Foundation's officials as the unification of all poverty related institutions in one hand, but different from the other views, the common belief here is that the single body should be the one central based authority such as Social Affairs Provincial Directorate or SASF. Officials think that Governorate is more professional at combating poverty; and they assume that municipalities cannot have the required power for struggling poverty. At that point, they also focused on NGOs participation at combating poverty but they have attributed the control mechanism at

¹⁸⁰ Interview with Hülya Ereşter.

¹⁸¹ Interview with Ahmet Ali Barış.

¹⁸² Interview with Ahmet Ali Barış.

the hands of central government. Finally, they advocated their proposal with the assumption that whole stake-holders activation under Governorate control strengthens assistance provision because Governorate has the power to integrate local officials and representatives by the Trustee Committee at the solution mechanism.¹⁸³

By the help of the examination of the Activity and Working Reports of Muğla municipality, at the three local election terms, it is seen that RPP (1999-2012) as a social democrat party managed the poverty related activities. ‘Social, Education and Cultural Department’ has implementing social assistances for the elderly, the women, and the children with Rest House and Women Solidarity Centers. Besides the analysis of the Muğla case with the Activity and Working Reports, the RPP municipal administration period has been searched by the deep interview method to find the different contingency variables of municipal administration at combating poverty. Under the category of the institutional contingency variables, it is observed that the municipal administration with the establishment of women working group started home and street dialogues for the enlightenment of the needy and the participation of the poor. As it was mentioned before Department has applied cultural activities and lots of branch courses have been arranged, however the target at those courses is not enhancing the capabilities of the poor related with the generation of human capital. Furthermore, at the provided services categorizations, the RPP municipal administration has been providing kind and cash assistances; and limited number of people have been facilitating from those social assistances. The Department has the principle that the needy citizens who facilitate from cash assistance can directly receive Ramadan nourishment aid and coal assistance. It is observed that there is the non-categorization of the poor assistances problem; Department cannot provide different social assistances for diverse groups such as the disabled, the elderly and the children. At the contingency variables related with local and central based relations; most of the delegates declared that the central government should increase the financial pie of the local administration at the provision of the social assistances.

In this respect, in addition to Muğla municipal administration’s poverty related activities, Muğla SPA as a local based poverty struggle practice has also been examined. The local authority provided 156.800TL micro credit to 224 citizens in cooperation with TISVA. However, as it was learned from the local staff, that cooperation leads to drawbacks and hesitations among local institutions at the provincial level. Besides, most of the local staff declared that the central district of the province is not affected from poverty because of the socio-economic development of the province which formed another originality of the

¹⁸³ Interviews with Ahmet Ali Barış and Sabri Ayhan.

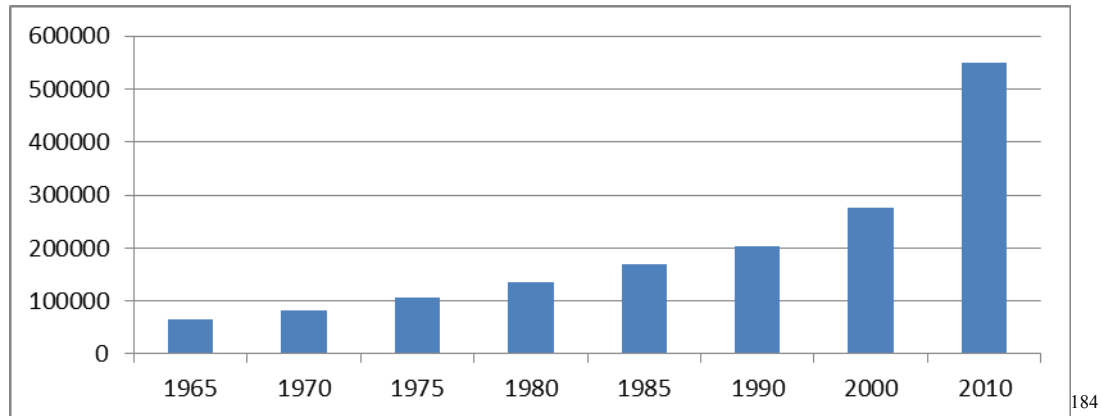
province. One of the main problems of SPA at poverty alleviation is declared as the change and diversification of the responsible areas of the SPA Social Affairs Department.

The last examined poverty related institution at Muğla case is SASF. In relation with the institutional framework of the Foundation, two social commissions are responsible for the search of the needy citizens different from the Denizli case. The categorized poverty related assistances have varied from cash to kind assistances such as housing maintenance and shelter, health, education and heating assistances. Local staff mostly declared the Foundations' regulation based problems related with Trustee Committee, personnel rights and educational assistances. Consequently, while the Foundation has strengths in comparison to local administrations, at the interviews' decipheres many legal, administrative and financial handicaps have been declared by the staff of Foundation.

V.4. Aydın Case

Aydın province is located in the western part of the Aegean Region and it is the largest city of the TR32 GEKA region. According to ADKNS; Aydın province total population is 979.155, 573.884 of them living at urban area (%59), and 405.271 of them at districts and villages (%41) (489.857 male, 489.298 female). At that related population statistics, the central district's population is 488.768; additionally apart from the central district, there are 52 municipalities and 489 villages at Aydın provincial borders.

Table 5.4.1.1. Aydın Population Change in Years



As maintained by TurkStat (2009) data; the annual rise of the province population is %14 with taking the rank of 28th among provinces of Turkey and population density is 125 as

¹⁸⁴ At the diagram demographic rates only covering Aydın central district.

taking 16th position among other provinces. The migration rate (per thousand) is 0.9 with 26 percent. During the 1927-2000 term; Aydın population ratio increased gradually; while in the last 73 years; Turkey's population rate increased five fold; that value is seen in that province as 4,5 fold. Up to the 2000s, villages have overpopulations in comparison to the urban population, but now the demographic statistics have changed in a contrast way which can be evaluated as an escape from rural to urban fields.¹⁸⁵

In this context, urbanization level rose from %51,87 to %58,6 according to the statistics of 2004 and 2009 ratios that highlights the change in five year term. Aydın province from the aspects of urbanization ratio, per capita income and industrial labor statistics is below Turkey's average rates. However, from the aspects of annual population rise and agricultural labor participation with %61,95 ratio; the statistics of province surpasses Turkey's average rates (TurkStat, 2009). Province is also at the first side among TR32 provinces in terms of unemployment rate of %12,4¹⁸⁶ and green card ratio of %13,32 among the provinces of Turkey, concerning the total average rate of %14,93 in green card (Turkstat, 2009). Labor force participation has a decreasing trend during the term 1980-2000s; and on that dimension the male labor participation ratio is more than the female labor participation labor but that disparity was alleviated in 10 years.¹⁸⁷

After those brief clarifications, the economic development of the city is discussed by evaluating the the main sectors' influence in the contribution of their added value to the urban area. During the 1930s onwards, the First Five-Year Industrial Plan was prepared and within the direction of that plan Nazilli Cloth Fabric, one of the basic foundations of Aydın industry was set up. Besides, Sümerbank was founded in 1958 which increased the production of cotton and cotton weaving. By the 1960s onwards, private sector entrepreneurship had expanded at the weaving sector and by the mid 1970s, Söktaş and Nazilli Fiber Fabrics were established and Aydın province reached large-scale weaving installations. In addition to the manufacturing industry, especially nourishment sector developed after that period. At the manufacturing industry, Söke Cement Fabric foundation was influential under Turkey Cement Industry TAS. Lastly, as a livelihood provincial

¹⁸⁵ For details, see, Aydın Province Economic Development, 2004, Seminar, İktisadi Araştırmalar Vakfı, p.39.

¹⁸⁶ For details, see, <www.denizli.gov.tr>.

¹⁸⁷ For details, see, Aydın Province Economic Development, 2004, Seminar, İktisadi Araştırmalar Vakfı, p.40.

source, vegetal and animal based production activities of stock-raising and farming have a big share in the agricultural sector.¹⁸⁸

V.4.1. Aydın Municipal Administration

In the Ottoman administrative formation a new process had begun in Western Anatolia after the Aydınöđlu principality. During 1811, an initial transformation came out as the newly founded Aydın province which was selected as the center and Tire, Muđla, Manisa, Denizli, İzmir, and Selçuk tied to Aydın. In 1850, a new restructuring process emerged with İzmir's selection as the center. First municipal administration formation was set up in 1864. Local service concept transferred from 'İhtisap Nazırlığı' to 'Şehir Eminliği', reached an organized formation in 1869 with 'İdare-i Belediye Nizamnamesi'. Aydın municipal administration establishment was mostly declared as 1881; but there have been uncertainties concerning the previous 20 years before establishment (www.aydin-bld.gov.tr).¹⁸⁹

After those clarifications, it is tried to set up the bridge between the urban transformation process and the municipal administration's critical role at that framework. At Aydın province, 1866 railway foundation and between the terms 1950-60 Denizli-İzmir highway constructions had big impact on urban development (Uđur, 2003). Aydın population in 1935 was 261.078, by the migrations mainly with agricultural potential in 1990; the demographic rate rose to 950.757.000. And furthermore, while in the 1940s, %18 of the population has been living in urban center that ratio changed to %70 in the 2000s (Deniz *et al.*, 2005).

In urbanization and urban development, politics and policies of local administrations' have critical roles that the term from 2000 to 2011 is searched in detail. Within the context of thesis study; three local elections have a vital role in explaining local administration poverty struggle. Hüseyin Aksu from MP gained the local political victory in 1994-1999, 1999-2004 terms, İlhami Ortekin from JDP in 2004-2009 terms and the recent mayor of Aydın municipality is Özlem Cerciođlu from RPP. In that context, the period covering 1998-2000 is influential for the local authority under the mayorship of Hüseyin Aksu. There was the campaign under the motto of 'being a metropolitan municipality'. Related argument came into existence because the population rise is at an accelerating dynamic and spatial areas have developed rapidly and in an uncontrollable way that caused the formation of adjacent

¹⁸⁸ For details, see, Aydın Province Economic Development, 2004, Seminar, İktisadi Arařtrmalar Vakfı, p.42.

¹⁸⁹ For details, see, <www.aydin-bld.gov.tr>.

villages and neighborhoods. Consequently, those urban transformations have originated administrative problems for local administrations, which can be summarized as follows;

- a) Massive migration deteriorates urban development on productive agricultural fields, insufficiencies at the provision of public services emerge especially at infrastructure,
- b) Fragmented plans emerge by diverse plan applications and implementations of adjacent municipalities and villages in infrastructure and transportation planning,
- c) Natural limitations and the existence of installations which should be out of municipal borders hinders urban development (Aydın airport, Tailes antique city, ASTIM and Umurlu Organized Industrial Zones, Tariş) (Özgür and Genç, 2008).

Urban development orientation has a challenging view for local authority, because each municipality in provincial areas makes their own plans, which are wholly diverse and far away from wholeness at that spatial area. In this sense, existed plans become insufficient at the solution of problems generated by urban transformations (Esbah, 2007: 457). In addition to these predicaments, micro factors have emerged which are sourced from urban social, geographic, and economic formation; and other administrative problems of Aydın province can be listed as: institutional coordination problems, not having upper scale plans of local authorities, people's ignorance to environmental values, supportive policies to industrialization and highway transportation (Kılınç, 2008). For the solution of urban problems, Aydın mayor Hüseyin Aksu, during 1997-2000 made the effort to legalize 'Aydın metropolitan municipality' administration. In this context, for grasping metropolitan municipality status, the sign campaign was initiated at the term 10-30 June 1998. Aksu (1998: 3)¹⁹⁰ evaluated those campaigns with those words:

Metropolitan municipality arguments not only concerning Aydın municipality but also other provinces among Turkey; at that point taking population as the main criteria for gaining that status is a wrong legal value. Mistakes should not be repeated within 50 years, no one demand for mega-villages, but only livable urban areas with efficient infrastructure.

At that period, a gathering was held under 'Aydın Representative Metropolitan Municipality Council' with the participation of term's prime minister assistant, National Security Minister and Aydın deputy İsmet Sezgin, 7 municipal mayor, those municipalities delegates, 21 village mukhtar and 21 neighborhood mukhtar (Yeni Aydın Gazetesi, 1998: 1).¹⁹¹ In this respect, that effort was sustained in 2000, and according to the Hürriyet Journal, it was

¹⁹⁰ For details, see, Aksu, H., 1998. "Aydın Büyükşehir Olmalı", Yeni Aydın (Gazetesi), Aydın Belediyesi, Yıl 1, Sayı 5, Temmuz, s.3.

¹⁹¹ For details, see, Yeni Aydın (Gazetesi) Aydın Belediyesi, 1998. "Temsili Aydın Büyükşehir Belediye Meclisi Toplandı", Yıl 1, Sayı 5, Temmuz.

emphasized that, Aksu gathered the reasons of why Aydın should gain the status of metropolitan municipality administration in a book, and distributed that publication to deputies, ministers and mayors. Additionally, as indicated by the Yeni Asır Journal 17-26 April 2000 terms, 9 part fourth series interview series of ‘Aegean Region Mayors and Mayors First Years’, and an interview with mayor Aksu was published in that publication.¹⁹²

V.4.1.1. Poverty Struggle under Aydın Municipal Administration

Table 5.4.1.2. Aydın Local Elections

LOCAL ELECTIONS	2009	2004	1999
AYDIN	Republican People’s Party (RPP)	Justice and Development Party (JDP)	Motherland Party (MP)

Within the context of that-sub part of the research study, Working Reports and Activity Reports of Aydın municipal administration have been investigated in order to make a deep analysis of poverty struggle in three political party periods. Similar with Denizli and Muğla municipal administrations, the in-depth interview method has been used to obtain additional information aside from documents. Poverty related practices have been analysed in terms of institutional, political and provided social assistance categories.

V.4.1.1.1. MP Mayorship Period: 1999- 2004

At MP local administration term, under the mayorship of Hüseyin Aksu, concerning the *institutional framework* of municipality formation of ‘Social Affairs Department’ redesignated as ‘Education, Culture and Social Affairs Department’. Besides, Women Shelter House and Rest House were settled at the allocated parts in Cook-House building. However, categorized units and branches are not founded as ‘Disabled Coordination Center’, or elderly, children units; all activities were coordinated under ‘Social Affairs Department’.

¹⁹² For details, see, Yeni Asır Gazetesi (2000) “Aydın Büyükşehir olmalı, çünkü bunu hak ediyor (Belediye Başkanı Hüseyin Aksu ile Röportaj)”, Yeni Asır Gazetesi, Yazı Dizisi: “Başkanların Birinci Yılı”, 20.05.2000, <http://www.yeniasir.com.tr/a/dizi/baskan/baskan4.htm> (E.T. 29.09.2007) “Mayor clarified his opinions for a wider spatial area covering 6 districts of new model of linear metropolitan municipality with declaring the completion of 50 year term’s future of Aydın environment arrangement plan composing provincial centre, 6 districts and 18 municipalities, total 26 municipalities”.

In this sense, related with the *categorization of assistances*, new service fields started to be provided under the new established units of Cook-Houses and Nursery Homes. The Department had set up four points located Cook House (Müftü Hüseyin Aksu, Sami Pekgüzel, Alpler Cook Houses) and Social Assistance Centers, for delivering free-charge bread-meal delivery and providing nourishment, coal, health and clothing assistances. New assistance categories were added to the responsibility areas of municipality such as hot meal and heating assistance, arrangement of collective circumcisions, financial aid to soldier families and free-charge transportation activities.

In this respect, the most critical aid field is the educational financial contributions towards the needy students and also hot-meal assistance service in all days of a week which had been started by a new group under ‘Social Affairs Department’. As maintained at Activity Reports, the municipal administration had provided training and rehabilitation activities for the disabled children.

As to the Cockburn’s (1977) local states social assistance typologies, from the Activity Reports, it is observed that MP municipal administration has no social affair in related to cash assistances to the needy. In short, Municipal Social and Cultural Affairs Department had social assistance wholly in kind. Additionally, Department has limited human capital activities by training and capacity generation programs. The Department has strengths concerning the maintenance of order and social cohesion mainly for the impoverished by welfare support services. Moreover, Aydın municipality has advantageous terms with the establishment of Women Shelter House, Social Assistance Centers, and Rest Houses.

V.4.1.1.2. JDP Mayorship Period: 2004-2009

İlhami Ortekin from the JDP in the 2004-2009 terms was in power at the municipal administration. *Institutional formation* concerning poverty related departments have not been changed at that party government. However, institutional arrangements towards the other vulnerable sides comprising Children Center and AY-BA establishment emerged during the RPP period. During this period, at the examination of *categorization of assistances*, it is observed that social service fields were as similar with the social applications of MP municipal administration (Hot meal, heating (coal), education, furniture, Ramadan month nourishment packets).

In this sense, newly started social activities can be stated as free-subscriber and postponement of public debts of the impoverished, camp service assistance for the poor students, computer campaign for primary schools, arrangement of free-charge marriage ceremonies, health care services, transportation, and medicine delivery. An influential difference of that period is seen at the increased number of beneficiaries facilitated from social assistances covering hot meal, coal, education, and the disabled oriented activities.

As parallel to the Cockburn's (1977) local states social assistance typologies, and as it can be seen at the Activity and Working Reports of municipality, JDP municipal administration again did not distribute cash assistance to the needy and provides only kind assistances. In this respect, JDP municipal authority increased the social affairs amounts and beneficiary numbers that differentiated it from the previous local government poverty related activities.

Aydın Municipality at JDP leadership took the local power when JDP had gained the political victory at national scale. It can be stated that local administration did not realize any practices and activities related with the generation of human capital, only sustained the prior terms launched poverty alleviation practices.

V.4.1.1.3. RPP Mayorship Period: 2009-2011

Özlem Cercioğlu from the RPP government has been in power since 2009. At the institutional formation, 'Sevgi Houses' are established for better service provision towards the elderly groups; particularly for ill elderly groups, two Alzheimer Centers have been set up and also for after school activities of children, Children Center has been set up to widen the social service field to a broader section of society. Generally speaking, the most influential step launched with the foundation of AY-BA (Aydın Municipality Service Network) which has strengths over other case provinces' poverty alleviation practices.

Furthermore, as it was seen from the Activity and Working Reports, the related term has confronted with newly originated *social assistances categories* by the setting up of the installations for the elderly, the ill-health and the children groups. In this regard, it can be stated that at the designation of the poor, local authority started to engage more vulnerable sections into social assistance context of municipal administration. As maintained at the documents for the first time street-children, alcohol and medicine dependents rehabilitation services have been taken into consideration.

The other social assistance fields can be listed as follows; educational assistance, nourishment packets, water debt postponement, free charge health service and medicine, heating, transportation, furniture and clothing, arrangement of collective marriages, disabled and elderly vehicles delivery, cleaning, rehabilitation, home cleaning services. RPP municipal administration again does not distribute cash assistance, and it is declared by the municipal officials that “central government authorities do not want the provision of cash assistances by municipalities that municipal party organizations refrain from that social assistance”.

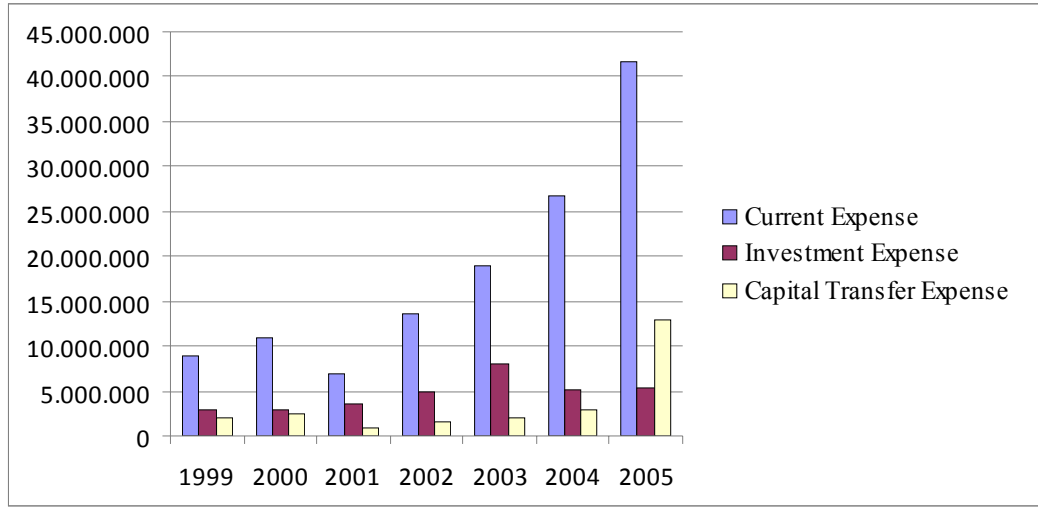
Kind assistances have an overwhelming influence at that context. Specifically, the number of beneficiaries has risen influentially in comparison to the previous social assistance amounts of local government. Lastly, other critical social practice is started by the arrangement of capacity generation courses having the target to integrate the vulnerable women into the labor market.

Additionally, the same local state social assistance typology has been also used for Aydm municipal administration. In this respect, local administration has vital social affairs concerning the creation of human capital by capacity generation activities, mainly towards the poverty alleviation of the women.

Material conditions of poverty in kind aid is also provided by the Social Affairs Department of the municipality. Lastly, it is seen from the written documents and deep-interview decipheres, the support of the vulnerable side of the society is influential concerning the social and welfare services. At that point, RPP local administration adopts a poverty conceptualization that not only covering absolute poverty, but comprising other aspects of poverty such as vulnerability of women and social exclusion of street children compatible with relative poverty understanding.

V.4.1.1.3.1. Social Assistance Financial Share at Aydın Municipal Budget in 2000-2010 Period

Table 5.4.1.3. Social Assistance Share at Aydın Municipal Budget



V.4.1.2. Poverty Struggle Process of Aydın RPP Municipal Administration: Social, Education and Culture Department's 2005-2010 Term Social Affairs

The 'Social Affairs Department' has been activating its social affairs with five social staff and the organizational formation of that Department is composed of three sub-units of administrative bureau, social assistance designation commission, and social assistance committee.

Administrative Bureau: Related institutional formation has the responsibility of admitting the application forms and sending them to the research committees for the designation of the poor households. In this sense, other responsibilities of that unit can be clarified as follows; following the formal written forms, preparation of monthly and annual bidding documents; preparation of the searched documents for social designation committee for discussion, dispatching documents to the municipal committee, recording whole search documents to the digital platform of municipality, preparation of identity cards of the poor citizens who gained assistance, and the arrangement of the monthly list of Cook-House.

Social Assistance Designation Commission: That commission is composed of one official attained from Social Affairs Department and one from Municipal Police Department and from related neighborhood mukhtars. Commission makes home visits of the applied citizens and obtains information from neighbors and relatives of the household members; after the home investigations they prepare the report and deliver it to 'Social Department'.

Designation commission participates to the social assistance meetings and gives information related with the applied households.

Social Assistance Committee: The Committee is composed of assistant mayor, Social Affairs Director, and committee members. The Committee wholly evaluates social searches and prepares social assistance committee reports. Absolute social assistance decision designation is ended with the decision of the Municipal Council and social assistances are delivered by Cook-houses, Bread Fabrics, Day-nursery and Day-care Center, Rest-House and Women's Shelter House. Furthermore, poverty alleviation process of Department has been evaluated with the same topics of other case municipalities.

V.4.1.2.1. Different Contingency Variables of Aydin Municipal Administration Lead to Local Variation at Poverty Struggle

V.4.1.2.1.1. Institutional Contingency Variables of Aydin Municipal Administration

Application of the Poor and Definition Process:

'Social Affairs Department' mostly activates its social affairs with mukhtars 'Poor Papers'. In this context, 15 investigation commissions are dealing with social based affairs and each commission is composed of two social staff. Related commissions are responsible for taking information from the poor households concerning the occupational backgrounds and monthly income of household members. The investigation commissions define the poor households who can take the chance to facilitate from poverty related services by the help of the municipal Department.

As it was learned from the interviews, most of the vulnerable demand cash aid but Department gives no cash assistance, only in kind. For the elderly poor households, their home cleaning, ill diaper, and hair care activities have been met by the 'Social Department'. There is also a 'Meal Fabric' that delivers meal daily for 1000 poor citizens by 10 municipal staff. The needy who have no chance to benefit from this meal service take meals with tucker bags by municipal social staff. Additionally, two Alzheimer Centers provide services for 100 elderly ill citizens under AY-BA project. Centers have transportation facilities for taking the elderly from their homes to the center with no-charge. From a privatized health institution the center purchases service in daily care activities with related doctors and nurses. Sevgi Houses established for giving services to the vulnerable elderly, whole life expenses related with nutrition, health have been met by the municipality budget and 14 municipal social staff

employed at those houses. Finally, second hand ware-house is opened under the floor of the Alzheimer Center.¹⁹³ At that established uniy not only second-hand products but also newly purchased clothes were gathered for distributing them to the needy.

Service Provision and Distribution:

From the interviews it was understood that there are no positive discrimination samples at the provision of services to the needy. The most vulnerable neighborhoods can be listed as Ilcabaşı and Osman Yozgatlı. In this respect, the main social and economic drawback of the urban poor is indicated as having low educational levels due to financial inadequacies. Labor integration to municipal department activities have been realized for promoting and generating the hopes of the poor households who are settling at those neighborhoods. Furthermore, at the provision of municipal services, few cooperation samples are clarified by local officials with Governorate and SPA; as it was learned from the interviews there is no flow of information between local institutions at poverty elimination struggle.

Participation of the Poor:

RPP municipal administration arranged public days in each week to listen the needs and demands of poor citizens under the head of mayor Cercioglu. At these meetings, local officials try to find solutions concerning employment, elderly and ill health problems. Besides, the other tool to engage municipal administration concerning poverty related issues is to apply the ‘Social Department’ of municipal administration.

Expert Staff and In-Service Training Activities:

As it was learned from the interviews with local officials, there is the expert staff of psychologist for the elderly and ill health people at Alzheimer Center. Aydın Municipality has the highest number of social staff covering social commissions, hot meal service officials, social assistance centers in comparison to three case studies. Besides, same problem is also seen at that municipality related with lacking of the in-service training activities about poverty related issues.

¹⁹³ Interview with Filiz Şengönül.

Capacity Generation Courses and Training Activities:

Critically, RPP local government arrange employment generation courses related with cookery, shoes and fashion design with cooperation of 'Public Training Center' at province. For the disabled children, municipal administration arranges special programs to engage them to the social life.

V.4.1.2.1.2. Contingency Variables of Aydın Municipal Administration Stemming From Categorization of Assistances

The categorized social assistances of Aydın RPP municipal administration have been examined in detail, under those listed sub-items below;

a) Cook-Houses:

- Zafer neighborhood Müftü Hüseyin Aksu Center established in 1998 to deliver free charge meal for 365 days of the year.
- Center Cook-House: Rest House and Women Sheltering Centers have provided hot-meal assistance.
- Sami Pekgüzel Cook-House (Ata neighborhood) and Alpler Cook-House (Osman Yozgatlı neighborhood); those Cook-Houses were activated in 1998 under the responsibility of Asyav Foundation.¹⁹⁴
- Raziye Önder and Hafize Kocaman Cook-House (Girne neighborhood) is responsible for free charge bread and meal, clothing and coal assistances.
- Asyav Bread Fabric

b) Rest House and Women-Sheltering Center

At Zafer neighborhood, Müftü Hüseyin Aksu Cook-House installation is allocated for Rest House and Women Shelter Center. The elderly living at those centers have been met by municipality; and particularly the health problems of those elderly are under the control of 'Health Affairs Department'. Additionally, whole services which have been provided for the elderly are also offered for the women and the children living in the Women Sheltering Center by the decision of the municipal council. Apart from those assistances; nourishment, clothing and other related needs are provided by SASF and NGOs. On special days with the

¹⁹⁴ Sami Pek-güzel Cook-House: 34 household got 114 unit free charge meal and 80 household got 310 unit free-charge bread; the second Cook-House got 70 household 322 free-charge meal and 948 free-charge bread.

coordination of the NGOs, programs have been arranged for those vulnerable citizens. Furthermore, Nezihe Aksu Day-nursery home started its activities in 1999. In the recent term, 102 children have been facilitating from that service and 16 of them use that service with no-charge.

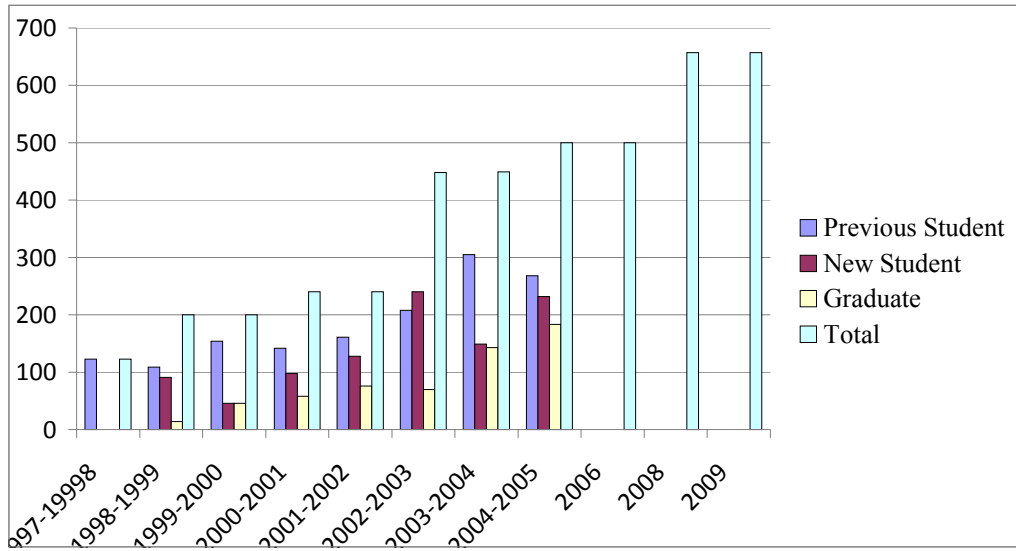
c) Social Assistance Center

Social Assistance Center was set up in 2001 and center has been activating its affairs in coordination with the Asyav Foundation, Woman Platform, and Aydın TV. In this context, the Aydın Woman Platform is composed of five woman associations having voluntary woman members. Specifically, the ‘Urban Social Control Project’ applied for the problem designation activities of whole neighborhoods and campaigns arranged towards the defined problems such as nourishment, clothing, heating, and furniture. In this sense, the Asyav Foundation gives support at the distribution of the gathered donations and at the delivery process of assistances.

d) Education Assistances

The Social Affairs Department started to give educational assistances with the decision taken in 14.04.1997 by item 147. In accordance with the municipal council 12.06.2002 item 71a, 01.10.2002 law item 84, 01.10.2003 law item 243, 17.06.2004 item 81, municipality has been giving financial assistances starting from 1997 educational term for vulnerable students in primary schools and high schools. Primary school students take 25TL (increased to 40 TL) and high school students take 50TL (increased to 75TL) in every month. In the OSS examination; students who made the grade receive 200TL monthly assistance.

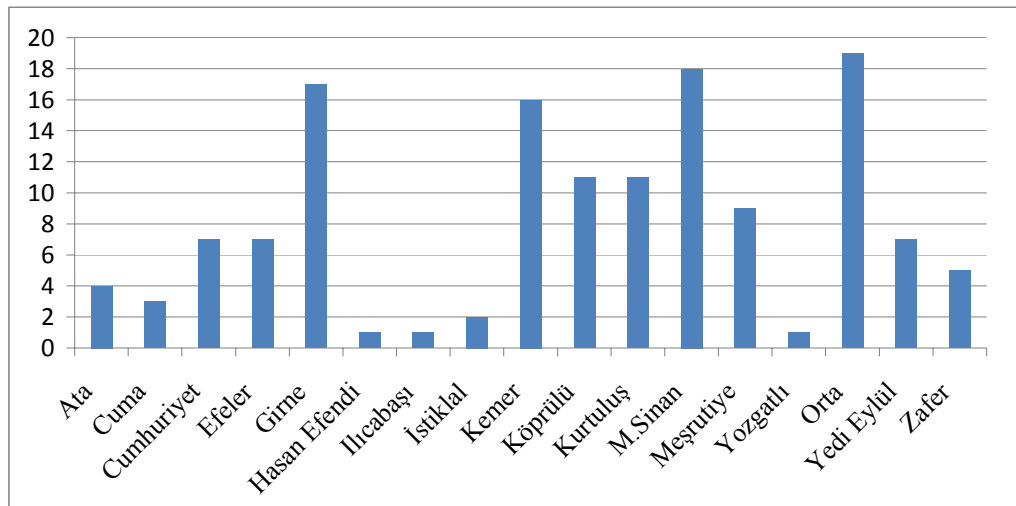
Table 5.4.1.4. Student Numbers Using Scholarships



As it is seen from the diagram; financial assistance towards high school and primary school students has raised gradually in years; only after 2008 with the abrogation of aid towards university students, a decrease occurred in the number of the students benefiting from educational social assistance. Lastly, at the evaluation of chart, it can be stated that total rate is not affected with that new law arrangement.

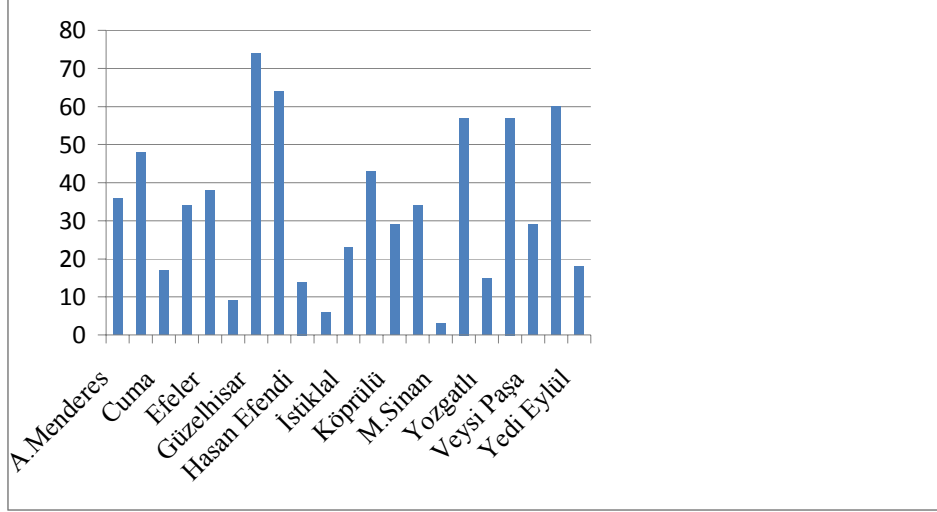
e) Hot Meal Assistance: Service has been started with the formation of a new group under ‘Social Affairs Department’. Hot meal assistance has been provided for 1000 citizens covering every day of a week. A hot meal fabric has been founded for meeting the nourishment needs of the impoverished at RPP municipal government period.

Table 5.4.1.5. Number of Citizens Facilitated from Hot-Meal Service



f) Heating Assistance: Heating assistance is a social program of Aydın Municipality which has been sustaining since 2002; designation of vulnerable citizens and investigation of 800 households have been completed. Those needy families have been benefiting from 500kg coal assistance in winter term.

Table 5.4.1.6. Number of Citizens Facilitated from Heat Assistance:



g) Children Culture Center: The Center has given service for students after school-activities with 100-200 student capacity. As it was learned from the interviews, at the provision of service, financial capacity of the students' families is not taken into account. In this sense, the condition for being a beneficiary is only tied to the application of the families. The children can take Turkish, social, and math courses from volunteer university students. Besides, seminars have been arranged for the families of the children; drama, and art courses are also arranged for students by Social Affairs Department.

h) Aydın Municipality Service Network (AY-BA)

AY-BA Service Network has been defined priorly for Aydın local citizens but Aydın municipality demands for its widening as a sample project in Turkey. AY-BA designated by Aydın municipality as:

An activated 'social municipal program' for social development, with the objective of rational, equal, and constant services improvement to enhance local citizens' life. Social assistance to the needy citizens and groups is not only a responsibility but also a citizenship right for AY-BA.

Aydın Municipality designates their conceptual framework of aid as not hindering human dignity and honor; they emphasize their target as creating the conditions for the poor to survive their livelihoods rather than supporting citizens with social assistances.¹⁹⁵

AY-BA service fields are defined as follows:

- 7 days 24 hours ambulance transportation service,
- Home assistance service (especially for elderly and ill citizens),
- Children culture center,
- Legal consultancy service,
- Collective marriage and circumstance ceremony,
- Hot meal service,
- Facilities for disabled citizens,
- Employment possibilities for housewives with hand-crafts,
- Hair-dresser service at home.

AY-BA provides 35-40 people constant health service with 100 beds capacity of Alzheimer service. Four days of a week all health care needs of those elderly people are met by the municipal Department. In addition to health care; free-charge transportation, sport training, hair-care services have been provided by 7 personal staff including psychologists. Under that service, if the elderly people have no possibility to come to use this service and their financial inadequacy is designated by the social commission of the Department, they can get health care assistance at their homes by that unit.¹⁹⁶

It can be clearly stated that, AY-BA network is the successive practice among the case provinces activating under RPP municipal administration. The main difference lies at their assumption of poverty struggle, municipality adopted poverty based issues and assistances as a responsibility and evaluated those affairs under social citizenship argument.

V.4.1.2.1.3. Contingency Variables of Aydın Municipal Administration Stemming From Local and Central Based Relations

As it was understood from the interviews, local officials hesitate from stating their own opinions because of the central government pressure. At the application of social affairs

¹⁹⁵ For details, see, <www.aydin-bld.gov.tr>

¹⁹⁶ Interview with İbrahim Gülümser doctor of the social commission.

concerning poverty struggle, while municipal social staff have the responsibility at the activation of their own social affairs wholly concerning the poor assistances, central government puts strain on their affairs with collapsing their buildings or creating bureaucratic handicaps by slowing down poverty related activities. Besides, initiatives of mayor on social assistance services have affected the institutionalization and categorization of assistances in a positive dimension. Lastly, as a strength from the deciphers of the interviews, it can be stated that the municipality has been successful in financial and technical terms.

V.4.2. Aydın SPA

Aydın SPA link with poverty struggle is tried to be evaluated with the help of Activity Reports mainly published after the enactment of 5302 SPA Law. At the Annual Report of 2010, 2010-2014 strategic aims which have strong ties at combating poverty are designated as follows;

I. Rural Development Strategic Targets: ¹⁹⁷

- a) Development of rural infrastructure with a participatory framework in compatible with national agricultural policies by giving priority to human health, in harmony with environment.
- b) Sustaining physical and social infrastructure activities, alleviating disparities of urban-rural and socio-economic groups compatible with the necessities of contemporary life and the needs and demands of society.
- c) Developing stock raising and the production of animal products; raising the income level of producers. In realizing those activities SASFs and micro credit facilities have been used.

II. Strategic Targets Concerning Improving Social Prosperity:

a) Enhancing Quality at Education and Health:

a.1.) At the alleviation of urban-rural health service disparities, providing reachable, effective, and qualified services by setting up health installations; SPA acts compatible with the demands and needs of society in harmony with the necessities of contemporary life.

a.2.) Creating equality at the educational opportunities and making infrastructural investments for enhancing the quality at primary and high school education systems.

b) Micro Credits:

¹⁹⁷ For details, see, Aydın SPA Annual Report, 2010-2014.

Through micro investments, SPA targeted towards small entrepreneurs and disadvantaged groups by organizing capacity building activities for the ones who have insufficient income and capital accumulation. Micro credit office is tied to SPA and it has been activating micro-credit applications since 2008 by mostly handling employment generation activities. At that point, Aydın Micro Credit Head Official Ramazan Yılmaz (2011) declared that:

From 2008 to 2001 period, 1143 women took 2.323.385.00TL from the Micro-credit Office. The categories of micro credits can be listed as marriage portions, hand-made products and souvenirs, macaroni, tarhana, textile".¹⁹⁸ In 2009, Aydın province was the leading city in Turkey with Diyarbakır, in concerning the number of women micro credit beneficiaries.¹⁹⁹

Similar with other case provinces, SPA has been activating social affairs under the coordination of TISVA. At the implementation of activities, sustaining cooperation is vital that SPA acts with SASFs, KOS-GEB, NGOs, and EU Project Office.

III. Strategic Targets Concerning Social Services and Assistances:

- a) At the alleviation of poverty and social protection of the vulnerable groups and individuals facilitating from international institutions project and financial assistances, providing of social services to the needy and developing new service models in accordance with the changing society.
- b) Social services towards disadvantaged groups and individuals should be realized in cooperation with SASF, municipalities, National Education and Health Provincial Directorates, NGOs.
- c) Social assistances are oriented towards increasing the productivity activities of the individuals. The other target of SPA activities is to give priority towards the participation of vulnerable citizens particularly the women, the children, the disabled, and the poor.

At the clarifications of social assistance and services sub-title; Aydın SPA tied units to 'Education, Culture and Education Department' has an overwhelming influence that; its inner institutional formation and responsible areas explained in detail. Tied units to that Directorate are:

- a) Social facilities and services (No department concerning health and social service department),
- b) Health services,

¹⁹⁸ For details, see, <<http://www.aydinpost.com/kuyululu-bayanlar-da-mikrokrediye-tercih-etti-124093h.htm?interstitial=true>>.

¹⁹⁹ For details, see, <http://www.egeekonomisi.com/haber_detay.php?hid=19924>, 17 August 2009.

c) Culture-art, social and tourism services

Responsible fields can be listed as follows; primary, high schools maintenance and repair, employment-generation courses, implementation of social and cultural activities for Rest-Houses, Nurseries and generating projects, supporting the establishment of Nurseries, Rest-Houses, organizing micro credit delivery to the needy citizens, provision of cash and kind aid to the needy, setting up cooperation with other NGOs and related institutions at social service and assistances; and the formation of common projects and service fields, generating projects for the disabled and advocating the projects of NGOs or public institutions in that direction.²⁰⁰

V.4.2.1. Strengths and Weaknesses of Aydın SPA at Poverty Alleviation Process

SPA representatives focus on rural poverty and its link with SPA by emphasizing on the *institutional* strengths of local authority. At that point, Aktemur (2011) emphasized that:

In rural areas, local authority facilitates survivability of people with the provision of services as irrigation, infrastructure, education and improvement in agriculture and tourism services which paves the way in the alleviation of rural poverty. In this regard, financial support is adequate; especially for animal projects, lots of support is given to the rural areas with cooperation of university at stock-raising and development. At that dimension, in relation to rural poverty, religious beliefs, ties, traditionally shared attitudes and ethnic relations block poverty at the rural areas and also impede poverty to deteriorate urban areas.²⁰¹

In this context, local officials in related with the institutional strengths of Aydın SPA indicated the common projects applied by different public institutions. SPA has developed good projects on behalf of the vulnerable such as SHÇEK ‘Women and Girls Protection’ cooperative Project, ‘Blocking Women Exploitation’ project. Besides, with a newly launched project, SPA takes the responsibility in reaching the vulnerable women data. Lastly, in

²⁰⁰ Aydın Social, Culture and Education Department’s some social practices have been listed as;
- 25 private Day-Nurseries, one private Rest House, and one Elderly Care House, one Women Sheltering House under Aydın municipality activated social affairs under that Department.
- From 400 applied citizens, 325 citizens gained cash aid assistance.
- 11 women started to shelter at Women Solidarity House
- For disabled care at home 2728 application realized, and 2587 people gained cash aid for home care. From 31.12.2007 to 31.12.2009; 6502 people applied for that service and 5073 application tied to cash aid.
- 4 Children House were established in cooperation with Social Solidarity and Assistance Foundation.

²⁰¹ Interview with Halil İbrahim Aktemur.

collaboration with GEKA, Commerce Chamber and Aydın SPA, restoration and the disabled projects have been complemented.²⁰²

Furthermore, local representatives found the financial budget of SPA as inadequate for poverty alleviation. They assumed that the institution can take over poverty related activities more efficiently if the required financial assistance has been transferred by central government. In that context, most of the representatives have uncertain opinions concerning a decentralized poverty struggle. Uludađlı (2011) declared that central government should put forth the legal framework at struggling poverty; to hinder arbitrariness and politicization of poverty under local administrations”.²⁰³

Besides, as a legal handicap, local official Puđu (2011) declared that:

Before the enactment of 5302 SPA law; the preparation process concerning designation of prior steps was not implemented clearly and in a detailed way that lots of handicaps have been seen afterwards; such as the distribution of responsibilities, mistakes at the application of the items of that law. Problems also emerged concerning poverty responsibilities between Provincial Directorates and SPA departments.²⁰⁴

Critically, at the solution proposal, the Head of the SPA Social Department Faruk Uludađlı (2011) proposed the preparation of a poverty risk map for taking the existed photograph at urban scale before implementation. In that context, Uludađlı (2011) declared that:

For generating effective poverty struggle, the priorities should be defined before the application of social affairs with a strategy starting from bottom to top levels of the local departments. Social affairs defined by central government should have principles for local institutions’ applications.²⁰⁵

Local representatives declared their belief as SPA authority has no powerful tools at combating poverty; they attributed a more advantageous role to NGOs and SASFs. Officials gave samples from project implementations where SPA had the responsibility of only coordination concerning the disabled assistances, and they emphasized that “SPA is functionless even as a coordinator”.²⁰⁶ While there have been some hesitations, some delegates also focused on advantageous sides of local based struggle. They assume that local institutions covering municipality and also SPA (mainly in micro-credit services), have the advantage to act in cooperation with NGOs. Collaborative activities of SPAs and municipalities with civil society organizations are indicated as an advantage at poverty

²⁰² Interview with Figen Puđu and Engin Ünal.

²⁰³ Interview with Faruk Uludađlı.

²⁰⁴ Interview with Figen Puđu.

²⁰⁵ Interview with Faruk Uludađlı.

²⁰⁶ Interview with Engin Ünal and Figen Puđu.

struggle. In cooperative experiences (in micro credit applications) local administrations give the responsibility to NGOs for struggling with poverty and the local authority intervenes to poverty affairs only in financial terms. At the last step, NGOs give report for controlling, accountability, transparency, and performance measurement of sustained activities.²⁰⁷ Lastly, another opinion comes out as the collaboration of municipalities and SPAs at combating poverty with claiming that SPA and municipality have diversified contiguous areas, those institutions reach to successive poverty alleviation practices if they act together at combating poverty.²⁰⁸

V.4.3. Aydın SASF

At Aydın SASF authority, there is no departmental branch concerning health, education, and income. The number of the staff is determined according to the 2006 regulative framework; three social staff and two technical personal have been implementing affairs concerning the evaluation of submitted applications and registration of the applications to the digital platform. The social commission is responsible for home investigations and later reports it to the Trustee Committee. There are in service-training program activities generally applied by the SASF General Directorate in technical issues in national and international scale. For a deep analysis of Aydın SASF, the poverty alleviation process of Foundation has been evaluated as same with municipal administration under those listed topics such as institutional formation and categorization of assistances.

A. Institutional Framework

Application of the Poor and Definition Process:

The Social Assistance Desk with two social staff has functioning affairs for both enlightenment and application procedures. The SOY-BIS program is used if the applicant allows for that scrutiny. After the application form submission; SASF Social Commission started home investigations or the mukhtars, the needy citizens' neighbours can call the SASF desk for assistance. Later, the Trustee Committee decides the assistance quantity and selects the needy for aid.

²⁰⁷ Interview with Faruk Uludağlı.

²⁰⁸ Interview with Halil İbrahim Aktemur.

Service Provision and Cooperation with Other Institutions:

At the provision of services Project Directorate makes cooperation with NGOs and public institutions. As it was understood from the interviews with the social staff, Foundation has lots of project implementations with local institutions, illustrated as follows;

From 2002 to 2010: SEY (Provisional Educational Assistance) and SEYS (Provisional Health Assistance) projects had been implemented under SRAP project and when that multi-national based program ended in 2006, those projects have sustained with varied topics.

Integrated Social Assistance Projects: With the collaboration of the Chamber of Financial Advisors; computer-based accountancy course oriented towards labor integration and employment projects.

- Aydın Commerce Chamber: Turn bench computer-based project,
- Employment Generation Project: Car maintenance and repair project, Plastic joinery workshops for prisoners,
- Income Generative Project: Pet farming, carpet cleaning and maintenance workshop project,
- For the deaf; galoshes production project,
- Employment generation and training: SIDAY hand-craft project,
- ISKAD with NGOs graphic design project for employment generation.

Social Service Projects: Projects generated with the cooperation of SASF and SHÇEK covering those projects listed;

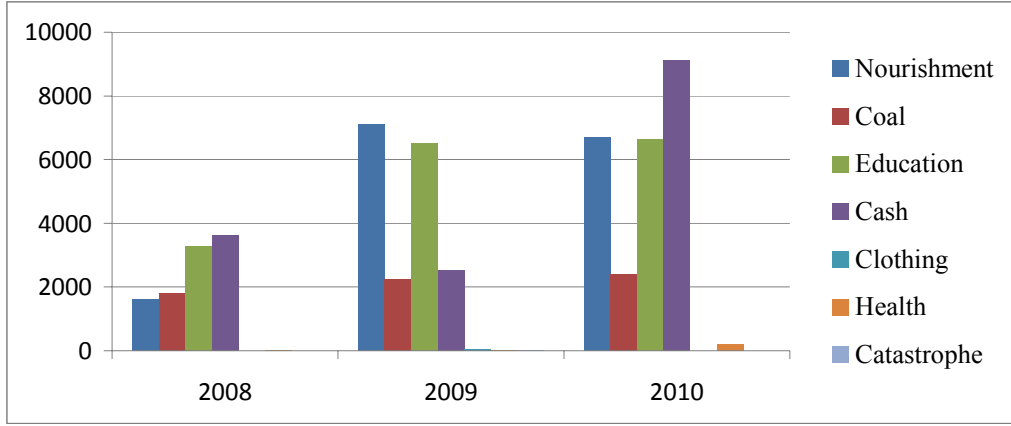
- Ceramic and glass project,
- Daily-care for the disabled citizens,
- Pre-school support project for the children,
- Computer-advocated project for the street-children,
- Computer-advocated project for the disabled,
- Children rehabilitation training project.

B. Categorization of Assistances

From the Activity Reports, it has been also found out that the needy mostly apply for cash assistance, and following assistance areas can be listed as education and coal aids. In this

regard, financial assistances have been given at three month period to the impoverished with the decisive decision of Trustee Committee.

Table 5.4.3.1.Aydın SASF Assistance Categories



As it is indicated at the diagram in comparison with Activity Reports of three years, concerning the number of citizens who have been using aid; cash, education, and nourishment assistances are the most demanded assistance fields. At the other side, health and catastrophe aids have lower values in comparison with other categorization of assistances. At the financial term of those assistance fields, aid in kind has a highest value in 2009 especially at the provision of nourishment packets; after that there are the educational and cash assistances. Cash aid has gradually increased in recent years similar to the increase in clothing and health assistance.

V.4.3.1.Strengths and Weaknesses of SASF at Poverty Alleviation

Most of the officials focused on a drawback at the institutional formation caused by legal procedures at combating poverty. They wholly adopted that Foundation as a branch of central government institution has strength in economic term but the cadre concerning technical personal defined by norm-cadre is evaluated as a problem at the implementation of poverty related activities. Furthermore, similar with other case provinces Foundations, the Trustee Committee is demonstrated as a strong decision-making authority to ease the activities of the Foundation.²⁰⁹ One negative opinion has been identified at the interviews as the inadequate knowledge-sharing with other local institutions in poverty alleviation activities and initiatives. As a solution proposal, officials suggested that single institutional research and aid distribution is more logical in the activation of social affairs. Same opinion

²⁰⁹ Interviews with Neziha Kırlioğlu Bildik and Zeynep Özbek.

has emerged as the unification of the poverty struggle under one administrative authority in a collaborative framework of whole local-central institutions.

After all of these clarifications, by the help of the examination of Activity and Working Reports of Aydin Municipality, at the three local election terms, municipal administration managed by different party governments such as MP, JDP and RPP. During MP government, at the institutional framework of the municipality, Women Shelter House and Rest House were settled, but categorized units such as the elderly and the children have not been established to serve social assistances for diverse groups. New assistance categories have been added to the poverty related responsibility areas such as hot meal and heating assistance. During the JDP government, institutional formation and the categorization of the assistances were not changed, only the amount of the beneficiaries were increased at the social assistances covering hot meal, coal, education and the disabled oriented activities. At both terms, 'Social Department' has limited human capital activities by training and capacity generation programs. Lastly, at the RPP period, Sevgi Houses, Alzheimer Center and Children Center have been established as the new institutional formations. The most influential step at poverty struggle comes with the foundation of AY-BA. In related with the categorized social assistances, RPP municipal administration provides services for the street-children, alcohol and medicine dependents rehabilitation. RPP municipal administration cannot provide cash assistance as other case municipalities because of the interference of central government to the poverty related issues. Besides, the municipal administration has started capacity generation courses which have the target to integrate vulnerable women into the labor market.

In addition to the analysis of the Aydin case with the Activity and Working Reports, the RPP municipal administration period has been searched by the deep interview method, 'Social, Cultural and Education Department' poverty alleviation practices have been searched to find the different contingency variables of municipal administration at combating poverty. Under the category of the institutional contingency variables, it is observed that 15 investigation commissions of municipal administration have been dealing with social based affairs at the determination of the poor at the urban area. Furthermore, RPP municipal administration arranges public days in each week to collect the demands and needs of poor. Different from the other case municipalities, local authority has expert staff of psychologist for the elderly and the ill health people; and arranges employment generation courses related with cookery, shoes and fashion-design. At the contingency variables stemming from categorization of assistances; there are Cook-Houses, Rest House and Women Sheltering, Social Assistance

and Children Culture Centers. In comparison to other case provinces, under AY-BA different categorized services are provided such as ambulance transportation, home assistance, legal consultancy, hot meal, hair dressing. At the contingency variables related with local and central based relations; most of the delegates declared that the central government puts strain on their social assistance activities related with poverty.

In this respect, in addition to the Aydin municipal administration's poverty related activities, Aydin SPA as a local based poverty struggle practice has also been examined. Micro credit office which is tied to SPA has been delivering credits since 2008 to the small entrepreneurs and disadvantaged groups. Local officials declared that SPA has strengths at the implementation of common projects with different public institutions but they also clarified that SPA has no required financial budget at combating poverty.

The last examined poverty related institution at Aydin case is 'Aydin SASF'. From the decipheres, it is observed that the Foundation has lots of project implementations and integrated social assistance projects with local institutions. The categorized poverty related assistances have been varied from cash to kind assistances such as education, nourishment, health and catastrophe aids. SASF staff mostly declared Foundations' legal procedure problem as the norm-cadre and inadequate knowledge sharing with other local institutions.

V.5. Comparison and Evaluation of Case Studies

V.5.1. Comparison and Evaluation of Municipal Administrations

Thesis study has focused on local poverty alleviation practices and different contingency variables of local administrations that lead to contingent local variation at poverty alleviation stemmed from uneven development. At that comparison and evaluation part of the study, different originalities and their sources have been tried to be demonstrated in a comparative framework. For a deep analysis of contingent local variation at each case study's municipal administrations; the institutional, social assistance categories, local-central based originalities have been searched with the help of a table formulated within the direction of the interview method. In the table, case provinces municipal administrations have been categorized as strong and weak at poverty alleviation process according to the related contingency variables.

Table 5.5.1.Comparison of Case Municipal Administrations

		Strong	Weak
Institutional Framework	Application of the poor and designation process and the responsible institutional branches,	1.Aydın 2.Denizli	Muğla
	Service provision and distribution activities (positive or negative discrimination),	1.Aydın 2.Denizli	Muğla
	Cooperation with other institutions and implemented common projects,	1.Denizli 2.Aydın 3.Muğla	
	Participation of the poor (participatory platforms),	1.Aydın 2.Denizli 3.Muğla	
	Expert Staff and In-service Training Activities,	Aydın	Denizli Muğla
	Capacity Generation and Training Activities	1.Denizli 2.Aydın	Muğla
Categorization of Assurances	General Applied Social Services	1.Aydın 2.Denizli	Muğla
	Social Assistance beneficiaries Numbers and Social Assurances Amounts	1.Denizli 2.Aydın	Muğla
Local-Central Based Relations	Party Relations with Central Government	Denizli	Aydın
	Decentralization Based Constraints	Aydın	
	Municipal Mayor Initiatives	1.Aydın 2.Denizli 3.Muğla	
	Financial Handicaps	Muğla	
Other	Socio-economic aspects of Province	Muğla	

A. Institutional Contingency Variables of Municipal Administrations

Application of the poor and designation process:

All case provinces have been using the same application form for the examination of the applicants' civil registry, tax and estate rolls, title deeds (Poverty document from muktars is also demanded from the applicant). In this respect, 'Muğla Social Affairs Department', in addition to the formal application form, developed new criteria table. A grading chart is formed at the designation of the poor. Besides, 'Aydın Social Affairs Department' has 15 social commissions at home investigations, but in the case of Denizli one social group is responsible for the designation process of the poor. Aydın Municipality can be evaluated as the best sample among case provinces concerning the designation of the process. In this

respect, Muğla Municipality has a different application at the designation of the poor process; instead of a Social Affairs Department's social commission, Municipal Police Department is responsible for the home visits examination process and later that related department reports the results of the home investigations to the Social Affairs Department. That Department also activated its affairs in cooperation with the Civil Services Department. A similar application has also been seen in Denizli before the establishment of 'Education, Culture and Social Affairs Department' in 2005. Moreover, while in Denizli the social commission does not have much time for home visits, social staff have collaborative activities with mukhtars, municipal departments, village clinics, community health centers, water subscription reading unit. At that point, it can be clearly stated that for an appropriate designation of 'who are poor', more commissions should be established under those related Departments, local authorities can only widen their poverty implementation area with the examination of the needy neighborhoods. Finally, in related with contingent local variation at poverty alleviation practices, it can be observed that Aydın municipal administration with its established social commissions reached to more vulnerable people in comparison to the other municipal cases.

Responsible institutional branches,

The Departmental institutional formation at the designation of the poor process can also be counted as a contingency variable of municipal administration at combating poverty.

Table 5.5.2. Departments and Related Branches at Poverty Struggle

	DENİZLİ	MUĞLA	AYDIN
1999-2004	TPP Mayor Ali Aygören Infrastructure and Investments Department: Umut Kent Project (UK) MES-KA Social Housing Karşıyaka Social Housing Belkon Social Housing Cultural Affairs Department: Local Agenda 21 Emergence:	RPP Osman Gürün Social and Cultural Affairs' Department: Health Affairs Department: 4 Rest House	1999-2002 MP Mayor Hüseyin Aksu Cook-House and Social Assistance Centers Nezihe Aksu Day- Nursery Home Education, Culture and Social Affairs Department

Table 5.5.2. (Continued)

2004-2009	JDP Mayor Nihat Zeybekci Children and Social Affairs branches Disabled Coordination Center Sevgi Eli Store Information and Community Centers Social Affairs Department:	Women Solidarity and Sheltering House Women Solidarity Centre Konakaltı Culture Centre:	2002-2009 JDP Mayor İlhami Ortekin Education, Culture and Social Affairs Department: Sevgi Houses; Meal Fabric
2009-2011	LA21 Economy and Social Affairs Group	LA21 Women Working Group	RPP Mayor Özlem Çerçioğlu Sevgi Houses; Alzheimer Centers Children Center AY-BA (Aydın Municipality Service Network) Center

As it is indicated in the chart above; at three province cases the major municipal Department related with poverty activities is the ‘Social Affairs Department’ but generally in each year, Department’s name changed with the addition of education or culture terms, for attributing newly functioning areas to that institutional formation. Muğla Municipality is the critical sample of the indication of the increase in cultural affairs in comparison to poverty alleviation social practices. ‘Muğla Education, Culture and Social Affairs Department’ has established new centers such as Konakaltı Culture Center. At those centers, many meetings, panels, concerts, cocktails and exhibitions have been arranged. It can be stated that those Department’ newly designated responsibility areas have complicated their poverty based affairs. Consequently, those cultural activities assist the urban citizens through collective consumption according to Cockburn’s (1977) typology by means of cultural conditions of existence. However, at that point it can be stated that those arrangements have been held for not targeting the participation of the poor but for whole local citizens.

At that point, it is seen that while at three case provinces, there is the single ‘Social Department’ at local administrations, local authority attributed different responsibilities to the Department such as cultural, education or social affairs in each case province. One of the variables that lead to contingent local variation can be sourced from that institutional formation.

Besides, at the alleviation of poverty categorization among the vulnerable groups is needed for a qualified functioning of social activities according to the demands and needs of each group, such as the disabled, the elderly, the women, the children, the ill health citizens. At

the evaluation of each case province, it is observed that there is no similarity at the institutional framework of municipal administrations concerning *the established units for the vulnerable sections* of society. It can be stated that there is a fragmented type of struggle by not covering the all vulnerable sides. However, contingent local variation is not only originated by the established units at the municipalities, but it is also seen that at the municipalities a some of the *established units have an overwhelming influence on the others*, or generate more poverty related solutions that lead to different types of applications in each province. That related local variation can be seen from the clarifications listed below.

In comparing three cases, Denizli and Aydın municipalities made that the poor diversification effectively than Muğla at the application of poverty based affairs.

- Denizli '*Disabled Coordination Center*' is the only formation among those provinces wholly activates towards the disabled. Muğla and Aydın have also assistances for the disabled but Department have no attempt to register the disabled to the digital platform for later use it in employment possibilities. Moreover, capacity generation courses under that institutional branch successfully implemented '*Disabled Work*' project with glass workshops.

- Muğla Municipality has strengths with two '*Women Solidarity Centers*'; one of them is providing services in shelter and the other one is a volunteer formation activating under municipal administration by mostly delivering clothes, furniture, and educational financial support to university students.

- Aydın and Denizli Municipalities have '*Children Centers*'; but none of them gives priority to the *children* of impoverished households, the staff only gives free-charge after school-activities and services.

- Aydın Municipality has '*Sevgi Houses*' for elderly vulnerable citizens' shelter, Muğla has also Rest Houses, but only one elderly has been facilitating from that municipal service. Additionally, Denizli Municipality has started a pilot project for the maintenance and repair of Denizli Rest House in coordination with Governorate and Pamukkale University, and local authority announced it as one of the first municipal collaborative activity in Turkey.

- Aydın RPP municipal administration has opened two *Alzheimer Centers and Aydın Municipality Service Network (AY-BA)* which can be counted as one of the first applications covering different vulnerable groups under its' framework. At that point, for the first time legal consultancy and 7 days 24 hours ambulance service provision has started for the urban poor.

- Aydın Social Affairs Department is creating differences with its '*Meal Fabric*' by delivering daily free-charge meal for 1000 local citizens, and in addition to that related fabric, five Cook-Houses and nursery homes have been sustaining their social affairs at the

poor neighborhoods. While Denizli and Aydın Municipalities have also Cook-Houses, their service delivery capacity is less than Aydın; their service provision to the urban poor only increases at the Ramadan periods and festivals.

- Denizli women working group is more active than the other working groups of case provinces at the alleviation of poverty; lots of pilot zone activities have been arranged for the designation of the needy at the poor zones of the province.

- ‘Sevgi-Eli’ institutional formation of Denizli Municipality functions at central district; as well as at Acıpayam, Tavas, Çardak, Çameli, Beyağaç, and Buldan through district bureaus. That related unit mostly gives assistance at clothing, furniture, cash and kind aid, home cleaning, and transportation. Critically, at the examination of municipal activity reports concerning assistance quantity and the number of the social assistance beneficiaries, Sevgi Eli has a considerable strength at the provision of social services at Denizli Municipality.

- Different social applications of those municipalities is mostly based on more activation of one unit that tied to Social Affairs Department or activation of its affairs independently under municipality. In Denizli, women working group activities under Sevgi Eli is influential as a tied unit to the Department.

Briefly, institutional formation of Aydın Municipality is the most successful practice at poverty process among GEKA provinces; with its Cook-Houses, meal-fabric, day-nurseries, social assistance centers, Alzheimer-children centers, Sevgi Houses for elderly. AY-BA center which has diverse social applications towards impoverished established during RPP period. As mentioned before, RPP municipal administration declared their target at AY-BA network to implement poverty related application as a responsibility and social right concern. In that sense, while Denizli JDP municipal administration has provided the highest amount of social services, it has been found out that most of the poverty alleviation practices have been applied by Sevgi-Eli, and that poverty formation has activating their affairs generally by the help of the charitable donations and by taking contributions from civil society organizations. Lastly, JDP municipal administration intervenes to poverty struggle but with some limitations, by attributing moral duties to the society as collective responsibility framework rather than social policy right-based responsibilities.

Service Provision and Distribution Activities:

At the service provision Denizli Municipality makes activities of home-assistance delivery especially for ill health and elderly citizens by using Sevgi-Eli vehicles. The same service is also provided under AY-BA in Aydın with home-affairs activities, hot-meal and 24 hours 7

days ambulance services. In Denizli, ‘Social, Cultural and Educational Affairs Department’ goes to the needy’s home to deliver assistances if the applied citizen has no possibility or ill health condition to come to take for cash assistance. These practices can be evaluated as the strengths of local authorities at urban poverty struggle.

As it is seen from the clarifications, Denizli and Aydın have similar applications in local service delivery; but in Muğla, there has been no initiative and effort to distribute social assistance to the elderly and ill. It can be stated that service delivery attitude of the municipal administrations can also be evaluated under an aspect of local contingency variable. Additionally, at service provision, Denizli Municipality has dealing with many collaborative activities with NGOs (Kimse Yok mu, Assistance to the Needy Associations). As mentioned before, JDP municipal administration has strong ties civil based organization at the orientation of poverty struggle to a non-economic field. As it was learned from interviews, Muğla and Aydın cases have been dealing with cooperative activities under Project Department, but generally that formation activation field is not concerned with poverty related issues. So that, local authority capacity at cooperation related with poverty struggle can be the other originality of the local authority that leads to contingent local variation.

Participation of the Poor:

At the provision of social services, participation of the poor is vital at taking the demands and opinions of the poor for an appropriate designation of assistances. As it was grasped from the interviews by local officials, application form of the impoverished is the most common tool of municipal administrations. Participatory platforms as public days, community meetings, and workshops are insufficient at the engagement of the poor for explaining their needs and demands. In this regard, in Aydın Municipality each thursday ‘community days’ are arranged at municipal conference meeting center with the gathering of local citizens and mayor and officials, for listening the problems of urban dwellers. In Denizli, gatherings are held at the poor zones for discussing the spatial areas problems and needs by the women working group. Lastly in Muğla, with the establishment of city council, street dialogues and home visits are started for developing face-to-face meetings with local poor citizens. From those evaluations, it can be stated that there is a fragmented type of struggle in the engagement of the poor to the poverty elimination process. Each municipality uses different tools for participating the vulnerable with their diverse units and methods. It can be also evaluated as a source of contingent local variation at combating poverty.

Expert Staff and In-Service Training Activities:

Lastly, expert local staff is the main hinder at poverty alleviation practices. In this sense, it has been found that only in Aydın Municipality expert staff is employed in a limited number and central government does not give the needed assistance on technical dimension. In service-training activities are held in each term at urban, national and international dimensions; but local officials declared that those activities topics do not cover poverty based issues.

B. Contingency Variables Stemming From Categorization of Assistances

Local authorities have no defined social assistance fields at combating poverty; each Social Department formulates their own assistance fields by their municipal officials in Turkey. It is seen that each local authority has different social assistance field. So, it can be clearly stated that those different social practices of local administrations lead to different local service provisions (local variation at poverty struggle). At the table below, local based poverty related services of municipal administrations are listed under the responsible branches according to each case province;

Table 5.5.3. Case Provinces Social Assistances under Related Institutional Formations

DENİZLİ	MUĞLA	AYDIN
Sevgi Eli and Social Affairs Department: -Cash Aid -Kind; nourishment, heat, cleaning, paint, clothing, furniture -Ramadan month meal delivery -Scholarships in Education -Collective Marriage -Collective Circumcision -Capacity generation courses -Disabled Coordination Center (transportation and vehicle) -Information and Community Centers for children Cook-house	Social and Cultural Affairs' Department: -Cash Aid -Kind; nourishment, heat -Ramadan month meal delivery -Scholarships in Education -Disabled students free-charge meal -9 branch courses 4 Rest House (1 citizen) Cook-House	Education, Culture and Social Affairs Department: -Sevgi Rest Houses; -Day-nursery Homes -Alzheimer Centers -Children Center -AY-BA (Aydın Municipality Service Network) Center 7 day 24 hour ambulance transportation service Home Works Assistance Service (especially for elderly and ill citizens) Legal Consultancy Service Free bread Health aid Transportation aid Soldier Families Collective circumcision Collective Marriage Free Subscriber and

Table 5.5.3. (Continued)

		Postponement of public debts Hot meal assistance Meal Fabric Furniture, clothing, heat assistance-capacity generation courses Cook-House and Social Assistance Centers
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At the *cash aid* provision; Denizli Municipality cash aid quantity and the number of the citizens who have been facilitating from that service has the highest ratio among three provinces and that quantity is reached to its utmost level in JDP local administrative term after that Muğla Municipality gives cash aid to 40-60 citizens in each three month which is a limited ratio in comparing Denizli case. Aydın Municipality does not give cash aid but only provides kind assistance. Besides, at the educational scholarships, Denizli Municipality provides the highest financial amount and it is at the first side according to the number of the beneficiaries, Muğla is also at the second rank at the provision of that service but its service provision is still limited in comparison to Denizli case.

Different from other municipal administrations, only Aydın Municipality has provided hot meal service with its meal fabric and Cook-Houses, and with Alzheimer Center provides services towards the ill health citizens. AY-BA is the single sample by legal consultancy service and 7 days 24 hours ambulance transportation service, free-subscriber and postponement of public debts, day-nursery homes. Specifically, high numbers of citizens in Denizli and Aydın provinces have been using municipal administrations' heating assistance (it is mostly delivered as wood aid rather than coal), house cleaning and home-work affairs, collective marriage, collective circumcision, and capacity generation courses.

Denizli Disabled Coordination Center is the only formation among the three municipalities which gives assistances at those following fields: Distribution of vehicle batteries, wheel-chairs, speaking watches, and white sticks for the blind. Muğla and Aydın Municipalities activate affairs towards the disabled under 'Social Affairs Departments' with a non-institutionalized dimension. Lastly, clothing and furniture assistances are provided by Denizli Sevgi Eli and Muğla Women Solidarity Center and also in Aydın a second-hand ware house is opened under the floor of Alzheimer center. Denizli Sevgi-Eli has been activating its social assistances to a broader area than the other case municipal administrations' established units in terms of its volunteer members, pilot zone assistance

applications and its assistance capacity. Consequently, Denizli JDP municipal administration has mostly struggling with poverty by means material conditions of existence the poor and maintenance of order and social cohesion, it can be seen from the highest amounts at cash and financial educational assistances. At the investment of human capital, Denizli has efforts mostly for the disabled and Aydın has dealing with activities towards the women participation to labor force. However, those implementations have a fragmented peculiarity and those practices cannot be widened to the other vulnerable sections of the society by varied training programs and capacity generation courses. Lastly, maintenance of order and social cohesion through the support of social and other welfare support services have been successfully applied by Aydın RPP municipal administration by the strength of its local institutional branches and formations.

C. Contingency Variables Stemming From Local and Central Based Relations

First of all, municipal administrations of case provinces have different political party formations concerning the term covering 2000-2011 period. As emphasized at the theoretical framework of the study, Social Democrat Parties and Conservative-Liberal Parties have different tendencies at combating poverty that leads to local variation. In Denizli, JDP has an overwhelming influence on poverty related social affairs since 2004 local election, Muğla case as a Social Democrat example have gained the political victory in three local election terms. Aydın Municipality confronted with change in each municipal election periods. RPP has gained the political victory and it is actively dealing with the poverty struggle with the newly established centers for the impoverished.

Table 5.1.4. Local Elections at Case Provinces

LOCAL ELECTIONS	2009	2004	1999
DENİZLİ	Justice and Development Party (JDP)	Justice and Development Party (JDP)	True Path Party (TPP)
MUĞLA	Republican People's Party (RPP)	Republican People's Party (RPP)	Republican People's Party (RPP)
AYDIN	Republican People's Party (RPP)	Justice and Development Party (JDP)	Motherland Party (MP)

Poverty alleviation process of 'Social, Culture and Education Departments' after 2005 period has been searched at each case province. From the interviews, it has been found that Aydın

Municipality is confronted with challenges with central government that led delays and drawbacks at the provision of services to the impoverished. Besides, in Denizli case, JDP Municipality has no constraint in relation with central government, and at the search for the social assistance amounts, it is seen that local authority has an advantage situation in comparison to other case provinces.

V.5.1.1. Negative and Positive Sides of Municipal Administrations and Solution Tools at Combating Poverty

There have been common arguments of local officials in related with the drawbacks at poverty alleviation. Firstly, local staff declared that “fragmented institutional poverty struggle is leading to ‘dependency’ of local citizens to local administrative bodies; the same assistance is given from variety of public institutions to same person”. At the second step, local officials state the need of more capacity generation activities and courses for engaging the poor to the labor force. The last common problematic area is defined as the insufficiency of the expert staff in the poverty struggle. The common solution tool is designated by local representatives as the development of a good solidarity between whole stake-holders and for getting success, it is proposed that central government should divert more financial resources to local authorities at combating poverty.

V.5.2. Evaluation of Case Provinces SPAs at Poverty Alleviation Process

This study is mostly dealing with urban poverty problem that within that social research study, SPAs’ activities have been searched within the central district area. It is seen that different applications of SPA Departments lead to local variation at poverty struggle. In this context, there is no similarity at poverty related assistances of those Departments. Muğla case is a critical sample at that condition, ‘Social Department’ is wholly responsible for culture, social and educational affairs but local officials claimed that those activities are beyond their capacities. In addition to those responsibilities micro credit application is also on the shoulders of that Department, SPA tries to surpass that overburden with diverting the application to TİSVA. By the help of that cooperation, Department limits itself with only control mechanism. However, that activation is oriented toward hesitation and criticisms concerning accountability and transparency aspects.

In this regard, it is observed that overlapping of responsibilities between the departments within the SPA institutional formation and Provincial Departments is only complicated the

affairs and created bureaucracy at the applications of social affairs. When examining the Activity Reports of each institution between the terms 2005-2011; it was found that approximately in each year, Departments' functioning areas are diverted to other institutional body; or some Departments are merged and their responsibilities are integrated. Hence, it can be clearly stated that like in case provinces municipal administrations' poverty struggle under the name of same Departments in each province, the similar situation is observed at case provinces SPA Departments. Different applications of SPAs in case provinces lead to contingent local variation sourced from institutional formations.

Furthermore, another differentiation among case provinces is seen at the implemented projects. Aydın and Denizli SPAs have applied more social based projects than Muğla local administration. One of the most important projects concerning poverty in the field of Denizli SPA is "DEY-BIS Disabled Inventory Project". Besides, Aydın SPA has tried to set up cooperations for developing good projects on behalf of the vulnerable as SHÇEK 'Women and Girls Protection Project', 'Blocking Women Exploitation Project' with GEKA and Commerce Chamber. It is seen that each SPA has dealing with different vulnerable sections of the society in their projects; it can be evaluated as a fragmented type of poverty struggle under SPAs. Lastly, at the examination of annual and performance reports of SPAs, it is seen that local authorities have similar institutional objectives and future based strategies which have strong ties with poverty phenomenon such as rural development, improving social prosperity with enhancing quality at education and health, micro investments (micro credits), social services and social assistances.

V.5.2.1. Negative and Positive Sides at SPAs and Solution Tools at Combating Poverty

First negative side is designated as insufficient technical staff at the activation of social based affairs. Secondly, whole local delegates have been in consensus on the shortages at developing collaborative projects concerning capacity generation for the provision of the survivability of the impoverished in their daily lives. Another point comes with the bureaucracy and non-standardization that create challenges at the activation processes of SPAs. The common idea which is shared by local representatives is the need of simplification at the activation of social affairs to the needy. Lastly, the general idea on the Law No. 5302 enacted in 2005; is oriented towards its functionless and futility; the opinion of local officials concerning that regulation is as follows; "while that law has the target to simplify the cooperation and relation between provincial directorates and SPA departments; it produced outcomes at the opposite direction with turning SPAs only a control

mediator mechanism". At the solution proposals, the common idea is oriented towards the adequate financial transfer to local institutional bodies for better functioning of poverty related issues and the necessity of cooperative activations with NGOs and Foundations. Lastly, local officials also suggest the unification of whole local-central based institutions under one institutional formation at combating poverty, and central government should have supervision authority at the activation of affairs.

V.5.3. Evaluation of Case Provinces SASFs at Poverty Alleviation Process

SASFs are one of the most effective central government institutions at the delivery of cash and kind assistance in comparing local administrative bodies at meeting the urgent needs of the poor. SASFs have the advantage to use the SOY-BIS program at the designation process of the applied citizens; and it is mostly evaluated as an advantageous side of SASFs in comparing municipalities. Foundations have been activating its affairs under the decisive organ of 'Trustee Committee', composed of local representatives from public institutions. The Project Directorate of SASF is critical in the sustenance and implementation of projects with the engagement of diverse local stakeholders in variety of topics. At the examination of three case provinces activity reports of recent years, it is observed that cash and education assistances have highest amounts at all cases.

V.5.3.1. Negative and Positive Sides at SASFs and Solution Tools at Combating Poverty

From the interviews, it has been found that there are some common opinions of staff such as, generally all representatives have the idea that the Trustee Committee composed of delegates from variety of public institutions, has the power for a rapid functioning of Foundation affairs and it also leads rapid response to the demands and needs of the poor. At the other side, the social and technical staff insufficient number at the activation process originates handicaps at the poverty alleviation process. In this context, representatives in SASF declared that they have problems about in-service training activities and the norm-cadre related issues. Whereas similarities concerning SASF poverty alleviation struggle, each case province has also different problems at the implementation of social affairs such as; security conditions in the distribution of cash assistance, physical insufficiencies of bureaus, inadequate capacity generation course arrangement, legal based problems concerning SASF regulation. The common proposition for each province is oriented towards establishing a unit with the gathering of local stakeholders for a collaborative poverty struggle under the supervision of central government.

CHAPTER VI

SURVEY STUDY

VI.1. Methodology of Survey

At the previous part of the research study, with the help of the deep interview method, local and central administrations' staff opinions have been taken to make an institutional analysis and evaluation from the part of the local and central government institutions that make poverty related assistances and services (Social Assistance Providers). At that part of the study, survey study has been implemented to grasp the opinions of the poor (Social Assistance Beneficiaries) about the social services provided by local and central government institutions. Within the context of the survey study, poverty alleviation practices of local and central government institutions have been evaluated by the side of the social assistance beneficiaries.

The research has been organized around collecting and analyzing data to address poverty and poverty alleviation opinions of the impoverished households at three case provinces, such as Aydın, Denizli, and Muğla. First of all, neighborhoods have been defined according to the central districts Green Card Offices officials' declarations concerning the most impoverished spatial fields where green card users have a high density in population. Those related neighborhoods have urban dwellers who have using green card intensively in comparison to other neighborhoods of the case provinces. At the second step, mukhtars assist the study at the determination of the poor households, with their orientation to the citizens who have been facilitated from the assistances of SASF and municipal administration and also the citizens who have been using green card.

VI.1.1. Data Collection

Data collection was conducted by a questionnaire survey, a copy of this questionnaire is included in Appendix part. Subjects were informed about the purpose of the study by a cover letter attached to the questionnaire. Before the application of the survey study, in each province the deep interview method is used in collecting data from the local officials who have employed at municipal administrations, SPAs and SASFs.

VI.1.2. Survey Design

The content of the survey questions were reviewed and discussed with the thesis advisor. To test the validity of the survey instrument, the questionnaire was pilot tested on 30 households in Denizli case at Dokuzkavaklar, Sevindik, and Karşıyaka pilot neighborhoods and revised before the application of case studies at Aydın, Denizli, and Muğla. The questionnaire consisted of 20 items including a recommendation part. The survey has three main parts; at the first section of the questionnaire, 8 questions were asked to the survey participants to find out the general profile of the households. The total number of the households, children numbers in education, working conditions of the head of the household, total monthly wage of the head and also the households and lastly the social security condition of the head were asked to grasp detailed information about the poor households. Questions at that part of the study are close-ended questions which require choosing from a limited number of responses determined by the study.

Besides, at the second part of the study, survey participants response the question of whether they take social assistance from any institution. (The study is applied to the urban citizens who take social assistance from poverty related institutions.) A general framework has been examined concerning poverty institutions and their social assistances such as; SASFs, SPAs, municipal administrations and special assistance institutions. In this context, survey participants' social assistance type such as cash or kind aid, capacity generation courses, usage time period, frequency in benefiting from these services and also their sufficiency views towards those services were asked for capturing their opinions about those provided social services. At the last part of the survey study, for making a deep analysis of municipal social services at combating poverty, questions were asked concerning mainly the poverty alleviation applications of municipalities at struggling poverty. In that part of the study, institutional contingency variables of the municipal administration have been evaluated from the side of the survey participants' opinions. In each case study, there are related branches at municipal administration to fight with poverty; by survey questions, knowledge of the survey participants about those branches has been searched. Besides, views of the participants concerning social assistance distribution justness, distribution of social services according to the requirements of the households, the sufficiency of those social services, other required services, success of municipalities, and other institutions struggle at poverty alleviation have also been taken within the context of the survey study. At that related part, Yes/ No questions were applied; and if the answer was negative, the reasons were also demanded to be clarified from the participant, as an open-ended question formation type. Open-ended questions designed to obtain information regarding the impoverished opinions concerning

poverty struggle. A recommendation question was also asked as the last question of the survey study for gaining the different opinions about poverty apart from these 19 items in survey.

VI.1.3. Study Population

The study population is composed of 350 households of Aydın, Denizli, and Muğla cases. The households who did not wish to participate in the study were not integrated to the survey study. Participants had considerable freedom in their answers; when a question was left unanswered, the survey process continued only with reminding her/ him to answer for the sake of the survey without forcing the participant to cover all questions.

VI.1.4. Data Analysis

The data analysis was performed using SPSS, version 11.5. In all cases alpha (significance value) is set at 0.05, to test at the 5% level. In the study, Pearson's Chi-Square test was used to find if there is a meaningful correlation between questions; according to the SPSS method.²¹⁰

VI.1.5. Survey Results and Presentation of Findings

The survey was evaluated in three stages and all parts were examined with their own and also the questions of other sections. These sections are comprised of the profile of households, poverty institutions and social assistances (contingency variables stemming from categorization of assistances), and municipal administrations poverty assistances (institutional contingency variables of municipal administrations).

²¹⁰ Chi square is a non-parametric test of statistical significance for bivariate tabular analysis. The aim in the Chi-Square test is examining the relationship between the nonparametric variables of questionnaires' questions. This statistical analysis shows the degree of confidence to the survey's questions outcomes. Pearson's chi-square test is one of chi-square test which is the most common type of chi-square test. This test's main target is showing if there is strong relationship between the questions or not. Consequently, at the Pearson's Chi-Square test, we look to the cell which the Pearson Chi-Square and the Asymp. Sig. intersects, if this cell has a lower value than 0,05; we can clearly say that there is a meaningful relationship between the two questions. And crosstabulation shows us the number of the delegates of two questions, according to their each parameter. In the study the descriptive statistics and their frequencies are also used in order to show the percentage of the given answers. For details, see, Kalaycı, 2005: 116.

VI.2. Muğla Case

VI.2.1. General Profile:

Table 6.2.1. Survey Participants

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Head	30	61,2	62,5	62,5
	Wife	8	16,3	16,7	79,2
	Daughter/Son	7	14,3	14,6	93,8
	Father/Mother	3	6,1	6,3	100,0
	Total	48	98,0	100,0	
Missing	System	1	2,0		
Total		49	100,0		

At Muğla case, questionnaire is applied to 48 households' residents at Orta, Şeyh, Hacı Rüstem, and Kiramettin neighborhoods. Within the context of the study, it is tired to apply the study mostly to the head of the households, but when the survey participant is not the head of the family, head's occupational, educational background, his/ her monthly wage and social security condition have been asked to the other members of the household who responded to the survey questions. As it is seen from the table above, the survey questions mostly asked to the head with 62,5 percent which is the highest ratio in the total sum. Surveyed households are composed of more than 5 people at the rate of %29,2; and %54,7 of the households have children in educational training, critically %4,2 of them have more than four children in education. This ratio paves the way for lots of disadvantages; crowded families having low income are more vulnerable to risks than the other households in bringing up a child and at their educational trainings.

Table 6.2.2. Head Educational Background

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Illiterate	7	14,3	14,6	14,6
	Literate	11	22,4	22,9	37,5
	Primary School	25	51,0	52,1	89,6
	Middle School	2	4,1	4,2	93,8
	High School	3	6,1	6,3	100,0
	Total	48	98,0	100,0	
Missing	System	1	2,0		
Total		49	100,0		

As it is illustrated at the above table, %52,1 head of the poor households are mostly primary school graduates; primary school's total ratio is also a high degree in comparison with middle and high school graduates. Moreover, other participants applied survey apart from

head members, have mostly primary school (%44,4) and secondary education degrees (%22,2). From this finding, it can be argued that head members of the households have low educational backgrounds that limit their integration to the labor market. In this context, %52 of the head members who are unemployed have primary school degrees.

Table 6.2.3. Head Employment Condition

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Employed	10	20,4	20,8	20,8
	Look for a job/Unemployed	10	20,4	20,8	41,7
	Not look for a job/Unemployed	7	14,3	14,6	56,3
	House wife	9	18,4	18,8	75,0
	Retired	6	12,2	12,5	87,5
	Handicapped	3	6,1	6,3	93,8
	Seasonal worker	3	6,1	6,3	100,0
	Total	48	98,0	100,0	
Missing	System	1	2,0		
Total		49	100,0		

According to table shown above, %35,4 of the head of the households are unemployed, and while %20,8 of them search for integrating to labor market, %14,6 of them have no effort to find a job. In this regard, women head households have 18,8 percent which is also a high percentage in the survey study in Muğla case. Besides, survey participants' %42,9 of them are wage earners and %33,3 of them have daily-wages. In the survey analysis concerning the participants other than head of the household, it has been found that only one of them is a wage earner and %5,6 of them are retired. Lastly, participants aside from head members' %16,7 of them are unemployed and %55,6 of them are housewives.

Table 6.2.4. Head Monthly Wage

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0-500	36	73,5	75,0	75,0
	500-1000	11	22,4	22,9	97,9
	1000-1500	1	2,0	2,1	100,0
	Total	48	98,0	100,0	
Missing	System	1	2,0		
Total		49	100,0		

Head of the households earn the lowest amount of pie which is 0-500TL with 75 percent. Besides, the total amount of monthly wage of the households is still at the lowest rank at the

monthly wage scale of the questionnaire with 66 percent. It could also be the indicator of the situation that few members make a contribution to the family budget except the head of the households. (In only two households, members aside from head have added financial benefit to the budget.)

Table 6.2.5. Head Social Security Condition

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not under Social Security	18	36,7	37,5	37,5
	Social Security Institution	7	14,3	14,6	52,1
	Pension Fund	4	8,2	8,3	60,4
	SSI for Artisans and Self-Employed	3	6,1	6,3	66,7
	Green Card	16	32,7	33,3	100,0
	Total	48	98,0	100,0	
Missing	System	1	2,0		
Total		49	100,0		

According to the results shown in the table, it is observed that 37,5 percent of the head members are not under social security, and critically, %33,3 of them use green-card. As indicated by the data, %29,2 of survey participants are under social security and %44 of the participants other than the head of the households are also not under social security. Briefly, it is seen that half of the participants are not under social security and they are vulnerable to the risks of poverty.

VI.2.2. Poverty Institutions and Social Assistances

At that sub-heading, poverty related institutions *categorized social services* such as cash, kind and capacity generation or training services have been searched by the examination of social assistance beneficiaries' numbers, their usage periods, and their opinions about those services sufficiency.

%57,1 of Muğla survey participants (28 households) have facilitated from cash-aid of SASF. Moreover, while %32,1 of them have just started to facilitate from cash aid from that central government institution assistance for approximately one year, %28,6 of the households have been using that social assistance for five years or more, it can be stated that those beneficiaries become a constant user of cash assistance. SASF provides cash-assistances by 3 month time intervals; %64,3 of the households have been benefiting from that cash assistance in three month intervals, and %28,6 of them used once a year term. Critically, while %57,1 of the survey participants benefit from that social assistance services at

combating poverty, %89,3 of them evaluate the cash assistance as an inadequate central government based poverty service.

Furthermore, kind aid assistances of SASF have been observed as nourishment, heating (mainly coal aid), health, education, and the elderly-disabled assistances. The highest ratios of kind assistances are at heating assistance with %40,8 and %38,8 by nourishment assistance. Other than those aids at the evaluation of survey data, it is observed that 6 percent divided into three categories with similar percentages as education, health, and elderly-disabled assistances. Households have benefited from nourishment services for almost three years and 60 percent of these people take monthly assistances; additionally 70 percent of the survey participants have been using also heating assistance once a year for three years (%65). Both nourishment and heating assistance beneficiaries have been facilitating from those services for more than one year. %63,2 of nourishment aid users and %65 of heating assistance users found those social services related with poverty alleviation as insufficient. Critically, none of the household has used the employment creation activities of Foundation such as capacity generation and training courses.

In addition to SASF, survey participants %20,4 of them have benefited from ‘Social, Culture and Education Affairs Department’ social assistances in cash and in kind. %6,1 of them have benefited from Women Solidarity House under Muğla municipal administration. In this context, %10,2 of them have been benefiting from municipal cash aid assistance and %80 of the households have started to facilitate from this service for one year term. Besides, all participants used that service with three month intervals which is also mentioned at poverty alleviation process of Muğla Municipality. Briefly, %80 of the beneficiaries have a negative belief related to cash aid sufficiency provided by the municipal administration.

In addition to cash assistances, municipal kind assistances can be listed as nourishment, heating, and educational assistances. %25 of the survey participants facilitated from non-cash assistances. In this sense, half of the survey participants using municipal aid are the beneficiaries of the nourishment and heating assistance and one applicant is the user of the educational assistance. %60 of nourishment beneficiaries have used that service for one year and %49,2 of them have been facilitating from heating assistance for more than 3 years. Education aid user has been using that assistance for one year. Municipal social service nourishment users’ %83,3 of them stated that nourishment services are insufficient; heating users’ %75 of them also evaluated that service as insufficient. (%25 of them evaluated those social assistances as in normal level.) Critically, again none of the household has used the

employment creation activities of the municipal administration such as capacity generating and training courses.

Lastly, private assistance organizations also provide assistances for survey participants with 4,1 percent, in a limited sense by only nourishment assistances once a year and that social assistance has been evaluated by the users as insufficient and at normal levels but not at a good level.

Table 6.2.6. Do you find municipal administration kind or cash assistance sufficient?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	4	8,2	11,8	11,8
	No	30	61,2	88,2	100,0
	Total	34	69,4	100,0	
Missing	System	15	30,6		
Total		49	100,0		

This question is influential in demonstrating the general view about cash and kind services of the municipal administration. By the help of that question participants who are not beneficiaries of municipal administration also declare their opinions about the social assistances of municipal administration. At the illustrated table, %88,2 of the poor give negative answer to this question as they find the municipal services of cash and kind assistances insufficient; only %11,8 of the participants have the opinion that those social based services are sufficient to handle with poverty in their daily lives. The reasons of that insufficiency is explained by the representatives with those clarifications; “municipality gives us 25 packets of coal aid, but we have also other necessities in addition to heating assistance”, “the assistances are in small amounts that cannot meet our needs, especially cash, nourishment, heating and educational assistances amounts are inadequate”, “the timing of the assistance also creates problem, heating assistance should be distributed before the winter term”. The poor hope to take heating, nourishment, and hot meal assistances in short-time intervals. “Municipal administration generally gives heating assistance with coal before the election terms; there is no variation in services towards the children, the disabled and the elderly citizens”. Most of the survey participants have the idea that municipal administration cannot make the needed home-investigations at the poor assistances. At this context, some of the participants stated that ‘we are in need of everything, any assistance can improve our daily conditions’.

Consequently, SASF as a poverty related institution mostly provides cash assistance to the survey participants for more than five year. However, even the constant users in the survey

study evaluate that social assistance as insufficient. Apart from cash assistance, Foundation provides kind assistances with nourishment and heating assistances, but similar with cash aid, beneficiaries evaluated those assistances as insufficient. Muğla municipal ‘Social Dertment’ provides not only cash assistance to those vulnerable neighbors mostly for one year, but also kind assistances of nourishment and heating, and again approximately %80 assistant beneficiaries find those poverty related services insufficient. Critically, at the creation of human capital, central and local based capacity generation and training courses are vital to escape from poverty circle, but it is observed that none of the survey participants benefit from those services.

VI.2.3. Evaluation of Muğla Municipal Administration at Combatting Poverty

At that part of the study different institutional contingency variables of the municipal administration have been searched under those survey questions responses such as social assistance knowledge, sufficiency, and justness.

Table 6.2.7. Municipal Administration Social Assistance Knowledge

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	17	34,7	35,4	35,4
	No	31	63,3	64,6	100,0
	Total	48	98,0	100,0	
Missing	System	1	2,0		
Total		49	100,0		

As it is observed from the table above; 64,6 percent of the survey participants gave negative answer to this question. It is critical that people who have been facilitating from cash and kind aids of the municipal administration such as the beneficiaries of nourishment and heating services also respond to that question negatively. It can be stated that even municipal social service beneficiaries do not have adequate knowledge concerning the social services of the municipal administration at combating poverty.

Table 6.2.8. Reasons at Having No Knowledge concerning Municipal Administration Social Assistances

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Insufficient Enlightenment Process	33	67,3	67,3	67,3
	Applied to Municipality but not Approved	9	18,4	18,4	85,7

Table 6.2.8. (Continued)

	Take Whatever Municipality Gives	2	4,1	4,1	89,8
	Shame to Apply for Municipal Assistance	4	8,2	8,2	100,0
	Total	49	100,0	100,0	

It is seen that %67,3 of survey participants have the opinion that municipal administration cannot make the required enlightenment process concerning poverty related social assistances. In that context, %18,4 of the impoverished household declared that they apply to the municipal department but their applications are not approved by municipal officials. Moreover, %8,2 of the participants claimed that “they do not apply for social assistance because they feel shame in demanding cash and kind assistances”. Some of the participants also added that when they apply for the poor assistance, some municipal officials behave not in a good manner that they do not want to apply for assistance. Lastly, at the table demonstrated below, it is observed that survey participants gained social assistance knowledge mostly from mukhtars, other beneficiaries and neighbours/ relatives. It can be stated that municipal administration cannot make the required enlightenment process for enhancing the knowledge of the vulnerable about social assistance services of municipal administration.

Table.6.2.9.Social Assistance Knowledge

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Newspapers-Magazines	2	4,1	5,9	5,9
	Local Tv and Radio	2	4,1	5,9	11,8
	Neighbours and Relatives	9	18,4	26,5	38,2
	Mukhtar	12	24,5	35,3	73,5
	Other Social Assistance Beneficiaries	9	18,4	26,5	100,0
	Total	34	69,4	100,0	
Missing	System	15	30,6		
Total		49	100,0		

Table 6.2.10. Is the Social Service Provision of Municipal Administration Just or Not?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	8	16,3	21,1	21,1
	No	30	61,2	78,9	100,0
	Total	38	77,6	100,0	
Missing	System	11	22,4		
Total		49	100,0		

As indicated at the chart, %78,9 of the participants responded that municipal administration does not act in a just manner at the social service provision related with poverty alleviation; only %21,1 of the participants gave positive answer to that question. The participants stated that “municipal administration does not act in a just manner because they give assistances to the young who have no handicap to integrate into the labor market”. Survey participants also added that “local administrations should give assistance to the elderly and the handicapped rather than the people who have no drawback to work”. Some participants also declared that while they are destitute in the economic sense and apply for assistance, their applications are not approved. Most of the participants believe that municipal administration have made discrimination among the poor. Survey participants claimed that “sometimes we are confronted with municipal administration practices in their giving assistance to the people of their circle of acquaintance who are retired and have a salary and house rather than people in need”. As it is seen from these clarifications, municipal administration’s institutional formation related with *the designation of the poor process* and *social assistance service delivery* at the poverty alleviation process are not evaluated positively by the survey participants.

Table 6.2.11.Does the municipal administration provide services according to requirements?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	7	14,3	15,9	15,9
	No	37	75,5	84,1	100,0
	Total	44	89,8	100,0	
Missing	System	5	10,2		
Total		49	100,0		

As it is seen from the table, people have the belief that municipal administration does not provide services according to the requirements of the impoverished households. At that point, %15,9 of the participants give positive response to that social service based question. Some of the participants also claimed that social commission staff come for search at households, but after the scrutiny no one comes for explaining whether their application has been approved or not. It is seen that the feedback mechanism is not activated after home investigations. In this respect, reasons behind that drawback are explained by participants as follows; “only when we make application, municipal officials come for the poor examination and sometimes applications are not approved that we cannot take any assistance”, “mukhtar has more interest at the distribution of social assistance than the representatives of municipal administration”. Critically, some participants have claimed that local officials have political

concerns, they promise aid in return for vote at local election terms. To sum up, that question's responses also illustrated another problem about the institutional formation of municipal administration concerning social assistance service delivery. There is no institutionalization at the distribution of services, before the social assistance service provision, municipal social staff do not make the required home investigations.

Table 6.2.12. How do you evaluate the social assistances of SASF and SPA?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		3	6,1	6,1	6,1
	Not Just	1	2,0	2,0	8,2
	More Home Investigations Required	6	12,2	12,2	20,4
	Unknown	8	16,3	16,3	36,7
	Adequate	12	26,5	26,5	63,3
	Enhance Social Assistance	8	16,3	16,3	79,6
	Inadequate	10	20,4	20,4	
					100,0
	Total	49	100,0	100,0	

From the table, it is observed that while %26,5 of the poor evaluate SASF's (there is no survey participant benefitting from SPA social assistances) social assistances as adequate; most of the survey participants demand for the rise at those distributed social services by %36,7. Besides, participants also demanded to increase the searches at the distribution of social assistances, they criticized SASF's social assistance service delivery with those words "institution does not provide services for the most needy households", and added the legal hinder stemming from the enrollment to the social security network that prevents peoples' benefitting from those services. It can be stated that Foundation as a centralized poverty related institution has institutional drawbacks in the designation of the poor and in the amount of social assistances.

Table 6.2.13. Do you think that municipality is successful at the alleviation of poverty?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	5	10,2	12,8	12,8
	No	34	69,4	87,2	100,0
	Total	39	79,6	100,0	
Missing	System	10	20,4		
Total		49	100,0		

It is seen that %87,2 of the survey participants have the opinion that municipality is not successful at poverty alleviation. From the survey data, reasons can be listed as institutional

drawbacks, problems originated from social assistance categories and amounts, political based issues, as follows;

Problems stemming from the designation of the poor process: “Municipality does not implement the needed house examinations at the designation of poor assistance;” “every household at the poor neighborhoods should be investigated by the municipal officials, that responsibility should not be left to the mukhtars”, “municipality officials make discriminations at the distribution of social services related to poverty, and generally provide services to people who have acquaintance and social ties”, “municipal administration is not just at the provision of services, people who have salary, real estates and additional financial income, facilitated from those services rather than the real impoverished”,

Problems stemming from categorization of assistances: “Municipal administration does not give the needed services for the disabled and the elderly”, “distributed amounts of those social services and the number of social service beneficiaries should be enhanced”, “municipal administration should take into account the number of the household members at social service provision”, “social assistances time interval should be shortened, regular provision of services should be sustained”, “employment generation activities should be provided for the young”.

Problems stemming from political concerns: “At the provision of social assistance, the target should not be at the direction of party interest”, “municipal administration mostly gives coal assistances at Ramadan period or before local election terms”.

Table 6.2.14. Which institution is successful at the poverty struggle?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		3	6,1	6,1	6,1
	Municipality	6	12,2	12,2	18,4
	Unknown	12	24,5	24,5	42,9
	No institution	6	12,2	12,2	55,1
	SASF	19	38,8	38,8	93,9
	SASF and Municipality	3	6,1	6,1	100,0
	Total	49	100,0	100,0	

As indicated at the chart above, a high ratio of 38,8 percent declared that SASF is successful at combating poverty. Critically, %24,5 of survey participants even they are the beneficiaries of social assistances stated that they have no opinion about that question. Additionally, a collaborative poverty alleviation practice covering SASF and municipality has also found by

survey participants insufficient, which demonstrates itself with %6. Lastly, low number of participants found municipal administration poverty struggle successful with %12,2 that it can be stated that the impoverished evaluate local authorities practices not stronger than a central based institution.

After all of those detailed analysis, it is seen that survey participants have been living at crowded families, and the head of the households have low educational backgrounds that limit their opportunity to integrate to the labor market (%35,4 of the head members are unemployed). Critically, %75 of head members' budgets and %66 of the total households' budgets demonstrated the lowest amount of monthly wage pie at the survey study. The last indicator about the household profile is about social security and it is seen that 37,5 percent of the head members are not under social security, and %33,3 of them use green-card. At the examination of poverty institutions and their related services, it has been found that %28,6 of the household have been using cash aid assistance of the Foundation for five years. Those social assistance beneficiaries become a constant user of that type of aid. Foundation also provides kind aid with nourishment and heating assistances, but both cash and kind assistance beneficiaries evaluated those assistances as insufficient. Similar with Foundation's social assistances, Muğla municipal administration also provides heating and nourishment assistance aside from cash aid. In this respect, survey participants also evaluated those social assistances as insufficient with the high ratios of %84 (nourishment aid beneficiaries) and %75 (heating aid beneficiaries). In regard to the drawbacks of municipal administration at the alleviation of poverty; it can be stated that even municipal social service beneficiaries do not have adequate knowledge concerning social services of municipal administration at struggling poverty. Survey participants tied that problem to the insufficiency at the enlightenment process of local administration. Besides, participants have also hesitations about the justness at the social service provision of local administration and they think that municipal administration cannot provide services according to the requirements. It is seen that there have been problems concerning the designation of the poor process and categorization of assistance.

Briefly, municipality and SASF have been mostly handling with social affairs by means of material conditions of existence, but at that point while beneficiaries of the local and central authorities found those services insufficient, they preferred Foundation in terms of their success at combating poverty. Lastly, none of the poverty related institution assists those poor people in turns of human capital, by training programs and capacity generation activities.

VI.3.Denizli Case

VI.3.I.General Profile

Table 6.3.1.Survey Participants

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Head	57	39,0	39,0	39,0
	Wife	71	48,6	48,6	87,7
	Daughter/Son	13	8,9	8,9	96,6
	Father/Mother	5	3,4	3,4	100,0
	Total	146	100,0	100,0	

In Denizli case, survey study has been applied to 146 households at Yeşilyurt, Dokuzkavaklar, Sevindik, Karşıyaka, and İlbadi neighborhoods. As it is observed at the table above, %39 of the applicants at the study are the head of those households. However, as same with the Muğla case, head's occupational, educational background, his/ her monthly wage, social security conditions have been asked to the other members of the household who responded to the survey questions. At this context, households at Denizli case are comprised of members more than 5 people with 34,2 percent and %66 of them have children in educational training. As it has been found from the survey participants' responses, most of the households have demands towards the educational assistance for the children.

Table 6.3.2.Head Educational Background

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Illiterate	36	24,7	24,8	24,8
	Literate	16	11,0	11,0	35,9
	Primary-school	78	53,4	53,8	89,7
	Middle School	10	6,8	6,9	96,6
	High School	4	2,7	2,8	99,3
	University/Inst.of Higher Education	1	,7	,7	100,0
	Total	145	99,3	100,0	
Missing	System	1	,7		
Total		146	100,0		

As it is illustrated at the above diagram, %53,8 of the head of the poor households are mostly primary school graduates; that ratio is also a high degree in comparison with middle and high school graduates. Besides, other survey participants aside from head of the households, %40 of them are middle school graduates, only %40 of them are only literate. In that context, %25 of the unemployed survey participants have primary school degrees. It can be evaluated that

low level of educational training of the survey participants restricted their opportunity to engage in labor market.

Table 6.3.3.Head Employment Conditions

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Employed	64	43,8	44,1	44,1
	Look for a job/unemployed	23	15,8	15,9	60,0
	Not look for a job/Unemployed	28	19,2	19,3	79,3
	House wife	19	13,0	13,1	92,4
	Retired	7	4,8	4,8	97,2
	Handicapped	3	2,1	2,1	99,3
	Seasonal Worker	1	,7	,7	100,0
	Total	145	99,3	100,0	
Missing	System	1	,7		
Total		146	100,0		

From this finding, it can be stated that %35 of the head members of the surveyed households are unemployed, %15,9 of them look for a job to integrate to the labor market, %19,3 of them have no interest at finding a job. Those related ratios are high degrees concerning the employed population of %44,1. Critically, women head households have 13 percent at the survey study in Denizli case. Survey participants aside from head members, %43,8 of them are comprised of house wives, and only %4,1 of the applicants aside from head members are employed and contribute to the financial budget of the household. In this regard, head members %39,7 of them are wage earners, and %49,3 of them are seasonal workers which is a temporary job and it leads to social and economic risks for the poor. In that context, survey participants aside from head members' %2,8 of them have jobs; and only one of them is a wage earner, and other two of them are seasonal workers.

Table 6.3.4.Head Monthly Wage

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0-500	98	67,1	67,6	67,6
	500-1000	46	31,5	31,7	99,3
	1000-1500	1	,7	,7	100,0
	Total	145	99,3	100,0	
Missing	System	1	,7		
Total		146	100,0		

Income proportion can give us an idea about economic conditions of households; as it is illustrated at the diagram %67,6 of the head members earn 0-500TL which is the lowest

amount of pie at the survey study. Only %32,4 of them have wages above that amount of income pie. In addition to that, %65,5 of the total amount of households' monthly wage indicated the lowest amount of income pie. It can be the result that except from head members at the survey study, only one person has a monthly wage and contributes to the budget of household.

Table 6.3.5. Head Social Security Condition

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not Under Social Security	28	19,2	19,2	19,2
	Social Security Institution	34	23,3	23,3	42,5
	Pension Fund	1	,7	,7	43,2
	SSI for Artisans and Self-Employed	5	3,4	3,4	46,6
	Green Card	78	53,4	53,4	100,0
	Total	146	100,0	100,0	

According to the results shown in the table, it is seen that 19,2 percent of the head members are not under social security, and only %27,4 of them have social security. Besides, the highest amount is observed at green card users with %53,4. From the findings of the survey study, the survey participants aside from head members %57,5 of them are also green card users, %28,7 of them have no social security and only %13,7 are under social security network. It can be stated that %30 of the survey participants are not under social security umbrella to struggle with poverty.

VI.6.3.2. Poverty Institutions and Social Assistancess

Poverty related institutions *categorized social services* such as cash, kind and capacity generation or training services have been searched by the examination of social assistance beneficiaries' numbers, their usage periods, and their opinions about those services sufficiency.

%44 of Denizli case survey participants (65 households) are the beneficiaries of SASF. Besides %40 of the participants have been facilitating from that cash aid for one year, %36,9 of them for more than 2 years, and %23,1 of them for more than 4 years. As it is seen from those clarifications, most of the survey participants become a constant user of that cash aid. In this respect, Foundation has provided cash assistance for 3 month time intervals; %92,3 of the households have been benefited from that cash assistance by three month intervals, and

%6,2 of them used once a year. At this context, cash aid beneficiaries %75,8 of them found that social assistance insufficient, only %6,1 of the participants gave positive response about the adequacy of that assistance.

Survey participants do not only benefit from cash assistance but also from kind assistances such as nourishment, education, health, heating, transportation, disabled materials, cloth and occupational training. %50 of the households (73 households) have been benefiting from kind assistance and take heating (coal) assistance once a year term from Foundation. At the second rank, 11 survey participants benefit from educational assistance in each month with 7,5 percent for more than one year. Thirdly, nourishment assistance comes to the front side with %4,1; and other than those aids %1,4 of survey participants have been using transportation, %1,4 of them disabled materials, %1,4 of them health, and %1 of them capacity generation and training assistances. Besides, households benefit from nourishment services for mostly two years with 50 percent by three months intervals. Additionally, 72 percent of the citizens have been using educational assistance for each month, %46,2 of the survey participants have been facilitating from health assistance with 3 and 6 months intervals, heating assistance has been used once a year with 50 percent. Lastly, transportation assistance has been using with free charge pass transportation facility. Critically, one survey participant has been benefiting from training activities of Foundation.

From the survey data, it is observed that %64 of the educational aid beneficiaries, %43 of the heating assistance beneficiaries; %67 of the nourishment aid users evaluated those assistances as insufficient. In addition to SASF, 2 survey participants have been facilitating from micro credit of the SPA for more than 3 years. They evaluated this kind of social assistance not positively and generally normal or insufficient. Furthermore, other than SASF and SPA; survey participants have also facilitated from 'Social, Culture and Education Affairs Department' of municipal administration with %56,8 (83 households) and Sevgi Eli institution with %26,7 (39 households). In this sense, %13,7 of them are the cash aid beneficiaries, and half of the cash aid users are newly started to facilitate from that social assistance in that year. Moreover, %65 of the participants take that assistance with 3 month intervals. Survey participants 80 percent evaluate that social assistance as insufficient, only %5 of them gave positive response to the sufficiency question concerning cash aid.

Furthermore, municipal kind assistances can be listed as nourishment, education, heating, transportation, and clothing. 80 citizens have been facilitating from those non-cash assistances. The highest ratio at kind assistance is at the nourishment aid with %26,7, in the

second rank there is the clothing assistance of Sevgi Eli institution having the proportion of %9,6 and lastly survey participants have been benefiting from heating (coal) assistance with 8,2 percent. Lastly, similar with SASF, municipal administration also provides transportation aid; %4,1 of the survey participants have been facilitating from that aid for more than one year. At that context, those non-cash aids have been mostly used for one or two year terms. Critically, again none of the household has used the employment creation activities of capacity generation and training courses. Municipal administration nourishment aid beneficiaries' %74, clothing aid users' %31, heating aid users' %57 and education aid users' %44 of them evaluated those non-cash services as insufficient, only clothing assistance of Sevgi-Eli has been evaluated at normal level by the survey participants.

Lastly, %11 of the case surveyed households have been using private organizations, associations cash and kind assistances such as Deniz Feneri, Gökkuşığı Association, Vakit Foundation, Kimse Yok mu Association, Pasvak Cook-House. Those civil based organizations provide cash, heating, clothing, nourishment, and educational assistances. %6,3 of them have used cash, heating and clothing aids with same percentages and %37,5 of them have newly started to benefit from those services, but %62,5 of them have been benefiting from those assistances for more than one year. Finally, %71,4 of those beneficiaries find those social assistances as insufficient.

Table 6.3.6. Do you find municipal administration kind or cash assistance sufficient?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	37	25,3	27,8	27,8
	No	96	65,8	72,2	100,0
	Total	133	91,1	100,0	
Missing	System	13	8,9		
Total		146	100,0		

It is observed that %72,2 survey participants find social assistance of municipal administration insufficient. Municipal administration's social assistance insufficiency has been explained by survey participants as follows: "Municipal administration only provides heating (coal) and nourishment aid once a year in the Ramadan periods, the amount of nourishment, heating, health and house maintenance social assistances should be increased", "free-transportation card is only used for one poor household member that it creates problems", "cash assistance is too low for us to survive", "educational assistance should be increased especially for the children", "social assistance quantity should be increased for the disabled, the elderly and the widows, and assistances should be provided at each month;

those vulnerable sides should have priority at social service provision”, “municipal administration should provide employment possibilities for the impoverished”, “local authority should make more household investigations to see our daily lives”,

Consequently, Foundation provides cash assistance to the survey participants for more than 4 years. However, %75 of the cash beneficiaries evaluated that assistance as insufficient. Foundation has also non-cash aid categories; at that point %64 of the educational aid beneficiaries, %43 of the heating assistance beneficiaries, and %67 of the nourishment aid users evaluated those assistances as insufficient. Besides, 2 survey participants also benefit from micro credit and they evaluate that social possibility in normal and insufficient dimensions. Besides, ‘Social, Culture and Education Affairs Department’ and Sevgi Eli institution under Denizli municipal administration provide cash and kind assistances. Cash aid beneficiaries are new cash aid users and these people evaluate that social assistance insufficient with 80 percent. Aside from cash aid; nourishment, clothing and heating assistances are the other social assistance categories used by the impoverished; and most of the survey participants have a negative opinion about those assistances sufficiency. Critically, none of the participans at the survey study has been facilitating from occupational and training activities of the municipality, only one applicant facilitated from Foundation’s capacity generation program. It can be stated that at the creation of human capital, central and local government authorities have little or no contribution to the poor for their engagement in labor market.

VI.3.3. Evaluation of Denizli Municipal Administration at Combatting Poverty

At that part of the study similar with Muğla case different institutional contingency variables of municipal administration have been examined under those survey questions responses such as social assistance knowledge, sufficiency, and justness.

Table 6.3.7. Municipal Administration Social Assistance Knowledge

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	46	31,5	34,8	34,8
	No	86	58,9	65,2	100,0
	Total	132	90,4	100,0	
Missing	System	14	9,6		
Total		146	100,0		

According to results shown at the above table, %65,2 of the survey participants gave negative answer to that question. At that point, it is influential that %66 of the cash aid beneficiaries of municipal administration have responded that question as they have no adequate knowledge.

Table 6.3.8. Reasons at Having No Knowledge concerning Municipal Administration Social Assistances

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		119	81,5	81,5	81,5
	Only mukhtar informs us about social assistance	1	,7	,7	82,2
	No application	1	,7	,7	82,9
	Applied but not approved	1	,7	,7	83,6
	No knowledge	5	3,4	3,4	87,7
	Unknown	7	4,8	4,8	92,5
	Heard from neighbours	1	,7	,7	93,8
	No municipal examination	2	1,4	1,4	95,9
	ill health	1	,7	,7	96,6
	Shame to apply to municipality	1	,7	,7	97,3
	illiterate	1	,7	,7	97,9
	Have disabled children	3	2,1	2,1	100,0
	Total	146	100,0	100,0	

As it is observed from those clarifications, people generally have no knowledge, because of those listed reasons; ill health, shame demanding for assistance, illiteracy, insufficient enlightenment process and home investigation of municipal administration.

Table 6.3.9. Social Assistance Knowledge

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Municipality Brochures	1	,7	,8	,8
	Newspaper-magazines	1	,7	,8	1,7
	Local Tv-Radio	2	1,4	1,7	3,3
	Relatives/Neighbors	63	43,2	52,1	55,4
	Mukhtars	40	27,4	33,1	88,4
	Other Social Assistance Beneficiaries	14	9,6	11,6	100,0
	Total	121	82,9	100,0	
Missing	System	25	17,1		
Total		146	100,0		

As it is observed at the chart above, %52,1 of the survey participants have knowledge about social assistances of municipal administration from relatives and neighbors, at the second rank %33,1 of them clarified that mukhtar enlightens the needy, thirdly %11,6 of the survey participants learn social assistance from the other social assistance beneficiaries. From the results, it can be stated that the municipality enlightenment process is not at a required level for the needy to apply municipal Social Department for cash and kind assistances.

Table 6.3.10. Is the Social Service Provision of Municipal Administration Just or Not?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	45	30,8	37,5	37,5
	No	75	51,4	62,5	100,0
	Total	120	82,2	100,0	
Missing	System	26	17,8		
Total		146	100,0		

According to that table, %62,5 of the participants clarified that municipal administration does not realize social service provision in a just manner, only %37,5 of them give positive answer to that question. The participants stated that “when municipal administration learns that we have also using Foundation’s social assistances; they interrupt our assistance or reject our applications that we cannot apply for assistance”. Survey participants also added that “municipal administration’s officials give priority to their circle of acquaintance”. Some of the participants declare that “mukhtar makes discrimination at the social assistance distribution; mukhtar and municipal administration do not work collaboratively in assistance that it leads to problems, at some neighborhoods more social assistance is provided, municipal administration does not make the needed examination, people who are not in need of take aid from local authority”. Critically, survey participants claimed that “we apply lots of times but our applications are not approved, they give aid for only taking vote from the poor at local elections”. Consequently, municipal administration institutional formation related with the designation of the poor process and social assistance service delivery at the poverty alleviation process have not been evaluated positively by the survey participants.

Table 6.3.11. Does the municipal administration provide services according to requirements?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	57	39,0	42,9	42,9
	No	76	52,1	57,1	100,0
	Total	133	91,1	100,0	
Missing	System	13	8,9		
Total		146	100,0		

It is seen that %57,1 of the survey participants have the opinion that municipal administration does not provide services according to the requirements of the impoverished households. %42,9 of them have positive thoughts about that question which is a high proportion in comparison to Muğla case. In this sense, reasons behind that drawback are explained by participants as follows;

“Municipal administration comes for household examination once a year, only in Ramadan periods, and they give nourishment assistance”, from that clarification it can be stated that similar with Muğla case, there is no institutionalization at the designation of the requirements at social assistance delivery; the necessity of more home investigation comes out for an effective poverty struggle. Besides, survey participants added that “people who are not in need of (having car and estate) take assistance from municipal administration, we apply lots of times, but they do not give assistance”. It can be stated that municipal administration’s institutional formation concerning social assistance service delivery and the designation of the poor process are influential for an effective poverty struggle.

Table 6.3.12. How do you evaluate the social assistances of SASF and SPA?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		13	8,9	8,9	8,9
	Not Just	1	,7	,7	9,6
	Applied but not approved	3	2,1	2,1	11,6
	Bad attitude of the staff at the application process	3	2,1	2,1	13,7
	Unknown	24	16,4	16,4	30,1
	More educational assistance	1	,7	,7	30,8
	Bad coal assistance	1	,7	,7	31,5
	Sufficient	48	32,9	32,9	64,4
	Insufficient	47	32,2	32,2	97,3
	Not regular	1	,7	,7	97,9
	Only gives coal aid	1	,7	,7	98,6
	More disabled assistance	1	,7	,7	100,0
	Total	146	100,0	100,0	

From the table above, it is observed that %32,9 of them evaluate social assistances of SASF and SPA (2 survey participants have been using from micro credit) as sufficient, and %32,2 of them as insufficient. It can be clearly stated that those amounts have approximately similar values that it is not meaningful for an appropriate evaluation. Survey participants

clarified their problems as follows; unjust social assistance distribution, bad quality of coal aid, no categorization at social assistance, bad behavior of local officials at the application process, not provision of regular social assistance. As a centralized poverty institution, Foundation has also some drawbacks concerning the categorization of social assistances, service provision and the designation of the poor process in institutional terms.

Table 6.3.13. Do you think that municipality is successful at the alleviation of poverty?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	40	27,4	33,1	33,1
	No	81	55,5	66,9	100,0
	Total	121	82,9	100,0	
Missing	System	25	17,1		
Total		146	100,0		

It is seen that %66,9 of the participants have the opinion that the municipality is not successful at poverty alleviation. From survey data, the reasons can be listed as follows;

-Problems stemming from the municipal administration's institutional formation:

“Municipality does not make the needed enlightenment process that more home investigation of municipal administration is required”, “at the social assistance provision municipal administration makes discriminations among the impoverished”, “municipal administration has to give assistance to the needy, but local officials provide services to those with acquaintances and social ties”,

“At the application process municipal officials do not behave in a good manner towards the needy, local officials only demand us to fulfill lots of paper to complete our application but our health conditions complicate to complete those processes, and each year application also causes problems”, (*Problems stemming from the application and the designation of the poor process*), “each poor neighborhood has to take the same social assistances from the municipal administration”, “social assistance should be made systematically, regularly and on time”, (*Problems stemming from service provision*)

-Problems stemming from the categorization of assistance:

“Sevgi-Eli has distributed only second-hand clothing assistance”, “educational scholarships, financial assistances, nourishment and coal-wood aid should be increased, 3 month interval cash aid assistances cannot meet our daily needs”, “municipality should create employment

opportunities”, “social assistances should be given to the widows, the orphans, the disabled and the elderly (care and medicine services)”,

- *Problems stemming from political concerns:*

“Social assistances are not provided in time, local officials promised assistance in return for our votes but after the elections no one came for social assistance”.

Table 6.3.14. Which institution is successful at the poverty struggle?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Municipality	19	13,0	13,0	26,0
	Municipality Sevgi Eli	3	2,1	2,1	28,1
	Unknown	28	19,2	19,2	47,3
	No Institution	5	3,4	3,4	50,7
	SPA	1	,7	,7	51,4
	Kimse Yok mu Association	3	2,1	2,1	53,4
	Special Vakit Foundation	2	1,4	1,4	54,8
	SASF	50	34,2	34,2	89,0
	SASF and Municipality	12	8,2	8,2	97,3
	SASF and SPA	1	,7	,7	97,9
	SASF or Municipality	3	2,1	2,1	100,0
	Total	146	100,0	100,0	

As indicated at the table above, %13 of the survey participants have the opinion that municipal administration is successful at poverty alleviation and %2,1 of them choose Sevgi-Eli applications. In this sense, it has been found that a great majority of survey participants do not have enough knowledge about the poverty related institutions with %19,2. Special foundations and associations also declared as success samples by the applicants at the ratio of 3,5 percent at the study. Most of the survey participants have the opinion that in comparison to municipality, SPA and special organizations; SASF is determined as the most successful institution at struggling poverty. Besides, %8,2 of them choose cooperative activities of municipality and Foundation, %2,1 of them have the opinion that SASF and municipality are not different institutions in terms of success at combating poverty.

After all of these clarifications, it is seen that %34,2 of the surveyed households are comprised of members more than 5 people in Denizli case. %53,8 of the head of the households are mostly primary school graduates; %24,8 of the head households are illiterate. From the survey results, it is observed that most of the unemployed survey participants have only primary school degrees. %35 of the head members of the surveyed households are

unemployed. Besides, employed survey participants %49,3 of them are seasonal workers. Critically, %67,6 of head members and %65,5 of the total household budget demonstrate the lowest amount of monthly wage at the survey study. The last indicator about the households' profile is social security. It is seen that 19,2 percent of the head members are not under social security, and %53,4 of them use green card.

At the poverty institutions and related services, it is observed that %23,1 of the household have been using cash aid assistance of the Foundation for four year term. Those social assistance beneficiaries become a constant user of that type of aid. Foundation also provides non-cash assistances such as heating, education and nourishment but similar with Muğla case, most of the social aid beneficiaries evaluated those social assistances as insufficient. Critically, only one of the survey participant uses the employment creation activities of Foundation such as capacity generation and training courses.

Furthermore, %56,8 of the survey participants are the social assistance beneficiaries of 'Social, Culture and Education Affairs Department' (83 households) and %26,7 of them are the beneficiaries of Sevgi Eli institution. Similar with social assistances of Foundation, Denizli municipality also provides cash and non-cash assistance. %13,7 of the survey participants are cash aid beneficiaries and %80 of them evaluated that type of assistance as insufficient. Besides, municipal administration also provides nourishment, clothing and heating aid, and as similar with Muğla case, survey participants evaluated these types of social assistances as insufficient. However, most of the Sevgi-Eli Store clothing assistance users evaluated that type of assistance in a positive sense. Critically, again none of the household has used the employment creation activities of municipal administration.

In regard to the drawbacks of municipal administration at the alleviation of poverty; it can be stated that as similar with Muğla case, people do not have enough knowledge concerning poverty alleviation practices of municipal administration. Besides, participants have also declared their concerns about the justness at the social service provision of local administration stemming from the designation of the poor process and social assistance service delivery and %57,1 of the survey participants think that municipal administration cannot provide services according to the requirements.

To recapitulate, Denizli Municipality and Foundation have been mostly handling social affairs by means of material conditions of existence of the poor and maintenance of order and social cohesion, but at that point while beneficiaries of the local and central authorities

found those social services insufficient, they preferred Foundation in terms of their success at combating poverty. Survey participants declared the reasons behind municipal administration's unsucccess with the problems stemming from designation of the poor process, categorization of assistance and political concerns of local administration.

VI.4.Aydın Case

VI.4.I.General Profile

Table.6.4.1.Survey Participants

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Head	73	48,0	48,0	48,0
	Wife	61	40,1	40,1	88,2
	Daughter/Son	13	8,6	8,6	96,7
	Farther/Mother	5	3,3	3,3	100,0
	Total	152	100,0	100,0	

At Aydın Case, study has been applied to 152 household members at Ilıcabaşı, Orta, Ata, İstiklal, Osman Yozgatlı, and Kemer neighborhoods. From the findings above, it can be stated that %48 of the survey participants are the head members of the households, additionally as similar with Denizli and Muğla cases, head's occupational, educational background, his/ her monthly wage, social security conditions asked to the survey participants aside from head members. Different from the other cases, in Aydın province case study, %41,7 of the study population is comprised of households more than 5 people and %30 of those households have more than 3 children in educational training.

Table 6.4.2. Head Educational Background

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Illiterate	39	25,7	25,7	25,7
	Literate	12	7,9	7,9	33,6
	Primary School	84	55,3	55,3	88,8
	Middle-School	10	6,6	6,6	95,4
	High-School	6	3,9	3,9	99,3
	University	1	,7	,7	100,0
	Total	152	100,0	100,0	

As it is observed from the table above, %55,3 of the head members of the households are primary school graduates and %25,7 of them are illiterate. Furthermore, %43 of other survey participants except from the head members are primary school graduates, and %5,1 of them have middle school and %3,8 of them have high school degrees.

In this sense, approximately %57,6 of the head members who are unemployed have only primary school degrees.

Table 6.4.3. Head Employment Conditions

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Working	48	31,6	32,4	32,4
	Look for a Job/Unemployed	46	30,3	31,1	63,5
	Not Look for a job/Unemployed	35	23,0	23,6	87,2
	House Wife	12	7,9	8,1	95,3
	Retired	4	2,6	2,7	98,0
	Handicapped	1	,7	,7	98,6
	Seasonal Worker	2	1,3	1,4	100,0
	Total	148	97,4	100,0	
Missing	System	4	2,6		
Total		152	100,0		

From this finding, it can be clarified that %54,7 of the head members of the surveyed households are unemployed, %31 of them look for a job to integrate to the labor market, %23,6 of them have no interest at finding a job. Critically, women head households have 8 percent at the survey study in Aydin case. Additionally, %69,2 of the survey participants out of head members are housewives and only %2,6 of them are working and they have contributions to the household budget. In this respect, %21,4 of the head members are wage earners and %60,7 of them are seasonal workers. In this context, only two of survey participants aside from the head members are wage earners and self-employed workers.

Table 6.4.4. Head Monthly Wage

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0-500	115	75,7	75,7	75,7
	500-1000	32	21,1	21,1	96,7
	1000-1500	5	3,3	3,3	100,0
	Total	152	100,0	100,0	

From the illustrated the diagram %75,7 of the head members earn 0-500TL which is the lowest amount of pie in the survey study. Besides, only %34,4 of them have wages above that amount of income pie. %70,4 of the total household budget demonstrate the lowest amount of monthly wage in the survey study. As it was mentioned at the above part concerning the employment conditions of the members aside from the head members, it can be also observed that only %2,6 of them have been working for contributing to the household budget.

Table 6.4.5. Head Social Security Conditions

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not Under Social Security	28	18,4	18,4	18,4
	Social Security Institution	32	21,1	21,1	39,5
	Pension Fund	3	2,0	2,0	41,4
	SSI for Artisans and Self-employed	4	2,6	2,6	44,1
	Green Card	85	55,9	55,9	100,0
	Total	152	100,0	100,0	

From the data shown in the above table, it is seen that 18,4 percent of the head members are not under social security, and only %25,7 of them have social security. Besides, the highest amount is observed at green card users with %55,9 ratio. Furthermore, %54,9 of the survey participants aside from head members are also green card users and %25,6 of them are not under social security umbrella.

VI.4.2. Poverty Institutions and Social Assistances

Poverty related institutions *categorized social services* such as cash, kind and capacity generation or training services have been examined by the determinants of social assistance beneficiaries' numbers, their usage periods, and their opinions about those services sufficiency.

%13,8 of Aydin survey participants have been benefiting from cash aid assistance of SASF. Critically, %42,9 of them have been facilitating from that assistance for more than 5 years and %47,6 of them have just started to facilitate cash aid. It is seen that most of the case participants are the constant beneficiaries of Foundation's social assistance. In this sense, %52,4 of the social assistance users have facilitated cash assistance at 3 month intervals from Foundation and %38,1 of them used that cash assistance once a year. At that context, %95 of them found that social assistance insufficient and only %5 of the survey participants evaluated that assistance in a positive way.

Survey participants do not only benefit from cash assistance but also from kind assistances of SASF such as nourishment, education, heating, elderly-disabled and health assistance. %23,7 of them have been benefiting from *heating assistance*, and those survey participants 30,6 percent of them have been using that aid for more than one year and with the intervals of once in a year. Besides %11,8 of them have been facilitating *nourishment assistance*, and %66,7 of them have used it for more than one year and with the intervals of once in a year

(%55,6), %2,6 of the survey participants have facilitated from education aid and %1,3 of them have benefited from elderly and disabled assistance once a year. %56 of nourishment aid beneficiaries and %75 of heating beneficiaries evaluated those non-cash aids as insufficient.

Besides, municipal administration ‘Social, Culture and Education Affairs Department’ does not provide cash assistance to the needy. In this respect, the local authority only provides social assistance in kind. The great majority of people have facilitated from *heating assistance* with %63,8 (97 people) and %83,3 of them have started to use that aid for one and two year periods. At the second rank, %50 of the survey population (76 people) have been benefiting from *nourishment assistance* mostly with 3 month intervals and %59,7 of them have newly facilitated from that assistance. Besides, 21 people (%13,8) have been benefiting from Cook-House of local administration in each day. There are also education (%2,6), health (%0,7) and clothing (%0,7) assistance users who have been benefiting from those social assistances generally once a year. Lastly, in Aydin case under social assistances of municipality, 2 survey participants are the beneficiaries of capacity generation and training courses.

Municipal administration’s nourishment and heating users’ %84 of them; Cook-House users’ %50 of them also evaluated those services as insufficient. %5 of the heating users and %7 of the nourishment assistance users and %15 of Cook-House users found these services sufficient which can be evaluated as small amounts in comparison to the negative responses.

Table 6.4.6. Do you find municipal administration kind assistances sufficient?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	39	25,7	28,1	28,1
	No	100	65,8	71,9	100,0
	Total	139	91,4	100,0	
Missing	System	13	8,6		
Total		152	100,0		

From this finding, it can be stated that a majority of the survey participants found municipal administration assistances insufficient. Local authority’s social assistance insufficiency is explained by those clarifications:

“Local administration should designate the needy in an appropriate way, without making discrimination, municipality should make more household investigations”, “municipal administration generally provides 1 kg nourishment assistance by three month intervals and

10 packets of coal aid only in winter terms; but those assistances do not meet our needs”, “local authority should provide cash assistance and a poor salary should be provided for the needy”, “we need more educational assistance and scholarships for children; coal, health, clothing, and nourishment assistances should be increased”, “the social assistances should be made with taking into account the number of the people in a household”.

Briefly, Aydın SASF provides cash assistance to the survey participants for five years or more. However, %95 of the cash aid beneficiaries evaluated that assistance as insufficient. Foundation has also non-cash aid categories; %56 of nourishment aid beneficiaries’, %75 of heating aid beneficiaries’ evaluated those non-cash aids as insufficient. Besides, ‘Social, Culture and Education Affairs Department’ under Aydın municipal administration provides only kind assistances. Most of the survey participants have been facilitating from heating and nourishment assistances; and two of them have been benefiting from capacity generation courses. Critically, %80 of the applicants at the survey study evaluated those related assistances as insufficient.

VI.4.3. Evaluation of Aydın Municipal Administration at Combatting Poverty

At this part of the study similar with other cases different institutional contingency variables of municipal administration have been examined under those survey questions responses such as social assistance knowledge, sufficiency, and justness.

Table 6.4.7. Municipal Administration Social Assistance Knowledge

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	91	59,9	64,5	64,5
	No	50	32,9	35,5	100,0
	Total	141	92,8	100,0	
Missing	System	11	7,2		
Total		152	100,0		

According to results shown in the above table, 64,5 percent of the survey participants claimed that they have adequate knowledge concerning social assistance activities of municipal administrations. In that context, only %35,5 of the local citizens have claimed that they do not have enough knowledge.

Table 6.4.8. Reasons at Having No Knowledge concerning Municipal Administration Social Assistances

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		121	79,6	79,6	79,6
	Inadequate home investigation	1	,7	,7	80,3
	Only municipal application	1	,7	,7	80,9
	No enlightenment	22	14,5	14,5	95,4
	Unknown	3	2,0	2,0	97,4
	Only AY-BA	1	,7	,7	98,0
	No knowledge about Application	1	,7	,7	98,7
	Only from neighbours	1	,7	,7	99,3
					100,0
	Total	152	100,0	100,0	

From those clarifications, it can be clearly stated that while the majority of survey participants have stated that they have enough knowledge concerning the social assistances of local administrations, %14,5 of people declared that municipal administration does not provide the needed enlightenment process to the needy. However, in comparison to the other case studies in the study, it can be stated that Aydin Municipality is the most successful municipality in considering the positive responses towards the social assistance knowledge.

Table 6.4.9. Social Assistance Knowledge

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Municipality Brochures	23	15,1	16,4	16,4
	Newspaper and Magazines	2	1,3	1,4	17,9
	Local TV and Radio	3	2,0	2,1	20,0
	Relatives/Neighbours	67	44,1	47,9	67,9
	Mukhtars	29	19,1	20,7	88,6
	Other Citizens Take Assistance	16	10,5	11,4	100,0
	Total	140	92,1	100,0	
Missing	System	12	7,9		
Total		152	100,0		

As it is observed at the above table, %47,9 of the survey participants have knowledge about municipal administration's social assistances from relatives and neighbors, at the second rank %20,7 of them clarified that mukhtar enlightenes the needy, the highest ratio thirdly comes from municipality brochures with %16,4. At the study, only in Aydin case, survey participants gained knowledge about social assistances from municipal brochures.

Table 6.4.10. Is the Social Service Provision of Municipal Administration Just or Not?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	108	71,1	73,0	73,0
	No	40	26,3	27,0	100,0
	Total	148	97,4	100,0	
Missing	System	4	2,6		
Total		152	100,0		

From the results shown in the table, %73 of the survey participants have the opinion that municipal administration provides social assistances and services in a just manner. In this sense %27 of the applicants have a negative belief on that dimension and these people explained their reasons as follows: “Municipal administration provides assistance for their relatives”, “local authority delivers assistance to the households that have no trouble in economic terms, and municipality does not act in an equal way”, “local administration delivers assistance in local election terms, after those periods local officials do not come to the poor neighborhoods to learn and to examine our needs and demands”.

From these clarifications above, it can be stated negative opinions of the survey participants are mostly oriented towards the institutional framework of municipality at poverty struggle such as, the designation of the poor process and the political concerns of the municipal administrations.

Table 6.4.11. Does the municipal administration provide services according to requirements?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	79	52,0	54,9	54,9
	No	65	42,8	45,1	100,0
	Total	144	94,7	100,0	
Missing	System	8	5,3		
Total		152	100,0		

It is observed that %54,9 of the applicants have the opinion that municipality provides services according to the requirements of the impoverished households. However, from that finding, it can be also stated that %45,1 of the people, which is a high amount have negative opinion about the social assistance provision of the local authority, and these people declared their reasons as follows:

“Municipal administrations household examinations are not at a required level, municipality only provides nourishment assistance with three month intervals and heating (coal) assistance once a year, which are inadequate”. “Local authority provides assistances only in

Ramadan periods once a year, and local officials do not deliver these services by taking into account the requirements of the households”, “the provided social assistances quality in kind is not good”.

As it is seen from these clarifications, survey participants have negative opinions about the categorization of assistances, concerning their amounts, quantity and time intervals at distribution to the needy households.

Table 6.4.12. How do you evaluate the social assistances of SASF and SPA?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		12	7,9	7,9	7,9
	Not just	3	2,0	2,0	9,9
	Applied but not approved	2	1,3	1,3	11,2
	Only at Ramadan Period	1	,7	,7	11,8
	Unknown	40	26,3	26,3	38,2
	Sufficient	21	13,8	13,8	52,6
	Insufficient	70	46,1	46,1	98,7
	No assistance to the people have social security	1	,7	,7	99,3
	Take assistance from SASF that not apply	1	,7	,7	100,0
	Total	152	100,0	100,0	

From the table above, it is observed that %46,1 of the survey participants evaluated those institutions assistances as insufficient. Some of the survey participants declared their problems as; legal drawback blocking to take assistance if the needy applicant is under the security network, time intervals at the distribution of social assistances and rejection of social assistance applications by municipal administration. %26,3 of them do not have enough knowledge concerning those aids and only %13,8 of them evaluate these social assistances as sufficient.

Table 6.4.13. Do you think that municipality is successful at the alleviation of poverty?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	90	59,2	64,3	64,3
	No	50	32,9	35,7	100,0
	Total	140	92,1	100,0	
Missing	System	12	7,9		
Total		152	100,0		

As it is observed at the table above, %64,3 of the survey participants declared that municipality is successful at poverty alleviation, only %35,7 of the local citizens response to that question negatively with explaining their reasons as follows:

Problems stemming from the categorization of assistances, their amounts and time intervals: “Nourishment assistance does not meet our daily needs provided by three month intervals, coal assistance in the winter term once a year is insufficient”, “more capacity generation courses are required for the housewives”, “municipality should create employment opportunities”, “educational scholarships and financial assistances, nourishment and coal-wood aid should be increased”, “for the disabled more health and cash aids are required”.

Problems stemming from institutional structure: “The poor households should take the social assistance, social assistances should be given to the widows, the orphans, the disabled and the elderly (care and medicine services),” “municipal administration makes discriminations and it does not act in a just manner at the social assistance service provision”, “local authority does not designate the needy in an appropriate way”, “social assistance should be distributed with more household investigations”, and “local officials should behave kindly in the application process”, “each poor neighborhood has to take the same social assistance from the municipal administration”, “social assistance should be made systematically, regularly and in time”.

Table 6.4.14. Which institution is successful at the poverty struggle?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		10	6,6	6,6	6,6
	AY-BA-municipality	1	,7	,7	7,2
	Municipality	75	49,3	49,3	57,2
	Unknown	5	3,3	3,3	60,5
	No-institution	27	17,8	17,8	78,3
	SASF	16	10,5	10,5	89,5
	SASF and Municipality	13	8,6	8,6	98,0
	SASF or Municipality	3	2,0	2,0	100,0
	Total	152	100,0	100,0	

As indicated at the chart above, %49,3 of the survey participants declared that municipality is successful at poverty struggle and at the second rank %17,8 of them found any institution sufficient at combating poverty. Besides, %8,6 of the survey participants proposed a collaborative struggle with municipality and SASF and %2 of them have the opinion that SASF and municipality are not different institutions at combating poverty.

After all of those clarifications, at Aydin case, survey participants' %41,7 of them comprised of households more than 5 people and %30 of those households have more than 3 children at educational training. %25,7 of the survey participants are illiterate and %55,3 of the head members of the households are primary school graduates. Besides, %54,7 of the head members of the surveyed households are unemployed. In that context, employed head members %21,4 of them are wage earners and %60,7 of them are seasonal workers. Critically, %75 of head members budget and %70,4 of the total household budget demonstrate the lowest amount of monthly wage at the survey study. The last indicator about the household profile is social security. From the survey data, it is seen that 18,4 percent of the head members are not under social security, and %55,9 of them are green-card beneficiaries.

At the poverty institutions and related services, it is observed that %13,8 of the household have been using Foundation's cash aid assistance and %42,9 of them have been facilitating from that assistance for more than five years. However, %95 of the survey participants evaluated that type of assistance as insufficient. Those social assistance beneficiaries become a constant user of that type of aid. Foundation also provides non-cash assistances such as heating and nourishment assistances but similar with Muğla and Denizli cases, %75 of the heating assistant beneficiaries and %56 of the nourishment beneficiaries evaluated those social assistances as insufficient.

Besides, different from other case studies, Aydin municipal administration 'Social, Culture and Education Affairs Department' does not provide cash assistance to the needy; local authority only provides social assistance in kind. Municipality provides non-cash assistances such as heating, nourishment and Cook-House social assistances, and similar with the other case provinces, most of the survey participants evaluated those kinds of assistances as insufficient (Heating aid beneficiaries' %84 of them and %50 of the Cook-House beneficiaries gave negative responses about the sufficiency of kind aid.) Critically, only two of the household have been benefiting from capacity generation courses of municipal administration.

Furthermore, different from the other case provinces, it has been found that 64,5 percent of the survey participants claimed that they have the adequate knowledge concerning social assistance activities of Aydin Municipality, %16,4 of the survey participants declared that they gained the social assistance knowledge from the municipality brochures. Another differentiation is observed in the evaluation of the results concerning the municipal

administration's justness at the provision of social assistances. From the results it is seen that %73 of the survey participants have the opinion that municipal administration provides social assistances and services in a just manner. It is also observed that %54,9 of the applicants think that municipal administration provides services according to the requirements of the impoverished households.

Briefly, municipality has been mostly handling with social affairs by means of material conditions of existence of the poor with kind assistances, and also social cohesion and order with its diverse units for the vulnerable sides of the society. At the creation of the human capital only two of the survey participants have been benefiting from municipal administration's capacity generation courses. Critically, survey participants found municipal administration more successful (%64,3 of the survey participants declared that municipal administration is successful at poverty alleviation, only %35,7 of the local citizens response that question negatively) at the alleviation of poverty in comparison to the other poverty related institutions such as SASF and SPA.

VI.5.Comparision of Case Studies

VI.5.1.General Profile

Table:6.5.1.Survey Participants

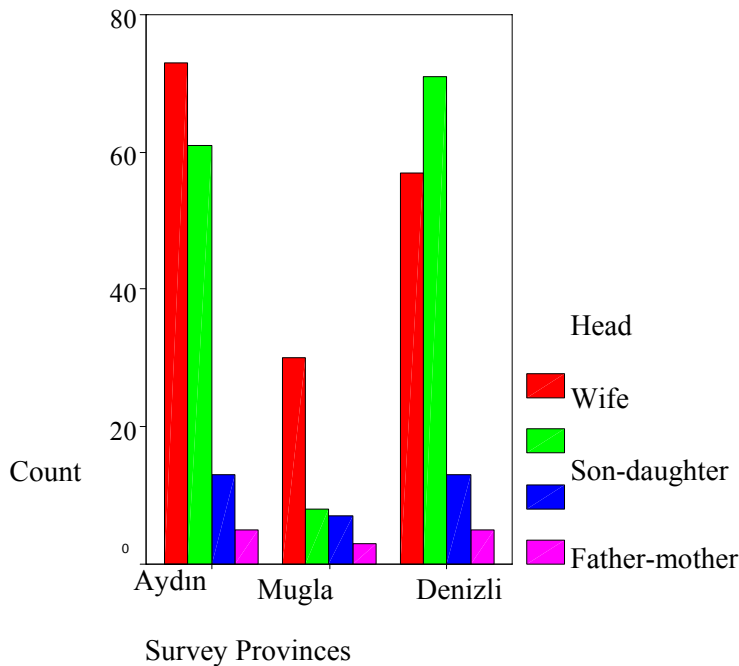
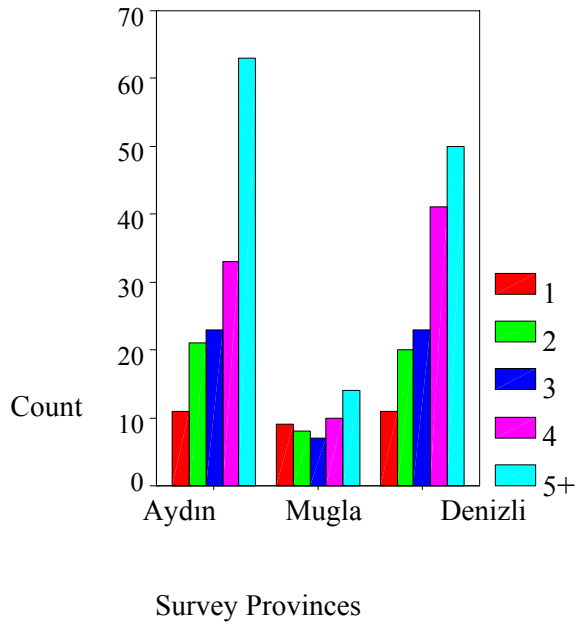


Table 6.5.2. Number of Households



As it is seen at the above charts, in Aydın and Muğla the survey study has been applied mostly to the head of the households, in Denizli case head applicants are at the second rank. Besides, in all case studies, households are generally composed of members more than five people.

Table 6.5.3. Head Educational Background

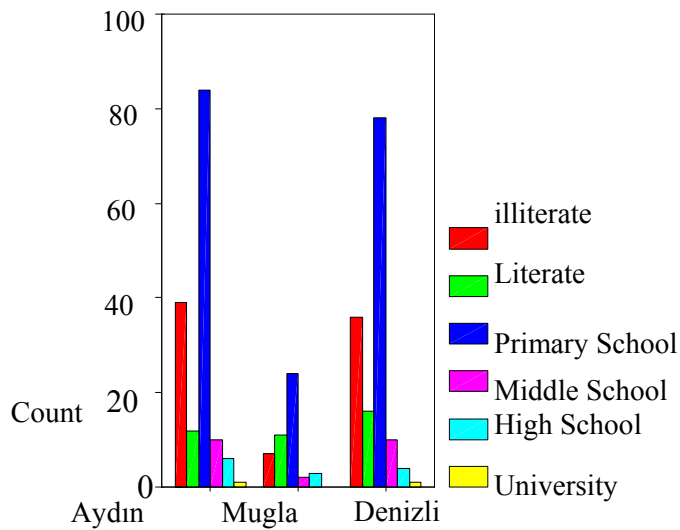
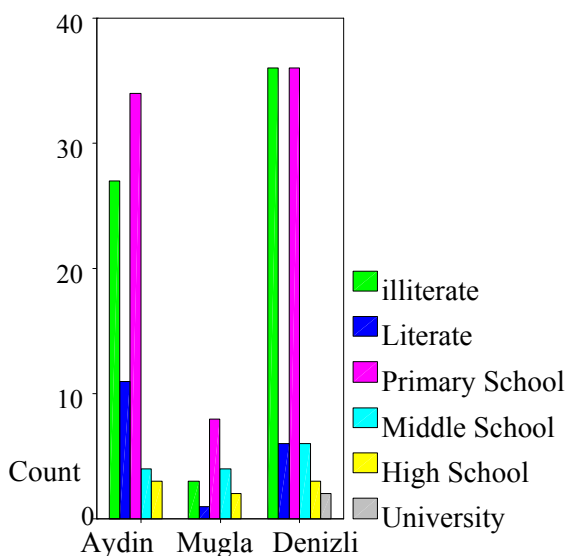


Table.6.5.4.Survey Participants Educational Background



As it is observed from the charts above, head members are mostly primary school graduates, and in Aydın and Denizli cases in the second rank, there are heads who are illiterate and in Muğla case the following highest ratio highlights the middle school graduates. In this sense, in all cases, survey participants aside from the head members are mostly primary school graduates.

Table.6.5.5.Head Employment Condition

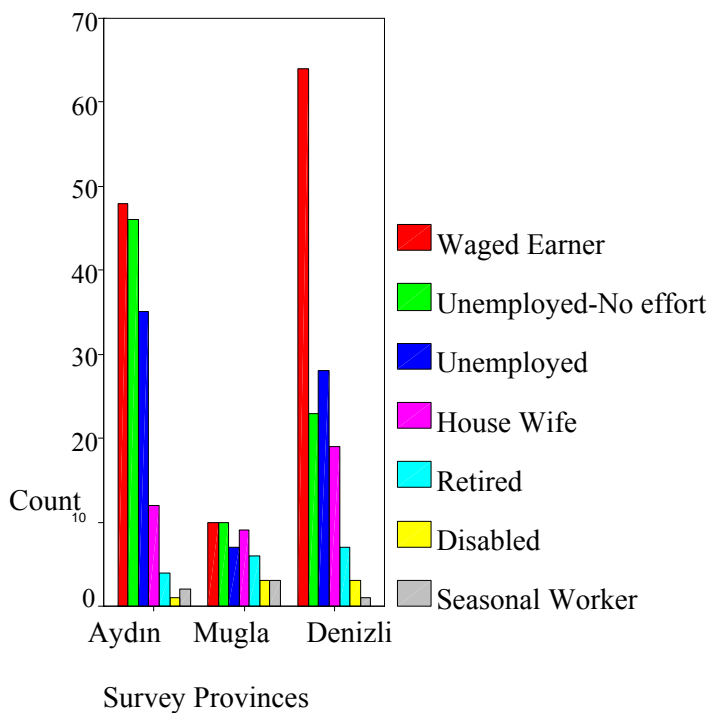
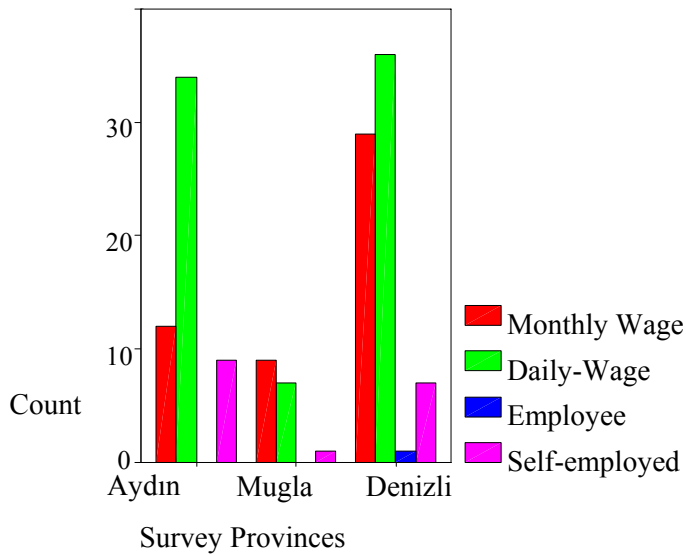


Table.6.5.6.Head Employment Condition2



From those findings, it can be clearly stated that in all cases the proportion of unemployed people surpasses wage earners numbers. Additionally, head housewives have considerably a high degree at all cases. At the second diagram, it is also indicated that in Aydın and Denizli provinces, head members generally earn daily wages from temporary seasonal works, but in Muğla case in the first rank, there is the monthly wage earners.

Table.6.5.7.Head Monthly Income

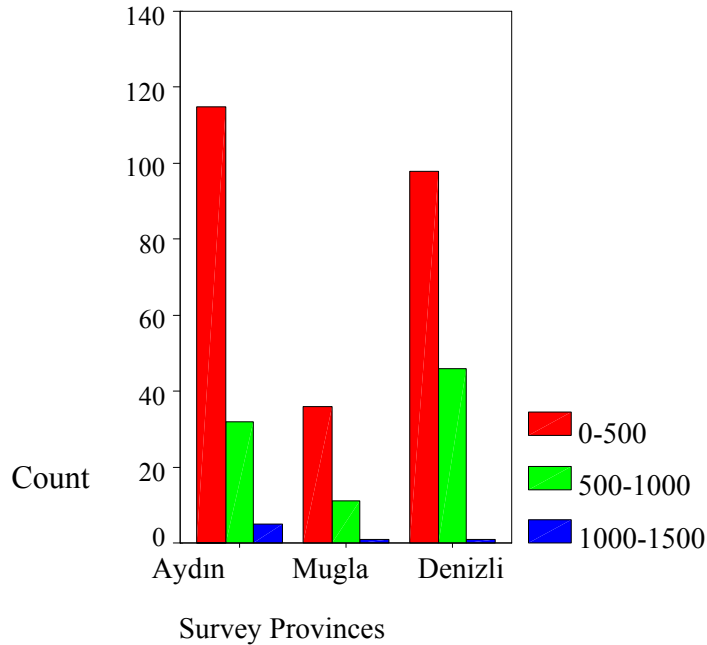
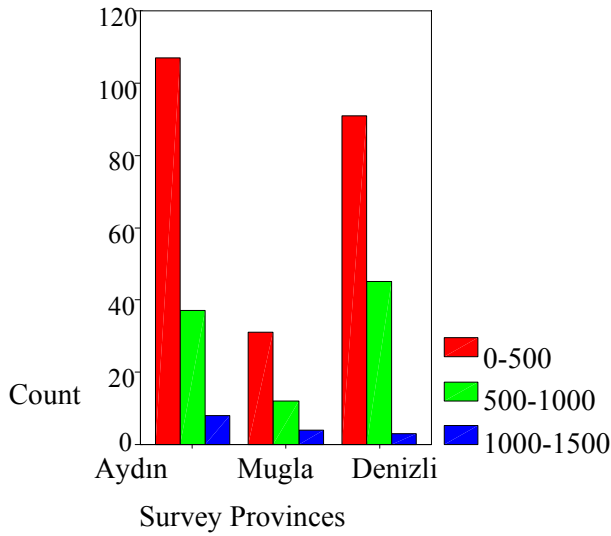


Table 6.5.8. Households Total Monthly Income



As illustrated at first diagram above, it is observed that most of the head members in all case provinces earn 0-500TL which is the lowest amount of pie at the survey study. The total amount of households' monthly wage also indicated the lowest amount of income pie. As it was mentioned before related with the employment conditions of the members aside from the head members, only 11 people have financial contributions to the household budget and 3 of them are wage earners.

Table 6.5.9. Head Social Security

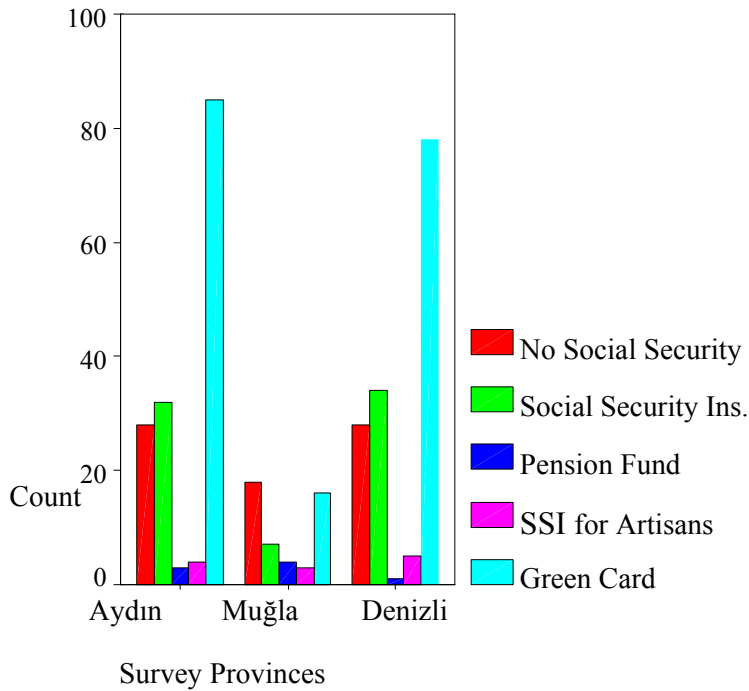
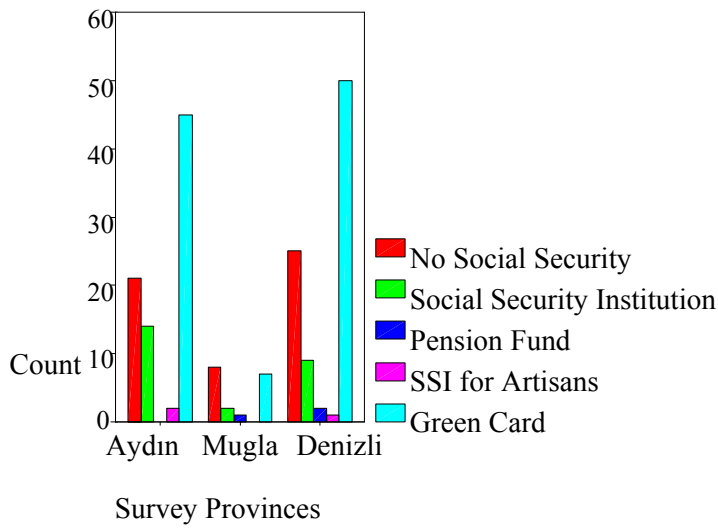


Table.6.5.10. Other Survey Participants Social Security



From the data shown in the table, it is seen that head members are mostly green card users, in Denizli and Aydın cases those ratios are higher than Muğla case. Moreover, in Muğla case, people who are not under any social security network surpass the ratio of green card users. Survey participants out of head members are generally at the same condition with the head members, in Aydın and Denizli cases number of green card users are at highest level and in Muğla case, people having no social security has the highest proportion in comparison to the people having social security.

VI.5.2. Poverty Related Institutions and Social Assistances

Table 6.5.11. Foundations Cash Aid Sufficiency

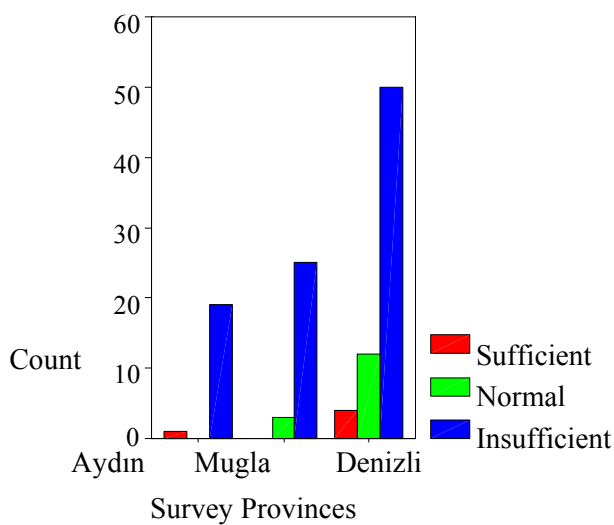


Table 6.5.12. Foundations' Cash Assistance Beneficiaries Numbers

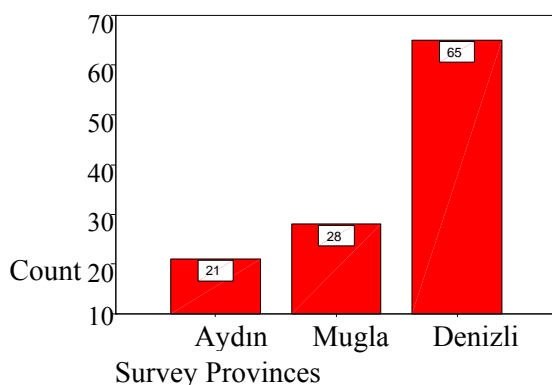


Table.6.5.13. Chi-Square Test of Foundation Cash Assistance

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6,591(a)	4	,159
Likelihood Ratio	10,265	4	,036
Linear-by-Linear Association	3,554	1	,059
N of Valid Cases	114		

a 5 cells (55,6%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,88.

As it is illustrated at the chart above, people who benefit from cash aid assistance of SASF in Denizli has the highest number of cash aid beneficiaries, but it is also indicated that people in all case provinces have negative opinion about the sufficiency of the cash aid delivered at three month intervals by Foundation and it is also evaluated at the each province data evaluation. However, chi-square test is not meaningful in making a clear examination concerning cash aid sufficiency.

Table 6.5.14. Foundations Heating Assistance Sufficiency

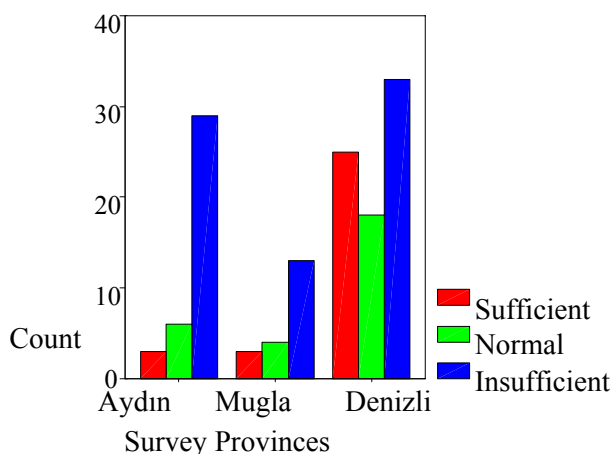


Table 6.5.15. Foundations Nourishment Assistance Sufficiency

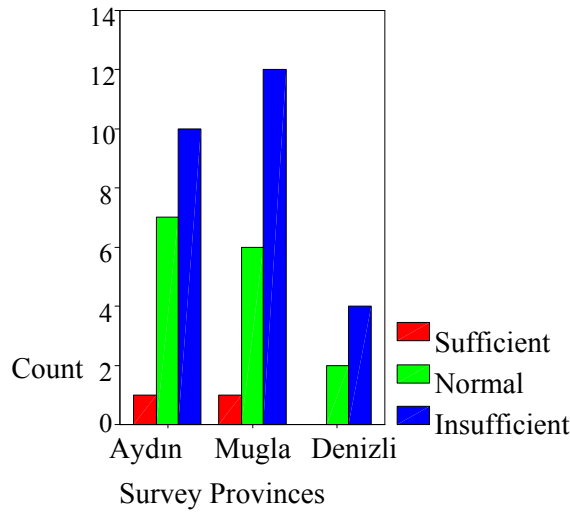


Table 6.5.16. Chi-Square Test of Heating Assistance of Foundations

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	13,521(a)	4	,009
Likelihood Ratio	14,463	4	,006
Linear-by-Linear Association	13,073	1	,000
N of Valid Cases	134		

a 2 cells (22,2%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4,18.

Table 6.5.17. Chi-Square Test of Nourishment Assistance of Foundations

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	,605(a)	4	,962
Likelihood Ratio	,881	4	,927
Linear-by-Linear Association	,401	1	,526
N of Valid Cases	43		

a 5 cells (55,6%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,28.

As it is observed at the chart, heating assistance and the nourishment assistances are the most generally applied assistances of SASF. According to the Chi-square Test, there is a meaningful relation for a better analysis of the heating assistance sufficiency. It can be stated that survey participants who have been using heating assistance once a year term found that aid insufficient. Additionally, in the second rank, there is the nourishment assistance; at each case province people who have been facilitating that assistance evaluated it as insufficient, but a comparative analysis with Pearson-Chi Square Test concerning the results of the nourishment assistance sufficiency comes out as not meaningful. It can be clearly stated that both cash and kind assistances of SASF in all case provinces are evaluated as insufficient by

survey participants. Besides, survey participants do not only facilitate from Foundation but also cash and non-cash assistances of municipal administrations; at the below charts and diagrams, those categorized assistances have been analysed by the comparison of all cases.

Table.6.5.18. Municipal Administrations Cash Assistance Beneficiaries Numbers

		Municipal Administration Cash Assistance	Total
		1,00	
Survey Province	Muğla	5	5
	Denizli	20	20
Total		25	25

Table 6.5.19. Municipal Administrations Heating Assistance Sufficiency

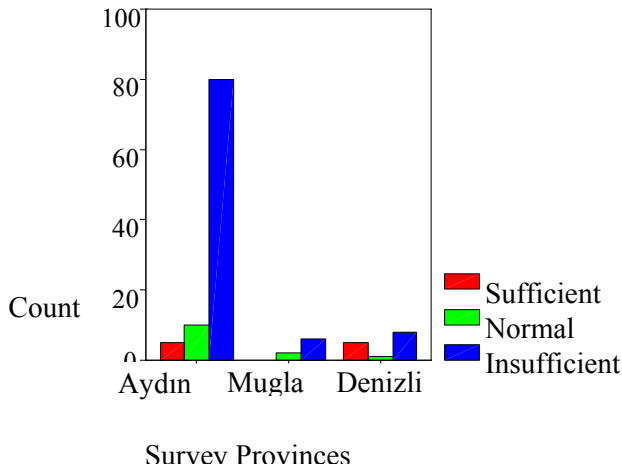


Table 6.5.20. Municipal Administrations' Cash Assistance Sufficiency

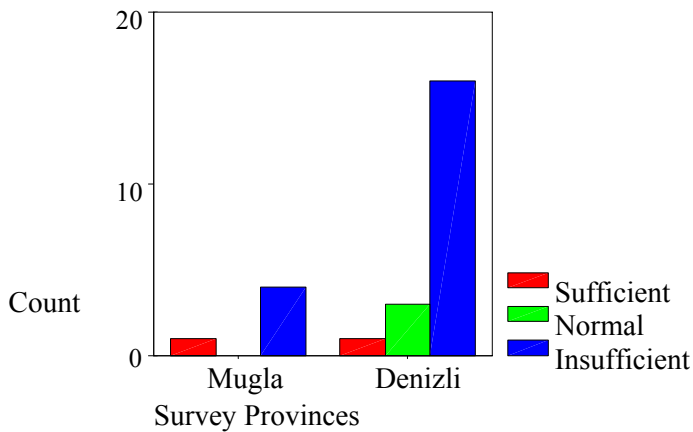


Table.6.5.21. Chi-Square Test of Municipal Administrations Cash Assistance Sufficiency

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1,875(a)	2	,392
Likelihood Ratio	2,231	2	,328
Linear-by-Linear Association	,239	1	,625
N of Valid Cases	25		

a 5 cells (83,3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,40.

Table 6.5.22. Chi-Square Test of Municipal Administrations Heating Assistance Sufficiency

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	16,732(a)	4	,002
Likelihood Ratio	11,977	4	,018
Linear-by-Linear Association	9,618	1	,002
N of Valid Cases	117		

a 4 cells (44,4%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is,68.

It is seen that at all case provinces the most generally applied assistance is the heating assistance and that related non-cash assistance of the municipal administrations has been found insufficient by the survey participants and there is a meaningful relation according to the Chi-square test. Additionally, while there is a majority of negative opinions about the sufficiency of the municipal administration cash assistance at two case provinces of Denizli and Muğla, there is no meaningful relation according to the Chi-square test in cash assistance.

Table 6.5.23. Crosstab: Municipal Administrations' Cash and Kind Aid Sufficiency

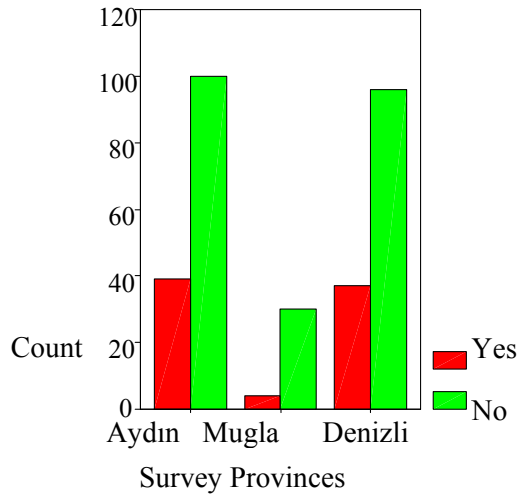
Survey Province	Do you find municipal administration cash and kind assistances sufficient?		Total
	Yes	No	
Aydın	39	100	139
Mugla	4	30	34
Denizli	37	96	133
Total	80	226	306

Table 6.5.24. Chi-Square Test of Municipal Administrations Cash and Kind Aid Sufficiency

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4,098(a)	2	,129
Likelihood Ratio	4,736	2	,094
Linear-by-Linear Association	,004	1	,953
N of Valid Cases	306		

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 8,89.

Table 6.5.25. Municipal Administrations Cash and Kind Aid Sufficiency



From the findings, it is observed that Chi-square test is not meaningful for case provinces evaluations concerning cash and kind assistance sufficiency. However, in the descriptive analysis, it can be also stated that in all cases, survey participants found the social service provision of municipal administrations insufficient. Even in Aydın case, where most of the participants give positive responses to the municipal administration success at combating poverty, survey participants evaluated cash and kind assistances as insufficient. Consequently, it can be stated that all case provinces' central and local administrations at the creation of human capital are insufficient in the capacity generation and training courses. At the analysis of the categorized social assistances, it is seen that most of the municipal administration provide material existence of the impoverished, and maintenance of order and social cohesion with cash and kind aids.

VI.5.3. Evaluation of Case Municipal Administrations at Combating Poverty

Table.6.5.26.Crosstab: Municipal Administration Social Assistance Knowledge

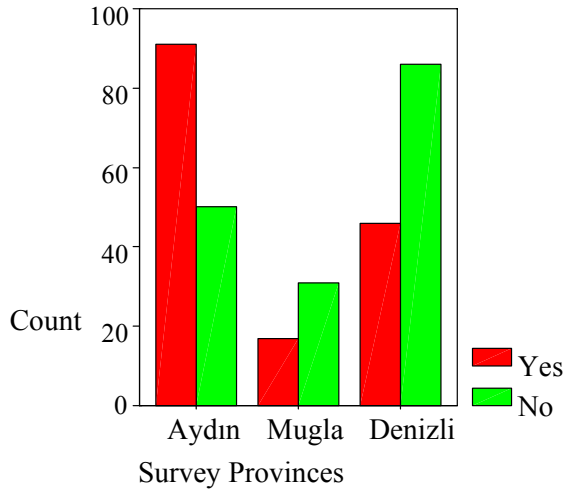
		Do you have adequate knowledge about municipal administration social assistances?		Total
Survey Province		Yes	No	
	Aydın	91	50	141
	Muğla	17	31	48
	Denizli	46	86	132
Total		154	167	321

Table.6.5.27. Chi-Square Test: Municipal Administration Social Assistance Knowledge

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	27,645(a)	2	,000
Likelihood Ratio	28,027	2	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	24,236	1	,000
N of Valid Cases	321		

a 0 cells (,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 23,03.

Table.6.5.28. Municipal Administration Social Assistance Knowledge



From the charts above in Denizli and Muğla cases, survey participants declared that they do not have enough knowledge concerning social assistances of municipal administration, only in Aydın case approximately %64 of the participants declared that they have the adequate municipal social service knowledge, it can be the demonstration of the good poverty enlightenment process of municipal administration of related Department of Social Affairs in Aydın case. Enlightenment process success can be counted as an institutional contingency variable of Aydın municipality.

Table 6.5.29.Crosstab: Municipal Administration Social Assistance Knowledge

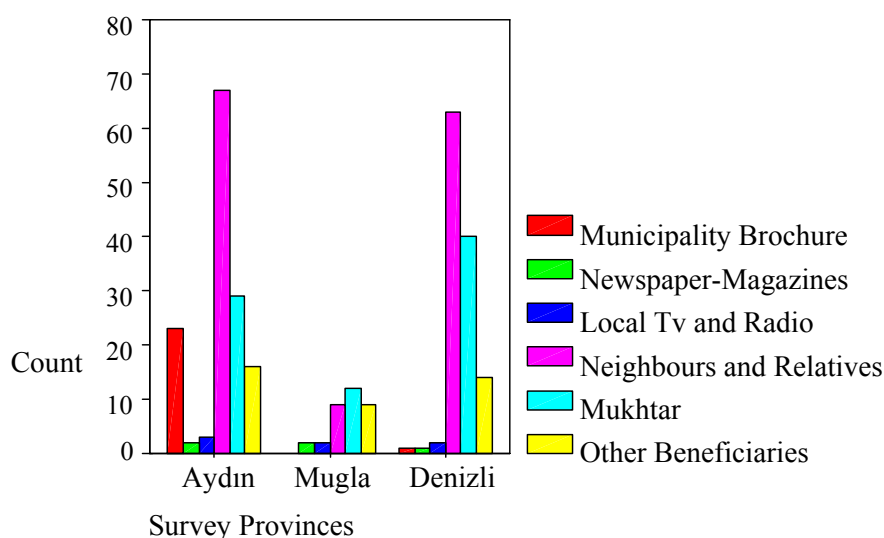
Count		Where do you take the information about municipal administration's social assistances?						Total
Survey Province	Municipality Brochures	News-paper and Magazines	Local TV and Radio	Relatives/ Neighbours	Mukhtars	Other Citizens Take Assistance		
Aydın	23	2	3	67	29	16	140	
Muğla	0	2	2	9	12	9	34	
Denizli	1	1	2	63	40	14	121	
Total	24	5	7	139	81	39	295	

Table 6.5.30.Chi-Square Test: Municipal Administration Social Assistance Knowledge

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	42,008(a)	10	,000
Likelihood Ratio	45,102	10	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	15,830	1	,000
N of Valid Cases	295		

a 8 cells (44,4%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,58.

Table 6.5.31. Municipal Administration Social Assistance Knowledge



As it is observed from the diagrams and charts above, in all cases in the first rank it is the neighbors and relatives and secondly, mukhtars make the enlightenment process concerning poverty related social assistances. Besides, different from Denizli and Muğla cases, in Aydın province at the third rank municipal brochures have been located at the information gaining process related with the provision of municipal social assistance.

Table 6.5.32.Crosstab: Municipal Administrations' Social Service Provision Justness

		Is Municipal Administration Social Service Provision Just ?		Total
		Yes	No	
Survey Province	Aydın	108	40	148
	Muğla	8	30	38
	Denizli	45	75	120
Total		161	145	306

Table 6.5.33.Chi-Square Test: Municipal Administrations' Social Service Provision Justness

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	50,782(a)	2	,000
Likelihood Ratio	52,756	2	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	35,090	1	,000
N of Valid Cases	306		

a 0 cells (,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 18,01.

According to the charts illustrated above, Aydın case participants again have a positive belief concerning municipal administration's service provision justness. However, in Denizli and Muğla cases most of the participants think that municipal administrations do not act in a just manner at the provision of social services. Aydın municipal administration's social service provision as an institutional contingency variable is evaluated positively in comparison to other case provinces.

Table.6.5.34. Municipal Administrations' Social Service Provision Justness

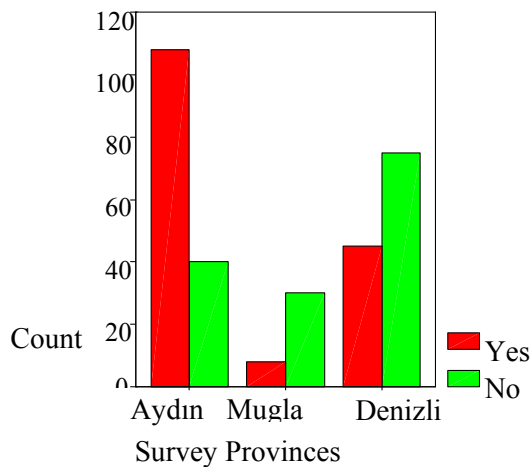


Table 6.5.35. Crosstab: Municipal Administrations Provision of Social Assistance

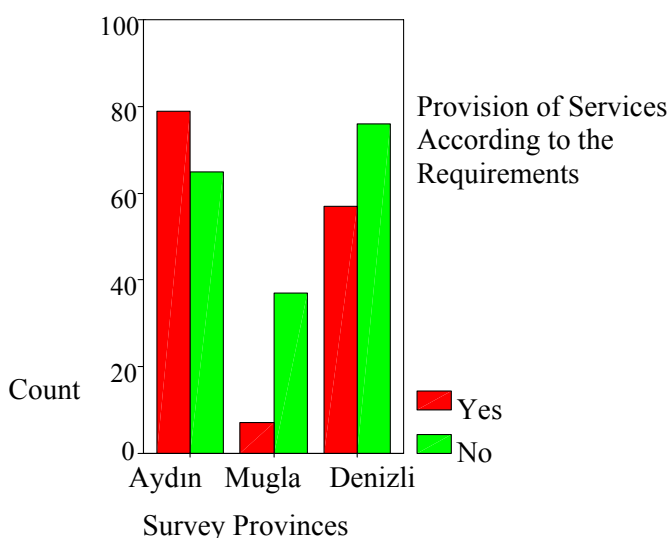
		Does the municipal administration provide services according to requirements?		Total
		Yes	No	
Survey Province	Aydın	79	65	144
	Mugla	7	37	44
	Denizli	57	76	133
Total		143	178	321

Table 6.5.36. Chi-Square Tests: Municipal Administrations Provision of Social Assistance

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	20,963(a)	2	,000
Likelihood Ratio	22,702	2	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	4,266	1	,039
N of Valid Cases	321		

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 19,60.

Table 6.5.37. Municipal Administrations Provision of Social Assistance



From those findings, it can be clearly stated that only in Aydın case, survey participants have the opinion that municipal administration provides services according to the needs' requirements but positive and negative responses to that question are close to each other. As mentioned before at the Aydın municipal administration institutional analysis, it is seen that 15 social commissions have been actively dealing with the designation of the poor and home investigations that it can be stated as the strength of local administration. At the Chi-square Test, it has been found that there is a meaningful relation between case provinces and that

requirement question. Furthermore, in Muğla and Denizli cases the majority of participants have responded to that question negatively.

Table.6.5.38 Crosstab: Municipalities Success at the Alleviation of Poverty

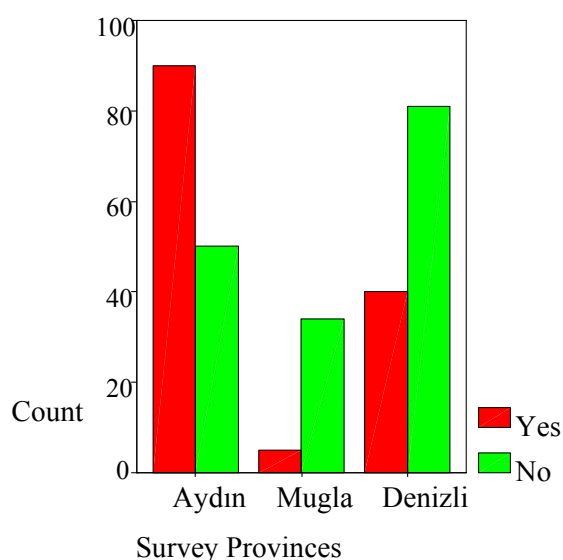
		Do you think that municipality is successful at the alleviation of poverty?		Total
		Yes	No	
Survey Provinces	Aydın	90	50	140
	Muğla	5	34	39
	Denizli	40	81	121
Total		135	165	300

Table 6.5.39. Chi-Square Test: Municipalities Success at the Alleviation of Poverty

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	44,329(a)	2	,000
Likelihood Ratio	46,950	2	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	26,631	1	,000
N of Valid Cases	300		

a 0 cells (,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 17,55.

Table 6.5.40. Municipalities Success at the Alleviation of Poverty



According to results shown in the table in Aydın case, survey participants found municipal administration successful at the alleviation of poverty. Besides, people who benefit from municipal kind assistances evaluated those initiatives positively concerning the provision of services according to the requirements in case of Aydın. However, in Denizli and Muğla cases, survey participants responded to that question as they think that municipal administrations are not successful at combating poverty.

Table .5.41.Which institution is successful at the poverty struggle?

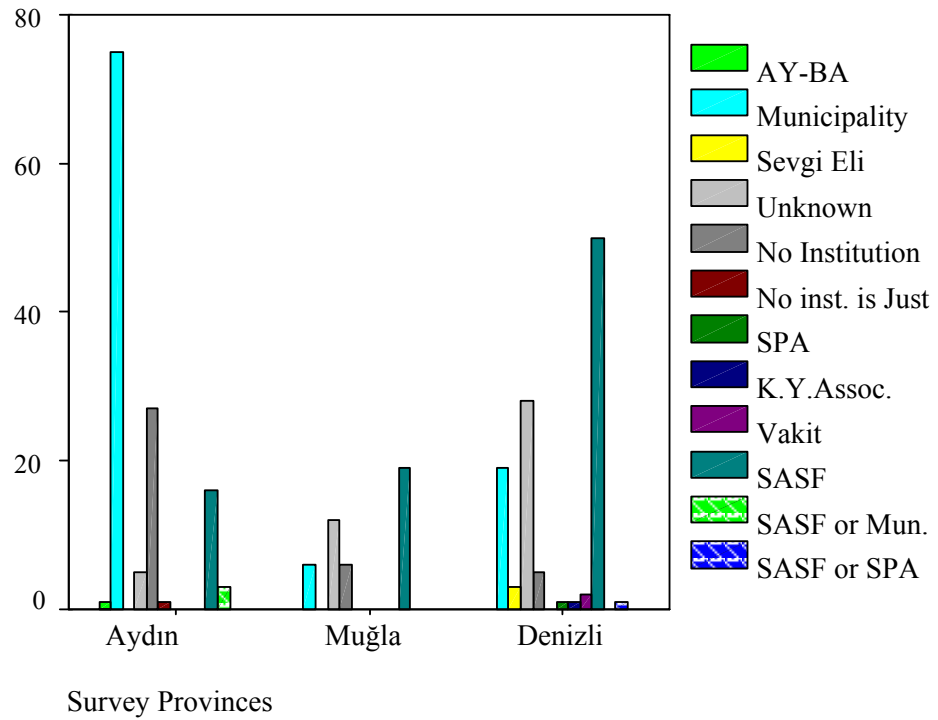


Table 6.5.42. Chi-Square Test: Which institution is successful at the poverty struggle?

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	127,265(a)	34	,000
Likelihood Ratio	142,140	34	,000
N of Valid Cases	346		

a 38 cells (70,4%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is ,14.

According to the diagram, it is illustrated that in Denizli case, participants have the opinion that SASF is successful and in the second rank, it is observed that people have no opinion about the poverty related institutions and thirdly, survey participants evaluated municipal administration as successful. Similar with Denizli case, participants in Muğla evaluated the successful poverty related institution as follows; SASF, unknown and municipal administration. Lastly, different from other two cases, in Aydın case, a majority of people evaluated municipal administration as the most successful institution at combating poverty and secondly they declared Foundation as successful.

From all of these findings, it can be stated that each local administration by their established units provide social assistances in kind or in cash. It has been found that the poor neighborhoods' citizens mostly facilitate from cash, nourishment and heating assistance of the Foundation and municipal administrations. However, even the beneficiaries declared that

those provided social assistances are insufficient. As it was understood from the declarations of the survey participants, there have been major problems at poverty struggle concerning home investigations before distribution, inadequate amounts of social assistances, fair delivery, enlightenment and continuation of social assistances provided by local government institutions that most of the survey participants found local based poverty struggle insufficient. Especially, municipal administrations have no institutionalized poverty alleviation processes that it leads to contingent local variation problems.

To recapitulate, by the help of the deep interview method and survey study at three case provinces, it is seen that Aydın RPP ‘Social Democrat’ municipal administration has strengths in comparison to other case municipalities at the alleviation of poverty. At the deep interview method’s decipheres, it is observed that at the institutional originalities Aydın municipality has 15 research groups for home investigations. Besides, Aydın municipal administration has expert staff employed at the Alzheimer Center. At the capacity generation activities in comparison to Muğla municipality, Aydın and Denizli Municipalities have been more dealing with human capital generation activities. All those findings have been gained from the deep interview method, to analyse the institutional framework (Service Providers at Poverty Alleviation) at poverty struggle. With the survey study, service beneficiaries’ opinions have also been taken, and it is seen that people evaluated Aydın municipal administration at combating poverty in a positive way, concerning the terms such as justness at the provision of social assistances, adequate enlightenment process at poverty assistances. Most of the survey participants declare that municipal administration provides services according to the requirements of the impoverished households in Aydın case. Muğla RPP municipal administration in comparison to other case municipal administration is weak in terms of application of the poor and the designation process; service provision and distribution activities; expert staff and capacity generation, training activities. Aydın AY-BA municipal administration network, which is an activated ‘social municipal program’ for social development, with the objective of rational, equal, and constant services improvement to enhance local citizens’ life is a good practice at poverty alleviation that evaluated social assistance as a citizenship right.

At the second step, in terms of categorization of assistances, Denizli JDP municipal administration is at the first side at the provision of cash and kind assistances to the impoverished neighborhoods. Aydın RPP municipal administration provides non-cash social assistances, because of the central government interferences to poverty related activities. Different from other municipal administrations, only Aydın Municipality has provided hot

meal service with its meal fabric and Cook-Houses, and with Alzheimer Center provides services towards the ill health citizens, *AY-BA* is the single sample by its legal consultancy service and 7 days 24 hours ambulance transportation service, free-subscriber and postponement of public debts, day-nursery homes. Aydın Municipality has strengths at the provision of services to the diverse needy groups with their varied social assistance categories.

Lastly, Aydın province has been confronted with challenges with central government that leads to delays and drawbacks at the provision of services to the impoverished. Denizli Municipality is more powerful because of its same party relations with central government. At all cases, it is observed that the mayors' initiatives mostly effected the social assistances provision that in all cases local staff evaluated mayors' role on poverty in a positive direction. Consequently, it is seen that in each case province, municipal administrations have different contingency variables that lead to local authority variation in policy and service delivery. Those origins of local variation at poverty struggle is sourced from local administrations' strong institutional units, political ties with central government (party relations), categorized social services, priorities of municipal mayors, established participatory platforms, and the city's own social, economic, and demographic characteristics'. It can be stated that those different originalities cannot be removed easily that it can be clearly stated that local administrations cannot provide generalized and systematic solutions to the poverty problem.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

By the 1980s onwards, with neo-liberal policies, the world has witnessed a transformation process associated with the drastic changes in social, political, administrative and economic spheres. At that socio-economic environment, *poverty*, as a global problem occupies the first place at developing and developed nations' political agendas. Poverty reduction, elimination, and mitigation become the leading agendas of policy-makers because of the aggravating dynamic of poverty. As it was mentioned at the theory base of the study, thesis has settling on the criticism of neo- liberal theories on poverty and its alleviation. At that point, Harvey (2005: 64-67) determined neo-liberal theory with those words: "Neo-liberal theory holds that the elimination of poverty can be best secured through free markets and free trade". Kotz (2000: 1-2) also added that:

A largely unregulated capitalist system (a free market economy) is assumed to embody the ideal of free individual choice and to achieve optimum economic performance with respect to efficiency, economic growth, technical progress, and distributional justice.

Besides, that view perceives the poverty problem as the source of individuals caused from individual deficiencies (lack of human capital). In that context, social aids and assistances are perceived as social policy practices which let the poor's dependency and diminish the labor force participation trend that according to that view, the impoverished should be integrated to workforce (Room, 1990; Katz, 1992: 548-553). However, under that theoretical background, poverty alleviation cannot be achieved by the recommended policies of neo-liberalism such as cutbacks in social expenses, abolishing social safety nets and diminishing role of social security institutions. Those policies enable the rise at poverty statistics with widening the gap between income groups. By those policies, not only the number of unemployed but also the number of the working poor rises in a considerable degree and those related policies harden the livelihoods of the impoverished and their escape from poverty circle. Social exclusion comes out as an influential component of new poverty, in addition to income based insufficiencies; relative poverty conceptualizations' social

dynamics such as cultural and political explanations are integrated to the ‘new poverty’ formulation.

Under the thesis study, concerning poverty and poverty alleviation, the term covering from the 1980s to 1990s onwards have been analyzed by First (economic-financial liberation wave) and Second Generation Structural Reforms (political and administrative liberation wave) of the Bretton Woods’ institutions consistent with neo-liberalism. In that context, SAPs mostly defined as First Generation Structural Reforms wave targeted towards reduction of responsibility and functioning area of state, were prescribed by the IMF and WB as conditions for loans and repayment. However, after the end of the decade, it was observed that poverty rates of SAPs applied countries have risen at a remarkable degree (İnsel, 2001: 62). At that point, Ersoy and Şengül (2003: 1) stated that:

It is not realistic to expect solutions to the poverty problem from the multi-nationals without giving up the policies that create poverty. It is obvious that, this kind of agenda could not be sufficient in understanding poverty problem and producing solutions towards poverty.

Minimal state intervention hardened the condition of the vulnerable individuals and groups livelihoods, particularly living at developing nations (Chossudousky, 1999: 15-16). Poverty problem comes out as the most influential problem of the developing and developed nations. Turkey, as a developing country is also affected from the deteriorative effects of that socio-economic transformation process. Additionally, at the other side, poverty transformed negatively at the urban fields. Urban areas are now more exposed to risks, less protected by national equalization schemes, are facing more risk of limited access to employment opportunities and income, inadequate and insecure housing and services, violent and unhealthy environments, little or no social protection mechanisms, and limited access to adequate health and educational opportunities (WB, 2006). Urban poverty nature and its context are changed and a ‘new urban poverty’ conceptualization has emerged at international and national authorities policy programs; now poverty does not manifest itself in economic terms, but also in social exclusion, social discrimination, vulnerability concerns.

By the 1990s onwards, Second Generation Structural Reforms defined as the advanced stage of neo-liberal state project came out and a shift occurred at the policy focus of key Bretton Woods institutions (Öniş and Şenses, 2003: 14). Poverty reduction is started to be determined as an objective of development assistance compatible with the enabling state approach. WDR 2000, Attacking Poverty Report is a reflection of that new transformation process, with its determination of an effective ‘Poverty Reduction Strategy’ comprises three

dimensions which complement each other for attacking poverty in three ways, such as promoting opportunity, facilitating empowerment, and enhancing security. Additionally, the Report pays attention to the ensuring good quality in public service by good governance, participation of poor people in decision making processes, and promoting decentralization. It is seen that with the notion of enabling state, a new administrative model suggested as '*governance*'; and participation, decentralization, localization, accountability, civic engagement, transparency principles entered into the poverty alleviation discourse; mainly lead to the transition of lots of responsibilities (concerning also poverty) to local administrations.

Local authorities have attributed new responsibilities at poverty related issues as policy makers at combating urban poverty under the neo-liberal logic. Local based decentralized poverty struggle has started to be highlighted by multi-national authorities around the terms of effective, efficient public service delivery, participation, accountability, responsive local administrations, and representation of vulnerable sides. Local administrations gained importance at the welfare provision services in the improvement of the well-being of city dwellers and state powers transferred downwards to local levels and local state now confronted with lots of social responsibilities on to struggle with poverty (Brenner, 1999: 442). Critically, in addition to financial, technical and administrative constraints of local administrations, a shift is also occurred at urban politics that affecting the provision of local welfare services because of the rise at the promotion of economic competitiveness at the local scale. Local authorities have found themselves at such a competitive urban environment where it is harder to combat with poverty because at urban politics it signals a decline in the welfarist conception of local government and the rising influence of the market choice concept (Pickvance and Preteceille, 1991). Consequently, as it is seen from the clarifications while local authorities come out as the influential actors in the urban politics on the struggle with new urban poverty at the improvement of their well-being; at the other side they have been integrated to a urban competition to attract more pie from the capital accumulation process, creating tension at the provision of welfare services to the vulnerable side of the society.

In this general framework, this thesis assumption is rejecting the assertion of dominant global expression on local administrations, that at dealing with poverty, local authorities would be more effective, efficient and can generate more productive solutions than central government. Poverty alleviation problem which cannot be solved by central government policies is diverted to local administrations fragmented policies.

Within the context of the study, at the national context, it is observed that at the recent JDP government party politics concerning poverty alleviation; local administrations, especially municipalities have attributed lots of responsibilities at combating poverty compatible with the view of neo-liberal paradigm of poverty. By case studies, urban poverty and urban poverty alleviation has been examined in detail. Local policy initiatives of local administrations in comparison with central government institutions have been searched by taking both local officials (social service providers) and the impoverished (social service beneficiaries) opinions concerning poverty struggle.

At research study, it has been found that while Muğla, Aydın and Denizli case provinces, demonstrate approximately the same peculiarities, like locating at the same region, having no big variations at the demographic rates, climate conditions and sharing the same Regional Index that forming TR32 Code; local administrations of those cases cannot produce systematic, standardized, equal and general poverty alleviation policies and services because of the inherent nature of local government tied to contingent local variation where local contingency affects how social mechanisms operate in practice.

Local authority variation is built into the very nature of societies and their social mechanisms; social processes are unevenly developed in themselves.²¹¹ At that point, there is three-stage of hierarchy that local space makes a difference to social processes related with poverty alleviation. First two components of this hierarchy are settling on the distinction between contingent and necessary relations.

1. 'Contingent local variation' (where spatial contingency affects how social mechanisms operate in practice).
2. 'Causal local variation', (where the social mechanisms themselves are locally derived).
3. 'Locality effects' could occur (where a bundle of complementary and locally derived processes and outcomes produce some sort of local social system) (Duncan and Goodwin, 1988: 61).

By the help of the deep-interview method and survey study at three GEKA provinces, it is seen that each case province local administrations have different policy applications at combating poverty tied to spatial contingency. Within the context of the study, those

²¹¹ This is particularly true of capitalism, for uneven development is a structurally based feature of its economic and social functioning, and in a capitalist world this will be the prime determinant of geographies at every scale, local as well as global. For details, see, Duncan and Goodwin, 1988: 61.

contingency variables have been examined under the categories of municipalities' institutional formation, categorized social services and local-central government relations.

In Denizli, JDP municipal administration has an advantage side because of their central government based political relations. Local-central relational based contingency variable has been used positively by Denizli Municipality at the provision of social assistances. Besides, priorities of the mayor are compatible with the social assistance initiatives of the municipal administration Department mainly in financial terms. Local staff also declared their decentralized base constraint concerning cash assistance, but in comparison of three case municipal administrations, Denizli municipal administration is the only local authority that provides the highest rate of cash assistance to the vulnerable neighborhoods that lead to variation in concerning the categorized social assistances at poverty struggle.

At the institutional contingency variables, it is seen that they have different established units such as Sevgi Eli, Disabled Unit, Information and Children Centers. Those established units that have been founded under municipality do not demonstrate similarity at other provinces that led contingent local variation at poverty alleviation practices to the vulnerable sections of the society. Denizli '*Disabled Coordination Center*' is the only formation among those provinces wholly activated towards the disabled. There have been efforts for the disabled for their integration to the workforce. Each municipal administration establishes different units for different vulnerable sections of the society. In that context, municipal administrations should designate 'the poor' in their institutional programs at combating poverty. A poverty risk map should be formulated before the application of social assistance programs and services.

At the interview deciphers, it is seen that those established units also create inner variations because of their strength according to each other. They originate different practices and initiatives that have no standardization in each municipal administration. It can be stated that those established units create local variations at the social service provision and delivery not only among other municipal administrations, but also at the inner institutional framework of local administration. A comprehensive framework to engage the whole vulnerable sides have not been formulated at each province local institutional formation. Fragmented type of poverty alleviation practices have been observed at each case province of GEKA. Besides, concerning the institutional originalities, Denizli Municipality women working group has been dealing with the designation of the poor process and engaging the impoverished to their arranged programs with their pilot zone activities. Denizli JDP municipal administration

related with cooperation with other institutions and implemented common projects, have strong ties with NGOs at combating poverty and it is observed at the Sevgi-Eli poverty alleviation practices. Sevgi-Eli formation financial budget has been supported by donations from civil society and municipal administration. JDP attributes moral duties to the society as collective responsibility framework rather than social policy right-based responsibilities. In accordance with Liberal-Conservative approach, JDP municipal administration paves the way for the empowerment of civil institutions to maintain organic solidarity without referring citizenship and social rights at combating poverty.

Categorized social assistance services of Denizli Municipality are diverse in comparison to Muğla and Aydın municipalities. Cash assistance has been distributed to the vulnerable sides of the society designated by the social commission which has not been provided in Aydın case; and Denizli municipal administration cash aid beneficiaries' numbers are higher than Muğla case. Besides, educational financial assistance amounts and the number of the beneficiaries are also higher than the other case provinces' municipal administrations. It is seen that at the applied social services, there have been differentiations in each case province.

Furthermore, at the thesis study not only the social assistance providers' views but also social assistance beneficiaries' opinions have been taken about poverty alleviation practices. At that point, while local officials declared the application process, provided social assistances, amounts of cash, nourishment, heating, health and house maintenance assistances, and time intervals; survey participants emphasized the drawbacks that they face with at the provision of social assistance such as; inadequate amounts of social assistances, their long-time intervals, non-categorized services to the children, the disabled and the elderly citizens, insufficient home investigations at the designation of the poor and inadequate capacity generation and training courses, insufficient enlightenment process concerning social assistances, unjust provision of social assistances/ discrimination. At the survey study, it is observed that both cash and non-cash beneficiaries (cloth, heat, and nourishment) think that those social assistances are insufficient.

In Denizli case, the needy are also facilitated from SASF as a centralized poverty related institution. Cash assistance beneficiaries of Foundation become constant users of that service. However, those survey participants also evaluated that kind of assistance as insufficient, like the non-cash (nourishment and heat assistances) users of Foundation. In comparison of two poverty institutions in Denizli, it is seen that Foundation has advantageous

sides to Denizli municipal administration at the designation of the poor with its SOY-BIS program that eases the application process mainly for the disabled and the elderly. Additionally, 'Trustee Committee' rapid decision-making process also facilitates the provision of social assistances to the needy. At the research study, it has been also found that same assistance services have been provided by both local and central government institutions and some people become dependents to those institutions. Finally, at both institutions capacity generation activities to the needy are insufficient at the creation of human capital. It can be stated that while Foundation has seemed to have advantageous sides to the municipal administration, that central based poverty institution have also institutional problems at combating poverty such as bad behavior of local officials at the application process, bad quality of social assistances, unjust social service provision and insufficient amounts of social assistances. From the survey results, it is seen that while Denizli municipal administration has different contingency variables at combating poverty in terms of categorized social assistances, institutional originalities and local-central based relations, most of the survey participants declared their opinions as insufficiency of municipal administration at poverty struggle. It can be clearly stated that Denizli Municipality as to the Cockburn's (1977) typology generally dealing with social and welfare support services by cash and kind assistances but the main target is not reproduction of labor power through collective consumption but the provision of maintenance of order and social cohesion by the help of those social assistances. At the study, it is seen that for the generation of human capital, Denizli Municipality has applied fragmented practices and activities for diverse groups.

As a second case study in Muğla municipality, from the interview deciphers of local officials, it is seen that contingent local variation is stemmed from the province's socio-economic, demographic and geographical conditions. Local delegates declared that at the central district, urban poverty is not the main problem because of the own originalities of province. In that context, poverty related services (*categorized social assistances*) of municipality have not been varied according the vulnerable sections of the society. Women Solidarity Center is the only established tied unit to municipal administration aside from 'Social, Education and Culture Department' having efforts for the needy citizens and students mostly in financial terms. From the interview deciphers, it is seen that a limited number of people have been facilitating from cash and kind assistances of municipality. Critically, Social Department tied the condition to facilitate from nourishment and heat assistance to the cash assistance. At that point, people who gained the chance to facilitate cash assistance can use other social service categories. Besides, Departmental institutional

formation is the other contingency variable of that municipal administration because it is the only Department among other case provinces municipal administrations that engage mostly with cultural affairs rather than social assistances. In that context, it can be clearly stated that while at each case province there is same established Department, their responsible areas differ at each municipal administration's institutional formation that lead to contingent local variation.

At the institutional framework, municipality has arranged lots of branch courses but their prior target is not engaging the poor to those capacity generation courses. Besides, as an institutional contingency variable, different from other case municipalities, municipal administration originates a chart at the determination of the beneficiaries of educational financial assistance. Another contingency variable concerning designation process can be demonstrated as Municipal Police Department which is responsible for home visits and later report it to the related Social, Education and Cultural Affairs Department. At central-local based relations, local officials do not declare any concerns that restrict their poverty alleviation practices and initiatives.

Besides, in Muğla case by the help of the survey study, social assistance beneficiaries' opinions have also been taken about poverty alleviation practices. At that point, while local officials declared the application process, provided social assistances, amounts, and time intervals; at their implementation process survey participants emphasized the drawbacks that they face with such as; inadequate amounts of social assistances (cash and kind), their long-time intervals, not categorized services to the children, the disabled and the elderly citizens, insufficient home investigations at the designation of the poor and requirements of the needy and political concerns of local authority at local elections, insufficient capacity generation and training activities, inadequate enlightenment process of municipality concerning social assistances, discrimination at the designation of the poor process and social assistance service delivery. At the survey study, it is seen that even the beneficiaries of those social assistances evaluated poverty related practices in negative terms. It can be stated that there is no institutionalization at social assistances and fragmented type of struggle at combating poverty creates problems for social assistance beneficiaries. And, similar with Denizli case, SASF provides cash assistance to the survey participants generally for more than five year and kind assistances with nourishment and heating assistances, but similar with cash aid beneficiaries participants evaluated those assistances as insufficient.

At the comparison of Muğla Municipality and SASF, it is seen that at the designation of the poor process, Foundation has two Social Commissions to reach more vulnerable people at the urban level. At the categorization of assistances, Foundation has varied categories than the municipal administration such as house maintenance, sheltering, cash, education, nourishment, health and lastly project aids. Survey participants found Foundation more successful than municipal administration at combating poverty. However, survey participants also clarified the negative sides of the Foundation at poverty struggle such as unjust social assistance provision, inadequate home investigations, and insufficient amounts of social assistances. Finally, it has been stated that in Muğla case municipal administration has different contingency variables that differ it from other municipal administrations' poverty related practices.

It can be clearly stated that Muğla Municipality as to the Cockburn's (1977) typology generally dealing with social and welfare support services by limited cash and kind assistances but again the main target is not reproduction of labor power through collective consumption but the provision of maintenance of order and social cohesion by the help of those social assistances. Different from other municipalities, Muğla Municipality have more cultural activities for local citizens, but the priority is not given to the impoverished cultural conditions of existence. Critically, Muğla Municipality does not give importance to the capacity generation and training courses for the provision of investment in human capital.

At last case province Aydın, municipal administration with a variety of terms such as categorization of assistances and institutional formation of the municipality has more advantageous sides than the other case provinces' municipalities. At the institutional framework, the designation of the poor process of municipality has strengths with its established 15 social commissions. Besides, Aydın municipal administration has varied category of services provided by AY-BA, Meal Fabric, Sevgi Rest House and Alzheimer Center with those listed services; 7 days 24 hours ambulance transportation service, Home Assistance Service (especially for elderly and ill citizens), Children Culture Center, Legal Consultancy Service, Collective Marriage and Circumstance Ceremony, Hot Meal Service, Facilities for Disabled Citizens, Employment Possibilities for Housewives with hand-crafts, Hair-dresser service at home. At the service provision, the needy who have no chance for coming to facilitate from meal service can take meals with tucker bags by municipal social staff. Aydın Municipality makes activities of home-assistance delivery especially for ill health and elderly citizens. A different contingency variable of the municipality is stemmed from the participation of the poor process with public days arranged in each week.

Moreover, categorized services are also different in comparison to other case provinces such as the social assistances of Cook Houses, Rest House, Women Sheltering House and Social Assistance Center.

AY-BA can be demonstrated as a successful practice at combating poverty in comparison to other municipal social affairs applications. That related network declared their adopted poverty based issues and assistances as an activated 'social municipal program' for social development, with the objective of rational, equal, and constant services improvement to enhance local citizens' life. Social assistance to the needy citizens and groups is declared as not only a responsibility but also a citizenship right for AY-BA. However, different from the other municipalities because of the central government based constraints, Aydin Municipality only provides non-cash assistance services. At the interviews, it is seen that most of the local officials hesitate from declaring their own opinions and concerns about poverty alleviation practices. Party relations with central government create handicaps at the implementation of poverty related affairs.

In that context, from the survey study data it has been found that those social assistance beneficiaries of the Aydin municipal administration evaluated poverty related struggle as successful, but while they have positive opinions concerning local authority, survey participants evaluated non-cash assistances (heating, nourishment assistances) as insufficient. Besides, social assistance beneficiaries of the municipality evaluated the drawbacks that they confronted with social service provision as; insufficient home investigations, only non-cash aid provision and their inadequate amount of pies with not considering the number of the people at the household. However, different from the other case provinces, most of the survey participants evaluated municipal administration at social assistance distribution as just, and their enlightenment process as adequate.

In Aydin SASF, same central government related constraint also seen at the officials attitude at sharing the data for the research study, too much bureaucratic burden has been applied at taking the related data concerning the categorized services and beneficiaries numbers. In comparison with municipal administration and Foundation, it has been found that Foundation has more advantageous sides at the arrangement of capacity generation and training courses for the vulnerable. Lastly, at the categorized services, similar services have been applied with municipal administrations aside from catastrophe and project assistances. At that point, even the constant beneficiaries of the survey participants are evaluated cash and non-cash assistances of Foundation as insufficient and they listed the confronted

problems as unjust social assistance provision, insufficient amount of social services, only in Ramadan period social assistance distribution. It can be stated that Aydın Municipality has advantageous sides at institutional framework and categorized services but it has been also found that municipal administration has constraints at their party relations with central government that creating challenges at the provision of social assistances and services.

It can be clearly stated that Aydın Municipality as to the Cockburn's (1977) typology generally dealing with social and welfare support services by only kind assistances but again the main target is not reproduction of labor power through collective consumption but the provision of maintenance of order and social cohesion by the help of those social assistances. Besides, Aydın Municipality does not have much practices towards human capital by capacity generation and training courses. Critically, different from other case municipalities, survey participants evaluated municipal administration's social and welfare support services positively.

After those clarifications, as a local government institution, SPAs are also vital at poverty struggle especially at rural poverty. Thesis study has settling on the search for urban poverty but SPAs local officials views have also be taken about advantaged and disadvantaged sides of local authority, local and central based institutions poverty struggle practices. Similar with the municipalities, SPAs poverty related practices are also varied from one case province to another. At that point, as an institutional contingency variable, while at all cases, there are similar Departments such as Education, Health, and Social and Culture Department; their responsible fields have been diversified in each year that leads to local variation at social practices. Critically, in Muğla case it is observed that there is the problem of overlapping responsibilities between the Departments within the SPA institutional formation and Provincial Directorates, local delegates emphasized that it is only complicated the affairs and created bureaucracy at the application of social affairs. Moreover, another differentiation among case provinces is seen at the implemented projects at struggling poverty targeting towards diverse vulnerable sides at the province. SPAs similar with municipal administrations have no strategies at combating poverty that local authority should put forth the designation of 'who are the poor', 'what are their urgent needs and demands', 'what can be the main policy packages to struggle it'. Aside from that problem, SPA local officials also emphasized on the financial and technical personal problem at combating poverty. After those problematic areas illustration, micro credit applications of SPAs can be demonstrated as successful practices, for small entrepreneurs and disadvantaged groups who have no required income and capital accumulation for translating their occupational skills to income.

However, at the survey study, it is observed that limited number of people have been benefiting from micro credit facilities and they evaluated those practices not in a positive dimension but in normal and insufficient ways.

Furthermore, last searched poverty related institution is SASF. As it was emphasized before at the general evaluations concerning the institutional framework of the Foundation, thesis study has dwelt upon the criticisms towards the applications of that poverty institution such as; shortcomings at Foundation Act, target group designation process, Foundation Trustee Committee, not transparency at the objective usage conditions of assistances. From the deciphers of the interviews, it is seen that local officials declared the same problems such as norm cadre problem and designation of technical staff by law with the population criterion. Moreover, local delegates also emphasized that sometimes Trustee Committee which is composed of local representatives from public institutions lead to handicaps at the functioning of poverty struggle because of the own interest of political power holders.

It can be stated that not only local authorities but also central government poverty related institutions have also institutional, technical problems at combating poverty. In that context, there is considerable contingent local authority variation in policy and service delivery among local administration because spatial contingency affects how social mechanisms operate in practice such as institutional formations, categorized social services and local and central government relations.

It is observed that the degree of local variation differs from service to service, established units and local-central based relations. Social processes unevenly developed, while those social assistances and practices vary from one case province to other, it is observed that there have been imbalances among those local authorities because of their inherent nature. The origin of this local variation reflects conscious and unconscious political choices made at local authority level (outside or inside the local authority itself), because poverty related policies are the actions or inactions that local governments choose to do or not to do.

Briefly, it is seen that each case province local administrations have different policy applications at poverty struggle tied to spatial contingency. In Denizli case local contingency variables mostly stemming from the same party relation of the municipality with ruling party, and also mayors initiatives sentively supported social assistances. In Muğla case, socio-economic aspects of province created the local contingency, and in Aydın case,

central-local government based relations and decentralization based constraints are the leading contingency variables.

It can be clearly stated that poverty alleviation problem which cannot be solved by central government policies is diverted to local based practices in Turkey. At the survey study, as it is seen from the solution proposals of the central and local government officials; it is proposed that an effective poverty struggle can only be originated by establishing a unit at the national scale by the gathering of local authorities with a collaborative framework at poverty struggle under the supervision of central government. Officials added that local-central based institutions should be unified at poverty struggle under one institutional formation. In this respect, local based poverty struggle can only provides temporary and fragmented solutions for the impoverished with small amounts of cash and kind assistances. 1 kg nourishment assistance before Ramadan and 10 packets of coal assistances before winter term, especially before local election terms cannot be a remedy at poverty alleviation. Integrated policies and upper-hand policies are needed at central government level, local authorities can be a buffer mechanism to serve for centrally formulated policies at the designation of the poor, their requirements and needs.

At the designation of the poor process, a poverty risk map should be formulated at local level by the help of the local and central administrations collaborative practices but social assistances amounts, categories, the beneficiaries should be designated by the central government to prevent the arbitrary practices of local administrations. As it was mentioned at the poor designation process of SASF that central based poverty institution has advantageous sides with its SOY-BIS program.

In this respect, responsible established institutions under municipalities have different practices for the women, the disabled, the elderly and the children that lead to contingent local variation that those diverse social affairs should be coordinated by central government for standardization and institutionalization at social assistance practices. Legal frameworks of established institutions at local and central government level should be clear and consistent with each other. General principles regarding cash and kind assistances are designated by regulations of Social, Education and Cultural Affairs Department. Social practices of those related departments should not be defined according to the mayors' initiatives; there should be a standardization with local and central government.

Fragmented type of struggle and overlapping of responsibilities among local and central government institutions can only be solved by one-hand poverty struggle. Besides, related legal framework should be formulated that preventing the same assistance application of local-central government institutions. It is observed that the needy become a dependent with taking social assistance from variety of poverty related institutions.

As an institutional necessity, local administration should develop participatory tools and platforms such as public days, community meetings, opinion polls to engage more vulnerable people for taking the demands and learning the necessities of the impoverished. Local authorities should share that knowledge with central government poverty related institutions. Giving greater voice and representation to the impoverished can facilitate the formulation of poverty policies and practices in an appropriate way. In that dimension central government become more responsive to citizen needs and formulate accurate policies at combating poverty.

For a better cooperation with central-local authorities at combating poverty, central government should provide the expert staff necessity of the local administrations at poverty struggle and arrange more in-service training activities to train the local staff concerning poverty problems. Right information sharing depends on the qualified technical personal at local authorities at the designation of the poor. Furthermore, local administrations have no much possibility for capacity generation and training activities to engage the poor to labor market that central government should formulate policies by giving priority to the vulnerable sides in finding job. Increasing the capacity of the impoverished households not only paves for the alleviation of the economic and social problems but also leads to ease the adaptation process of the urban poor to the city (Ersoy and Şengül, 2001: 284).

At that point, not only the unemployed, with 'new urban poverty', working poors' numbers are at a considerable degree that the related precautions should be formulated to protect their labor rights. As a last institutional need, cooperation with local and central government institutions should be sustained for rising the common programs and projects at combating poverty. By the help of the one-hand poverty struggle at central government level, contingent local variation stemmed from municipal mayor initiatives, local-central party relations and financial handicaps at social assistances can be prevented. However, it should not be forgotten that Foundation as a central government based institution led to lots of disadvantages that the control mechanism at the national scale should be developed to

prevent the financial wastefulness, red tape, corruption based problems. Legal framework should be clear and consistent at the application of poverty related policies.

After all those clarifications, it is seen that poverty is a phenomenon comes out as a result of the multi-dimensional and complex process. That complexity and multi-dimensionality make compulsory for the development of different typologies of poverty and livelihood strategies. Those different typologies should be taken into consideration by the central and local government at the formulation of public policies and different policies should be formulated for different impoverishment processes (Ersoy, 2006: 10). Another influential point is the necessity of the more empirical researches at different spatial areas for forming the framework of those poverty typologies. It is clear that application of poverty researches in different cities can bring benefit in understanding the real aspects of urban poverty (Ersoy and Şengül, 2001: 23-24)

This study is limited with only the GEKA case provinces that this subject may be investigated further in other case provinces in Turkey to understand the local authority variation better. Survey data and the local and central officials' opinions cannot be generalized to other cases. To determine local variation in detail, there is the necessity for more researches.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Case Studies

A.1. Denizli Unified Municipality Approaches Emergence and Contexts

Unified Municipality	Periods and Municipal Mayors	Emergence and Context	Urban Space Condition and Clarifications
Contiguous Area Arrangement	1974-78 Mayor Hasan Gönüllü	Integration of 34 villages to contiguous area	Villages turn into municipal formation; Mayor did not use unified municipality concept
First declarations concerning unified municipality: Ali Aygören	2001-2003 1999-2004 Mayor Ali Aygören	While hopes lost towards unified municipality; mayor proposal came out towards cooperation between municipalities	Inter-coordination with 14 municipalities. Proposal affecting 5026 law bill
2003, 5026 law bill Denizli 'unified municipality' proposal	T.G.N.A. 2003 JDP government	Effort of 47 (22 municipality and 25 villages) spatial areas integration to Denizli as neighborhoods': Unified municipality alternative	Proposal veto returned to T.G.N.A.
5393 Municipal Law: Border Definition decision	2005: enactment of 5393 municipal law 2006: border definition decision 2009: Implementation	Denizli implemented that item as one of the first municipality in Turkey. That item is demonstrating the reflections of veto by 5026	2009; 13 municipality and 10 districts tied as neighborhoods to Denizli municipality

212

A.2. Denizli TPP Poverty Alleviation Initiatives

2000-2001:	Health and Social Affairs Department: Nursery home activated social affairs particularly for 50 children including free charge services of transportation, nourishment and other expenses.
2001-2002:	BEL-KON Social Housing Project: Project composed of 604 flats for only the municipal staff located at the Server-Gazi municipal borders completed in 2007 (Total expenditure: 965.423.380.835). 500 Evler Project: 500 parcels under the municipal ownership having 250 and 300 m2 area allocated to low-income citizens. Title deeds started to be given to the right owners in 2003.

²¹² Özgür, Hüseyin, 2008, p. 272.

A.2. Denizli TPP Poverty Alleviation Initiatives (Continued)

2002-2003:	Health and Social Affairs Department: Nursery home have 65 children in 3-6 years age interval capacity including free charge services of transportation, nourishment and other expenses.
	Cultural Affairs Department: Collective marriage ceremony for 80 couple; Ramadan period meal delivery had been implemented and 01-12 April 2003 with cooperation of Pamukkale University and “Elderly Problems Research Association of Municipality” arranged Second Elderly Congress. Furthermore with cooperation of ‘Contemporary Life Support Association’ professional skills and contributing household project activities applied for low-income households.
	Local Agenda 21 Emergence: Informative and introductory meetings have been implemented under the new formations of working groups. Local stakeholders gathering realized under LA21 network and Karşıyaka district selected for pilot activities to define socio-economic condition with surveys and Commissions started to be designated; clothing, nourishment campaigns arranged for defined district.
2004:	Health and Social Affairs Department: Nursery home activated social affairs particularly for 50 children including free charge services of transportation, nourishment and other expenses. 500 high school and 800 university students gain right taking scholarship from municipality. “Interaction in School and Family” program arranged by Pamukkale University academic staff by Pre-school Department.
	Cultural Affairs Department: LA21 Women Council members defined their committees and delegates under Education, Health, Economy, Social Affairs and Environment committees. Volunteer women council members selected and took 8 hour course from Municipal Police Department and Cleaning Affairs Department and taking part at the regulation of urban life. At Karşıyaka neighborhood; 27 women sterilization applications were made with taking no-charge. Hacı-Leman Otto Primary school education material assistance; environment arrangement and training activities for mouth and teeth care for primary school students and inner family violence were arranged and Department delivered tooth brush and paste. 31 household clothe assistance and 2 household furniture assistance realized.

A.3. Denizli Justice and Development Party Poverty Alleviation Initiatives

2005:	<i>Education and Culture Department was set up in 2005: Disabled Coordination Centre was set up and implemented those activities listed below;</i>
	<i>Children Affairs Branch was set up for 3-6 age category students with four staff; and provided physical, emotional and social activities. Public Education and Training; In service-training and influentially “Social Affairs” branches with 9 personal were set up. Social Affairs Branch activities listed below; From 2004 to 2005 years; 785 university students got 60 YTL each month; total expenditure was 423.900 TL; and 493 high school students got 25 YTL each month; total expenditure was 123.250 TL.</i>

A.3. Denizli Justice and Development Party Poverty Alleviation Initiative (Continued)

<p>2006:</p>	<p><i>Education and Culture Department:</i> 2005-2006; 500 high school students got 40 TL in each month. 2005-2006; 1000 university student got 80 TL in each month covering 9 month educational period. Educational material aid distribution realized for 48.000 students. In cooperation with National Education Directorate, educational assistance provided for 26 school and 46.000 students. Disabled students free-charge transportation to school activities implemented. In 55 impoverished neighborhoods; 80 thousand story books delivered to needy primary schools. 7000 student got pinafore and collar, 1500 poor student got in cash and kind assistance.</p>
	<p><i>Sevgi Eli was set up in 2006.</i> The objective of that project has delivering the assistance of cash and kind aid to the needy covering elderly, orphans, ill, disabled and citizens who are not under any social security institution. Activities of that period listed below; 5.600 household investigation applied by social commission, 700 application investigated; and cash aid was given in 100-600 TL interval, 50 poor household investigation in each day, 400 household took nourishment and fuel aid , 10 garbage house had cleaned, 446 disabled citizens free-charge transportation activities; and their latex paint, dye and cleaning affairs realized, total number of citizens take assistance is 14.000.</p>
	<p><i>Collective Housing Department:</i> Umut Kent 1-2-3 Projects were completed. Belkon Project was completed. <i>Aktepe Buildings:</i> Project composed of 448 flats and started under the squatter settlement transformation framework; Project completed in 2007. <i>800th Year Buildings:</i> Project in cooperation with TOKİ, started in 2006 for low income households; Project completed in 2007.</p>
<p>2007:</p>	<p><i>Social Assistance Affairs Department was set up in 2007.(LA21 and Information Houses activated their affairs under that Department)</i> 3800 household home investigations made by social commission; 72.350 cash aid and 1800 good stuff packet were delivered. 185 disabled and elderly households cleaning activities realized. 113 household got heat assistance as wood aid. 50 children free-charge collective circumcision ceremonies arranged. 1421 household took furniture and 232.000 household took clothing assistance. 3125 citizen made clothing and furniture donations. 2007-2008 educational year in 55 neighborhoods for primary school children of first class 11.000 pinafores and colars; 70.000 track suits were distributed.</p>
	<p><i>Information Houses and Community Centers were set up under Social Assistance Affairs Department.</i></p>

A.3. Denizli Justice and Development Party Poverty Alleviation Initiative (Continued)

	<p><i>LA21 Economy and Social Affairs Group;</i> 15 couples marriage ceremony was realized. Training courses were held concerning “Family Planning for Women”, “Women Solidarity”, and “Communication in Inner Family”, “Diabetic and Obesity” courses for primary school children. OSS books have been gathered for 1000 needy students.</p>
2008:	<p><i>Social Assistance Affairs Department:</i> 4200 household defined for aid and 95.950.00 cash aid, 2500 good stuff packet, and 385 household wood aid were delivered. 157 Elderly, disabled and the needy families’ house cleaning activities were realized. 1914 furniture and 641.450 clothing materials distributed to provincial centre and districts. 5.855 local citizens made furniture and clothing donations. (The aids not only covering municipal boarder; in addition to those spatial fields Çameli, Tavas, Acıpayam, Çivril, Çal, Buldan, Babadağ, Kale districts also get assistances.) 50 children free-charge collective circumcision ceremonies were arranged. 1500 university student took 120 YTL for 9 months period; 1000 high school student took 50 YTL for 10 months period. 55 neighborhoods for primary school children at first class 25.000 pinafores and collars were distributed. In Esentepe and Fatih mahalled; two “Information House” constructions were completed.</p>
	<p><i>Disabled Coordination Center:</i> The disabled coordination center recorded disabled citizens’ information to “Disabled Data Network”; most of them oriented by the center to IS-KUR-II Department for appropriate employment sectoral fields. 250 disabled children and elderly facilitated from Sevgi Eli vehicle three times a week for hospital transportation. 4 vehicles with battery, 36 wheelchair, and 100 speaking watch, 100 white sticks for blind were distributed. For disabled citizens at water bills % 50 discount were made and free-charge passes distributed.</p>
	<p><i>LA21 Health commission made free-charge women sterilization activity for 64 women.</i> <i>LA21 Women Solidarity and Assistance Group made “End to women violence” campaign in Sevindik neighborhood Community Center.</i> <i>At Trade Chamber Primary School; mouth and teeth health seminar was realized; tooth pastes and brushes were distributed to the students under LA21 social commission.</i></p>
2009:	<p><i>Culture and Social Affairs Department:</i> At Ramadan month period, 5000 needy citizens meal delivery and 2500 packet home delivery to needy households were realized. At Fatih, Karaman, Esentepe, Yenişehir, Sevindik neighborhoods 5 information centers gave training activities for 600 primary school students.</p>
	<p><i>Disabled Coordination Center:</i> Recording disabled citizens to “Disabled Data Network” “Disabled working project” oriented towards meeting daily expenses and employment generation possibilities, with opening up training courses concerning computer based employment areas; web-graphic design, computer operator.</p>

A.3. Denizli Justice and Development Party Poverty Alleviation Initiative (Continued)

	<p><i>Sevgi Eli:</i> 6582 household clothing assistance and 1513 household furniture assistance were realized. Not only central districts; the assistance areas started to cover peripheral districts and villages for 4300 vulnerable households. Investigated 1169 household took 191.100 TL cash aid. 2000 household nourishment packet aid; and wood aid for 35 household were delivered. For 108 elderly, disabled and vulnerable citizens' home cleaning activities were made. 8900 pinafore and collar delivered to first class primary school students.</p> <p>7000 book delivered for primary and high school students. 1500 high school student took financial assistance.</p> <p>LA21 women council arranged "Mouth and Teeth Health Project" for 80 disabled children.</p> <p>In Fatih and Esentepe; Information House and Course center "Hand-craft, Reading, Disabled-ill-elderly Care" courses arranged.</p>
2010:	<p><i>Culture and Social Affairs Department:</i> 2000 high school student took financial assistance.</p> <p>At Fatih, Karaman, Esentepe, Yenisehir, Sevindik, Aktepe neighborhoods 6 Information Centers gave training activities with 44 instructors to 1105 primary school students.</p>
	<p><i>Sevgi Eli:</i> 2302 household took 354.000,00 TL cash aid. 110 needy household cleaning activities were made. In Ramadan month, 7000 nourishment packet and 100 household took wood assistance were distributed. 1710 household clothing aid and 555 household home furniture aid were made. 8375 pinafore and collar delivery to first class primary school students were realized. 58.000 book delivered for primary and high school students.</p>
	<p><i>Disabled Coordination Center:</i> Recording disabled citizens to "Disabled Data Network" "Disabled Working Project" 114 disabled took training courses concerning disabled employment and human relations. For 2000 disabled citizens 2 vehicles provided for free-charge transportation services. 55 battery vehicles, 6 wheelchair, 15 speaking watch and 30 white stick delivered to disabled.</p>

A.4. Denizli SPA Poverty Alleviation Initiatives

Education Department Activities ²¹³ :	43 student capacity primary schools per class decreases to 37 students for each class with opening 120 new classes, 50 school repairment and maintenance activity, Completion of two high schools with 16 and 20 classroom capacity, 2 pre-school construction completion at districts; and starting 4 new pre-school construction at rural and central districts.
Health Department Activities ²¹⁴	In 2007 family doctor-ship put into agenda at health affairs, the priority is given to the district Community Health Centers, For rural spatial areas protective community health affairs mobile service provision, Medical materials purchasing, Training activities to doctor and health staff, regular vaccine portion increase to %88 degree; and alleviation of infant mortality to %10, Social service institutions' buildings maintenance, Orphan children adoption activities, Training and enlightenment activities to primary and high school children and courses were given concerning adolescence in 60 primary and 20 high schools, Supporting the opening up pre-schools, orphanages and nursery houses, Activating services concerning the definition of vulnerable children, disabled and elderly citizens; their protection, rehabilitation affairs.
Health Department Assistances Financial Share ²¹⁵	Occupational Training and Micro-credit affairs (50.000 TL) Maintenance of Denizli Children Nursery Building (200.000 TL) MESKA and Karşıyaka Community Centers completion (46.927 TL) Purchasing property for Province Social Affairs Department (49.733 TL) Purchasing furniture for Woman Guest House (11.965 TL)

A.5. Denizli Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation Poverty Alleviation Initiatives

		2003		2007		2008		2009		2010	
Assistance	Citizen Number	Quantity	Citizen Number	Quantity	Citizen Number	Quantity	Citizen Number	Quantity	Citizen Number	Quantity	

²¹³ Denizli SPA, 2007-2008 Annual Report

²¹⁴ Denizli SPA, 2007 Annual Report

²¹⁵ Denizli Special Provincial Administration, 2008 Annual Report

A.5. Denizli Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation Poverty Alleviation Initiatives (Continued)

Cash	13.517	4.864.178,13	14.440	1.787.154,65	18.983	3.510.170,42	19.919	3.320.646,05	18.980	2.969.107,00
Nourishm	19.775	9.935.845,39	28.962	1.199.889,53	24.304	1.947.761,28	32.775	4.020.297,23	15.135	1.409.165,61
Coal	5.195		10.378		12.648		14.924		15.382	
Education	8.265	402.860,11	16.459	1.266.706,62	24.210	2.213.690,80	31.962	2.803.724,75	23.569	1.895.814,01
Housing	97	30.267	235	233.636,67	368	821.165,75	790	3.879.271,75	383	1.018.433,95
Health	23.318	1.058.139,01	1.035	278.063,40	1.269	276.389,99	2.095	259.213,87	1140	447.205,09
Project	517	446.173,70	89	774.815,75	1.42	3.597.032,92	1.198	11.832.195,00	1132	7.032.018,55
Other	3.017	731.743,59	4.602	994.858,80	1.025	263.469,04	1.898	848.542,60	981	149.698,49
Total	74.421	17.469.206,93	76.200	6.535.125,42	83.849	12.629.680,20	105.561	26.963.891,25	76.702	17.810.642,70

A.6. Muğla Municipal Administration Poverty Alleviation Initiatives

2000-2001:	Social and Cultural Affairs' Department:	Establishing telephone line network for directly taking the demands, complaints of local citizens'; and also at central district and contiguous areas of province wish boxes located. For enlightening local citizens from municipal activities; each month municipal journal has been published.
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A.6. .Muğla Municipal Administration Poverty Allevation Initiatives (Continued)

<u>2001-2002:</u>	Social and Cultural Affairs' Department:	9 branch course were opened;-Batik course,-Drama course, Turkish Classical Music course, Folk-Dance course,Art course, English and German courses.
<u>2002-2003:</u>	Education, Culture and Social Affairs Department set up:	Municipality allocated 4.464.000.000 YTL for 48 needy local citizens' who get "poor aid" from municipality; 500 kg. coal aid; 250 kg. wood aid have also been distributed. Municipal staff who are in need of, take 162 shoes cost 3.114.155.000 TL. 7 branch course were opened; Batik course, Drama course, Turkish Classical Music course, Folk-Dance course, Art course, English course, wood-painting course
<u>2003-2004:</u>	Education, Culture and Social Affairs Department:	8 Branch course were opened; batik, wood paint, drama, folk dance, art, Turkish music, summer term courses.Poor salary: Applied 47 citizen to Department get poor salary, with nourishment aid and fuel assistance.Educational assistances started to be given in 2003.Culture House set up.Salon and voice technique purchasing realized for needy institutions' organizational activities.
	Health Affairs Department:	4 Rest House set up within municipal formation; nourishment, health, care, maintenance, electricity costs of 3.098.262.000 TL meet by municipal budget for those elderly citizens. For Rest House maintenance and new purchasing 7.897.904.500 TL expense was made. In 2004; Women Solidarity and Sheltering House was established; and new material purchasing realized cost 289.100.000 TL.
<u>2004-2005:</u>	Education, Culture and Social Affairs Department:	8 Branch course were opened; batik, wood paint, drama, folk dance, art, Turkish music, summer term courses Poor salary: Applied 52 citizen to Department got poor salary, with nourishment aid and fuel assistance. Salon and voice technique purchasing realized for needy institutions' organizational activities.
	Health Affairs Department:	2 Rest Houses were set up in municipal formation; nourishment, health, care, maintenance, electricity cost of 1.206.900 TL meet by municipal budget for those elderly citizens. For Rest House maintenance and new purchasing realized cost 7.897.904.500 TL. In 2004, Women Solidarity and Sheltering House were established; and new material purchasing cost 289.100.000 TL. For polyclinic activities and services 54.339.000 TL expense was made.

A.6. .Muğla Municipal Administration Poverty Allevation Initiatives (Continued)

2006:	Education, Culture and Social Affairs Department:	Konakaltı Culture Centre: Free-charge courses were arranged for housewives for economic contribution to the family budgets. For needy citizens' nourishment, fuel, educational assistances were given. Cultural festivals, culture and tourism activities were arranged. Inter-schools waste competition, re-cycling project for environmental health were arranged, volunteer environment controllers were selected.
2007:	Education, Culture and Social Affairs Department:	Konakaltı Culture Center Free-Charge Courses were arranged at 13 branches. In service training activities of Muğla municipality had been realized. For the formation of municipal library; physical spatial area was designated and mostly volunteers granted books. Realization of the distribution of nourishment, monthly cash and heat assistance for needy citizens.
2008:	Education, Culture and Social Affairs Department:	For needy 45 citizens' poor salary provision, 50 citizens' nourishment and coal assistance, for 37 students after investigation educational assistances were provided. For disabled students free-charge meal delivered (total 83 citizens including disabled) Successful students in ÖSS examination and amateur sporties gifted by the municipality.
2009:	Education, Culture and Social Affairs Department:	For Foundations and Associations voice techniques and salon provision realization activities were made. At official festivals at stadium settling of voice machines were realized. Individual and mixed art exhibitions arranged. Winter and summer term courses were opened. Course made products sales and demonstration activities were made For needy 56 citizens' poor salary provision, 50 citizens' nourishment and coal assistance, 190 students after investigation educational assistance realized. For disabled students free-charge meal delivered (total 110 citizens including disabled). At Ramadan month free-charge meal delivered. Free-charge internet lab established for the usage of local citizens. Regular library was founded. At Culture House and Centers; 8 exhibition, 12 conference, panel, seminar and meeting were held, 18 concert held, 16 drama play demonstration; 2 course opening at winter and summer terms.

A.6. Muğla Municipal Administration Poverty Allevation Initiatives (Continued)

	Health Department:	Rest-House service provision for only one elderly citizen; for that citizen nourishment, cleaning, maintenance, electricity, heat service provision, Honor students of ÖSS and SBS granted, Municipal staff and families; cure and treatments, periodical artisans health control provided. Labor and officials health control realized (Labor health control: 550; Periodic artisans control: 1650)
2010:	Education, Culture and Social Affairs Department:	Meeting: 1066, Panel: 18, Exhibition: 220, Concert: 63, Cocktail: 53, City Council: 13, Seminar: 52, Drama: 81, Voice Machines: 437, Conference: 25, Fair: 6. From salon allocation; total 44.342.00 TL income gained. For winter and summer term 19 branch courses opened; for winter courses 1063 citizen; 9 opened branch courses of summer term 572 children applied. During 2010; 150 students took educational assistance; 56 needy took poor assistance; for 140 citizens' each month free-charge meal distribution; for 110 citizens at Ramadan month and winter month's nourishment and fuel assistance realized.
	Health Department:	Municipal staff and families; cure and treatments, periodical artisans health control made. Labor and officials health control realized (Labor health control: 339; Periodic artisans control: 2572) Rest-house service provision for only one elderly citizen; for that citizen nourishment, cleaning, maintenance, electricity, heat service provided. Within 2010; honor students of ÖSS and SBS granted.

A.7. Muğla Municipal Administration Evaluation Chart at Poor Assistance

Father's Occupation
a) Artisan (-1)
b) Official (9)
c) Labor (6)
d) Peasant (9)
e) Retired (11)
f) Unemployed (15)
Net Income of Your Family
a) Below 250 TL (15)
b) Between 250-500 TL (12)
c) Between 500-750 TL (9)

A.7. Muğla Municipal Administration Evaluation Chart at Poor Assistance(Continued)

d) Between 750-1000 TL (8)
e) Between 1000-1500 TL (7)
f) Above 1500 TL (6)
Family Condition
a) Alive and Together (2)
b) Father Dead and Mother Alive (16)
c) Mother Dead and Father Alive (10)
d) Both of them Dead (20)
e) Legally Divorced (8)
f) Father is Martyr (18)
Bringing Up at High School Period
a) Family (1)
b) Relatives (3)
c) Boarding School (5)
d) Society for the Protection of Children (7)
Number of Household Members
a) 1 (0)
b) 2 (1)
c) 3 (3)
d) 4 (5)
e) 5 (7)
f) More than those (10)
Student Numbers in Household Members
a) 0 (0)
b) (3)
c) 2 (6)
d) 3 (9)
e) 4 (12)
f) More than those (15)
Having Private Car
a) Yes (-8)
b) No (0)
Are You Disabled?
a) Yes (12)

A.7. Muğla Municipal Administration Evaluation Chart at Poor Assistance(Continued)

b) No (0)
Occupation
a) Employed (-6)
b) Unemployed (0)
Marital Status
a) Married (2)
b) Unmarried (0)
Student Residence
a) Family (1)
b) Hire (5)
c) Private Apart (5)
d) Public Apart (6)
Scholarship Condition
a) Yurt-Kur (-2)
b) Foundation/Association (-2)
c) Not taking scholarship (8)
Family House Ownership
a) Yes (-6)
b) No (0)

A.8. Aydın MP Municipal Administration Poverty Alleviation Initiatives

2000-2001:	Social Affairs' Department:	Department set up four point located Cook-House and Social Assistance Centers delivering free-charge bread and meal delivery and making nourishment, coal, health and clothing aids. Zafer neighborhood, Müftü Hüseyin Aksu Cook-House installation was allocated for Rest House and Women Shelter Center.																
		<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>Assistances</th> <th>Number of Citizens</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Collective circumcision</td> <td>36</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Soldier Families</td> <td>98</td> </tr> <tr> <td>University Students Scholarship</td> <td>98</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Free-charge bread</td> <td>348 household/1482</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Free-charge meal</td> <td>160 household/503</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Free-charge transportation</td> <td>1</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Free-charge health aid</td> <td>225</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	Assistances	Number of Citizens	Collective circumcision	36	Soldier Families	98	University Students Scholarship	98	Free-charge bread	348 household/1482	Free-charge meal	160 household/503	Free-charge transportation	1	Free-charge health aid	225
		Assistances	Number of Citizens															
		Collective circumcision	36															
		Soldier Families	98															
		University Students Scholarship	98															
		Free-charge bread	348 household/1482															
		Free-charge meal	160 household/503															
		Free-charge transportation	1															
		Free-charge health aid	225															

A.8. Aydın MP Municipal Administration Poverty Alleviation Initiatives (Continued)

<p><u>2001-2002:</u></p>	<p>Social and Cultural Affairs' Department:</p>	<p>Nezihe Aksu Day-Nursery Home started activities in 1999; related unit is the foundation of Asyav. Sami Pekgüzel and Alpler Cook-House free-charge meal delivery realized. Social Assistance Center set up in 2001.</p> <table border="1" data-bbox="687 427 1406 730"> <thead> <tr> <th>Assistances</th> <th>Number of Citizens</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Collective circumcision</td> <td>47</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Soldier Families</td> <td>154</td> </tr> <tr> <td>University Students Scholarship</td> <td>289</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Free-charge bread</td> <td>816 household/2986</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Free-charge meal</td> <td>461 household/1302</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Free-charge transportation</td> <td>28</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	Assistances	Number of Citizens	Collective circumcision	47	Soldier Families	154	University Students Scholarship	289	Free-charge bread	816 household/2986	Free-charge meal	461 household/1302	Free-charge transportation	28
Assistances	Number of Citizens															
Collective circumcision	47															
Soldier Families	154															
University Students Scholarship	289															
Free-charge bread	816 household/2986															
Free-charge meal	461 household/1302															
Free-charge transportation	28															
<p><u>2002-2003:</u></p>	<p>Education, Culture and Social Affairs Department set up:</p>	<p>Social Affairs Department enlarged their social staff; 21 person had been activated social activities under that Department. 700 poor families 500 kg. coal assistance, 42 disabled children training and rehabilitation activities, Each day 210 poor citizens' free-charge meal assistances realized. 30 children collective circumcision had been made with no-charge. Educational Contribution Assistances: 600 student facilitated from that aid; the total social expenditure costs; 40.000.000 TL. "Hot meal assistance" service had been started with formation of a new group under Social Affairs Department covering whole days of a week giving service to 310 citizens. Heat Assistance started as a Social Program of municipality in 2002.</p>														

A.9. Aydın JDP Municipal Government Poverty Alleviation Initiatives

<p><u>2003-2004:</u></p>	<p>Education, Culture and Social Affairs Department:</p>	<p>449 successful students took 60.000.000 TL cash assistance for 8 months period from Social Affairs Department "Hot Meal Assistance" service started with formation of a new group under Social Affairs Department covering whole days of a week giving service to 500 citizens. Heat Assistance; especially coal aid was distributed. 800 households investigation had been completed; those families got 500 kg coal assistance distributed to their homes.</p>
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A.9. Aydın JDP Municipal Government Poverty Alleviation Initiatives (Continued)

<p><u>2004-2005:</u></p>	<p>Education, Culture and Social Affairs Department:</p>	<p>50 more students started to facilitate from educational assistances; 500 defined vulnerable student got 70.000.000 TL higher education financial assistance. 500 citizens got free-charge meal distribution service covering 182.500 unit meal. 1000 household 500 kg coal aid was delivered. 59 children circumcision ceremony realized. 138 soldier family cash assistance implemented. For 11 disabled and 15 elderly citizen; mini vehicles with battery were given. 50 disabled rehabilitation and training activities, Free-charge health control and medicine, Furniture aid affected from catastrophes, Zeybek neighborhood students' free-charge transportations' to school activities were realized. After 2003-2004 period; Social Affairs Department started to give more interest to culture field activities; with opening up 24 exhibition at Governor Yazicioğlu Culture Center; restoration of Cihanoğlu Külliye, Golden fig Culture and Art Festival and started to sister-hood relations of Russian Federation of Tataristan with realizing cooperate social, economic, cultural and sportive activities.</p>
<p><u>2005-2006:</u></p>	<p>Education, Culture and Social Affairs Department:</p>	<p>500 citizens got free-charge meal distribution service with 182.500 unit meal. 70 children circumcision ceremony was made. Free-charge health-care service and medicine delivery, 100 couple marriage ceremony were implemented. For 10 disabled and elderly citizen; mini vehicles with battery were given. 50 disabled rehabilitation and training activities, Furniture aid affected from catastrophes, Zeybek neighborhood 30 students facilitated from free-charge transportation service were realized. 500 defined vulnerable student got 70.000.000 TL higher education financial assistances. At the national examination; students that get degree take 200.000.000 TL monthly aid (OSS examination).</p>

A.10.RPP Municipal Government Poverty Alleviation Initiatives

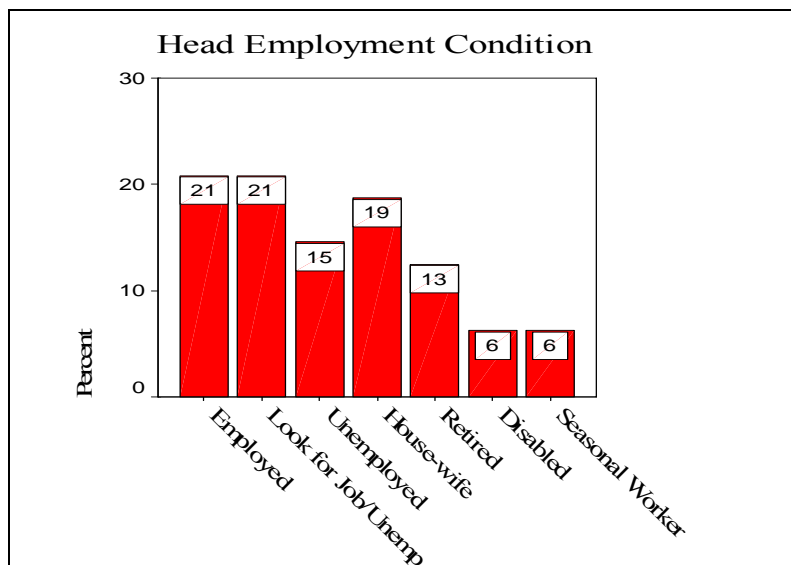
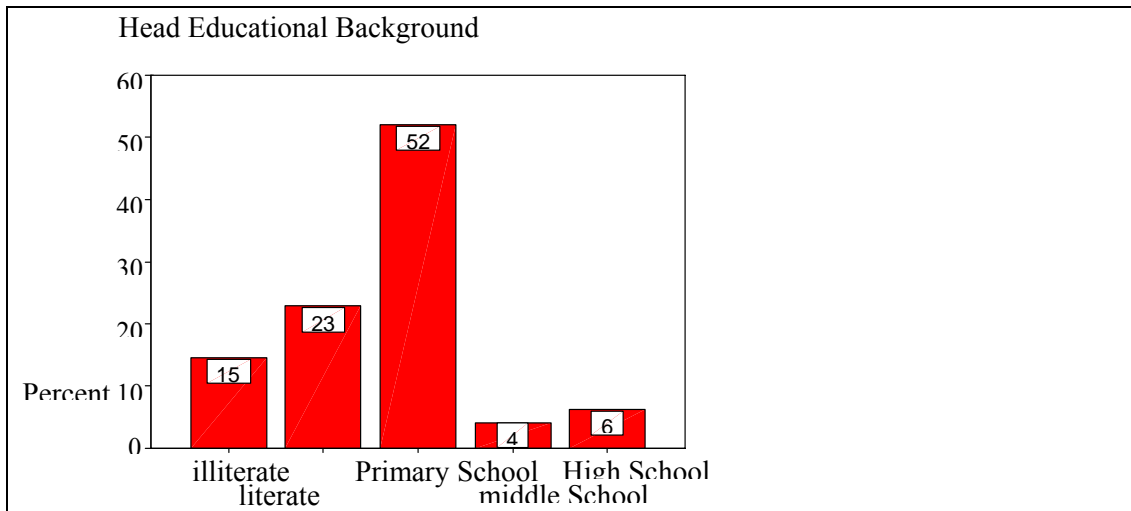
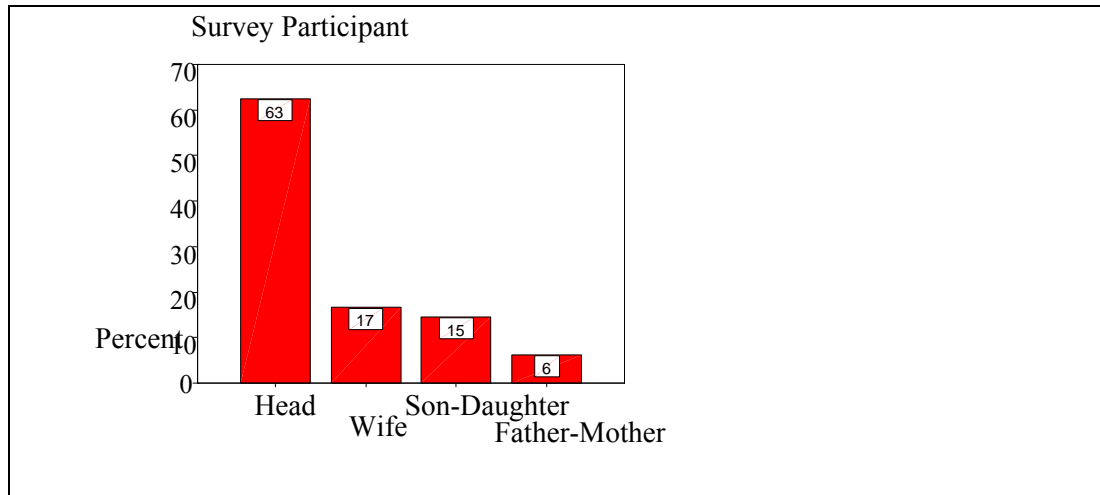
<p><u>2007-2008:</u></p>	<p>Education, Culture and Social Affairs Department:</p>	<p>657 students got monthly 80 TL for 8 months of a year, 250 households got nourishment packets, Water debts postponement was realized for poor students. Free-charge health service and free-delivery medicine realized. Zeybek neighborhood 30 students free-charge transportations' to school activities implemented. 100 couple marriage ceremony arranged, 150 students free-charge lunch delivered at disabled schools, At Sevgi Houses; 21 elderly citizens' and their all kind of health, nourishment and heat necessities had been met by the Department.</p>
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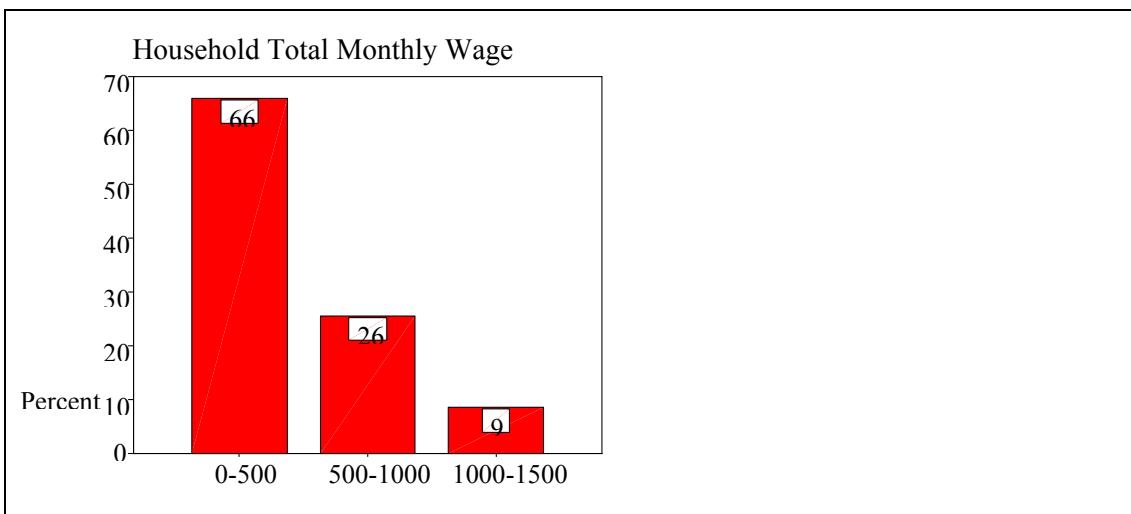
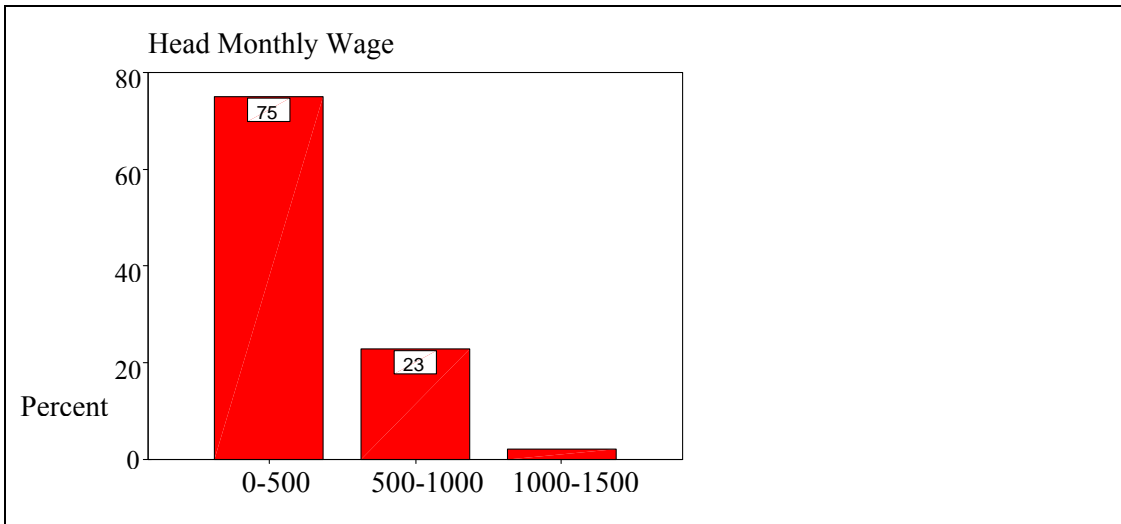
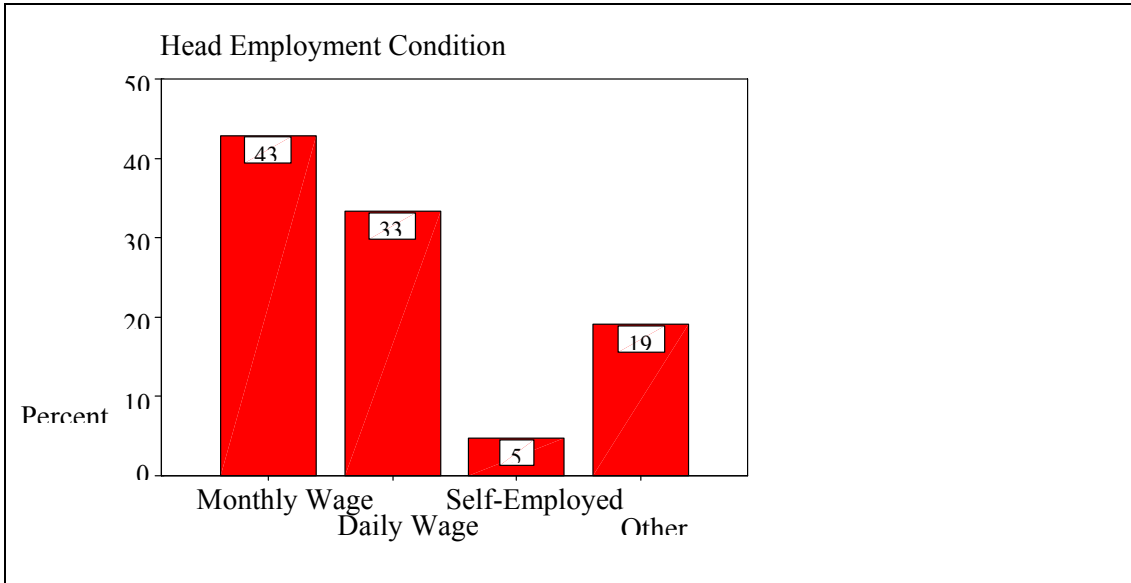
A.10. RPP Municipal Government Poverty Alleviation Initiatives (Continued)

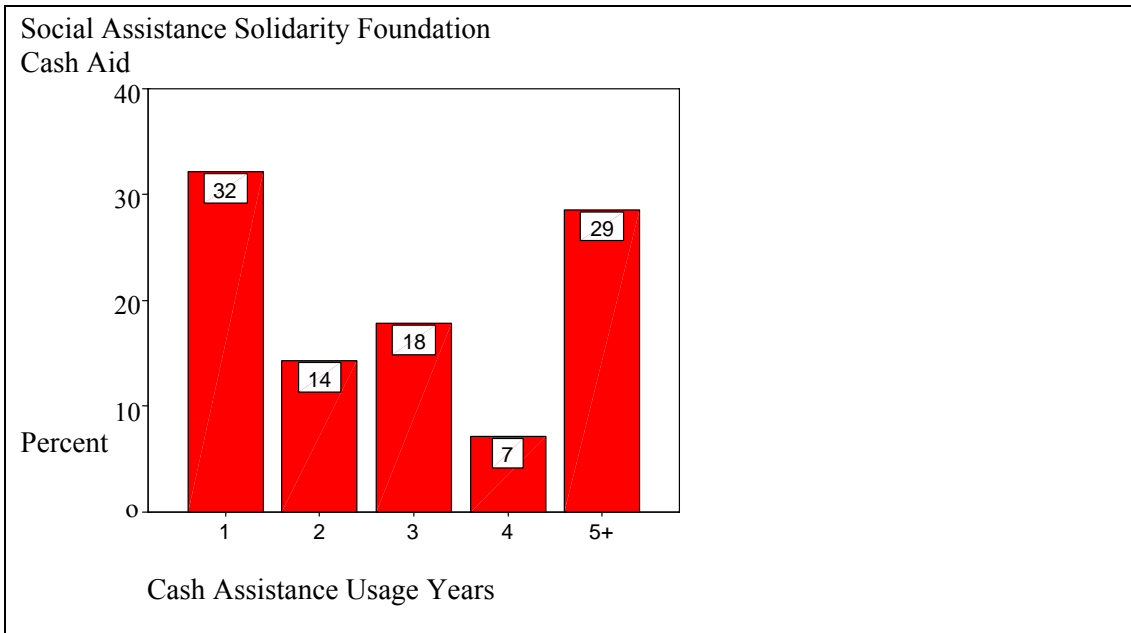
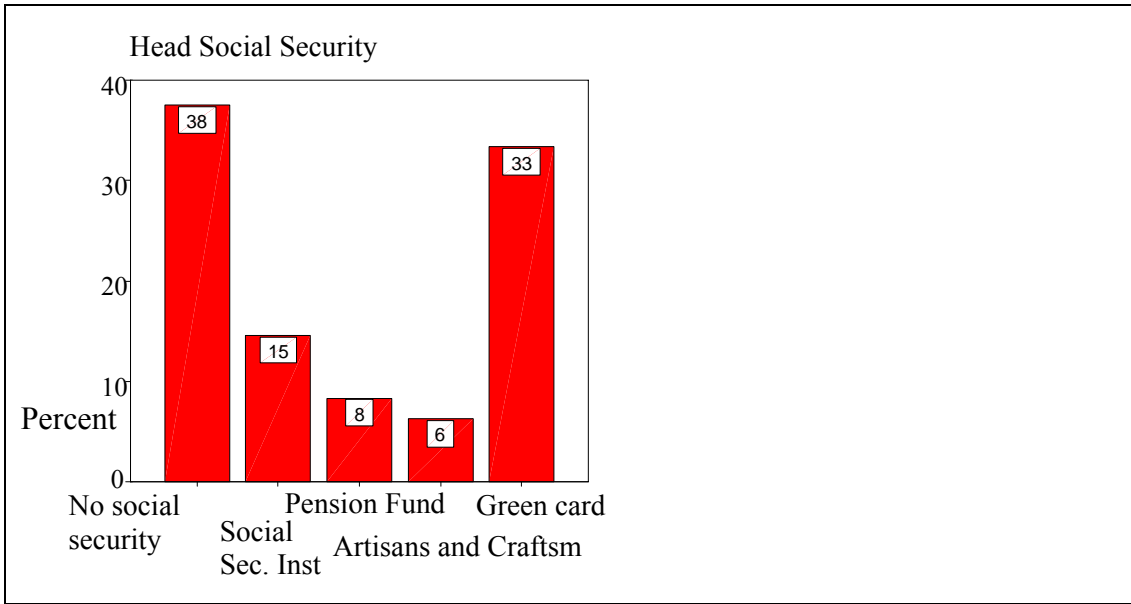
<u>2008-2009:</u>	Education, Culture and Social Affairs Department:	<p>675 students got monthly 80 TL for 8 months of a year</p> <p>Defined vulnerable citizens' nourishment packets were delivered.</p> <p>Collective circumstance ceremony arranged.</p> <p>Water debts postponement was realized for the needy.</p> <p>Free-charge health service and free-delivery medicine realized.</p> <p>Furniture aid distributed to the citizens affected from catastrophes</p> <p>Zeybek neighborhood 30 students free-charge transportations' to school activities realized.</p> <p>Collective marriage ceremony arranged.</p> <p>150 students free-charge lunch distributed at disabled schools.</p> <p>For disabled and elderly vehicle and machines purchased.</p> <p>Rehabilitation activities for disabled arranged.</p> <p>Cultural, art and capacity generation courses opened.</p> <p>At Sevgi Houses; 14 elderly citizens' sheltering had been provided and their all kind of health, nourishment and heat necessities met by the Department.</p>
<u>2009-2010:</u>	Education, Culture and Social Affairs Department:	<p>Muzaffer İzgü Drama Salon, Vali Yazıcıoğlu Culture Center, Sevgi Houses for Elderly citizens, Women House of Accommodation, AY-BA (Aydın Municipality Service Network) made social service provision activities for the needy.</p> <p>2 capacity generation courses opened.</p> <p>Collective Circumstance Ceremony for 35 children has been realized.</p> <p>79 new needy citizens had started to settle at Women Sheltering House.</p> <p>5997 nourishment packet delivered for 3575 households and 370.000 meals distributed.</p> <p>For disabled and elderly cleaning and rehabilitation service activities implemented.</p> <p>Home care activities for 3419 male and 452 women especially hair-care activities implemented.</p>

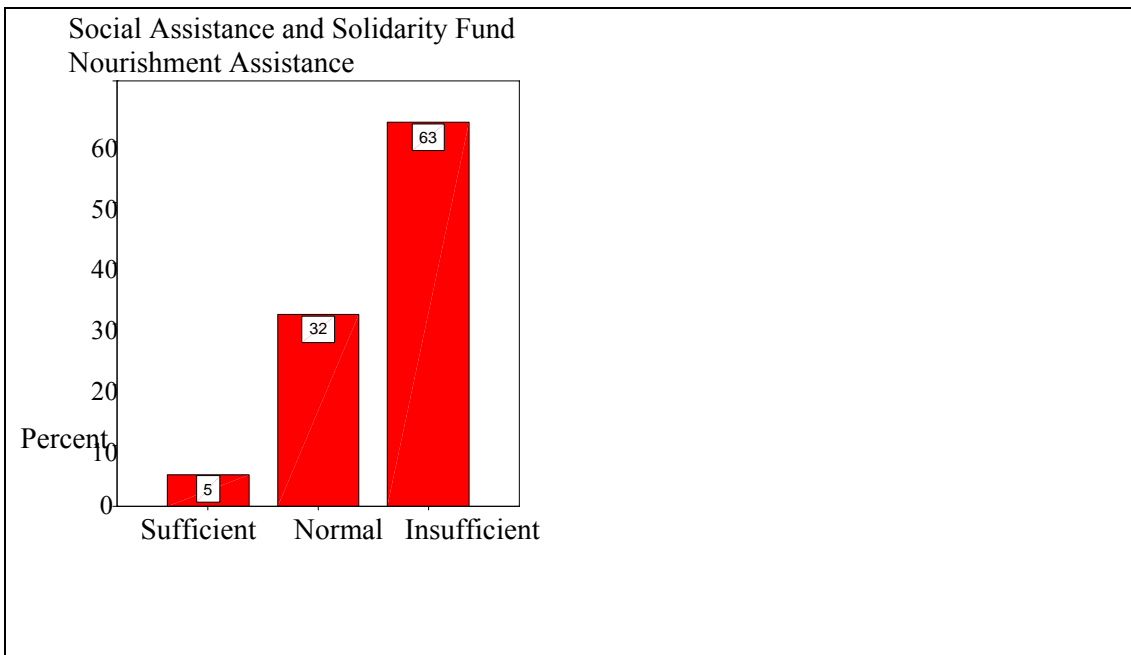
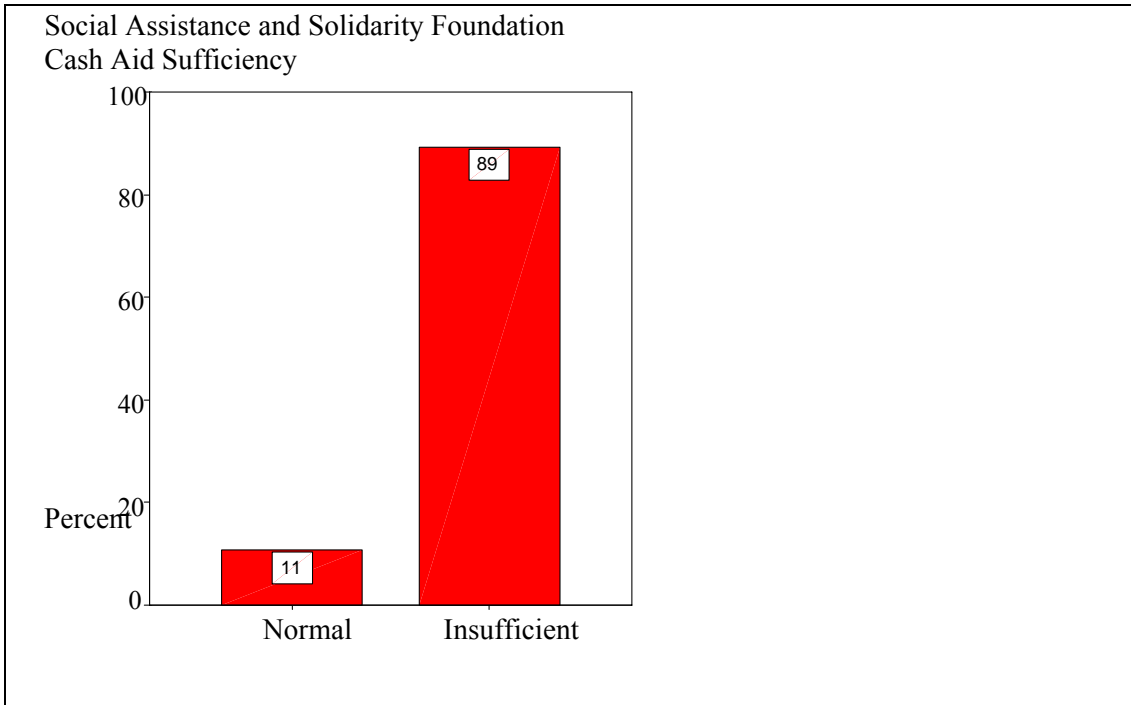
APPENDIX B: Survey Graphs

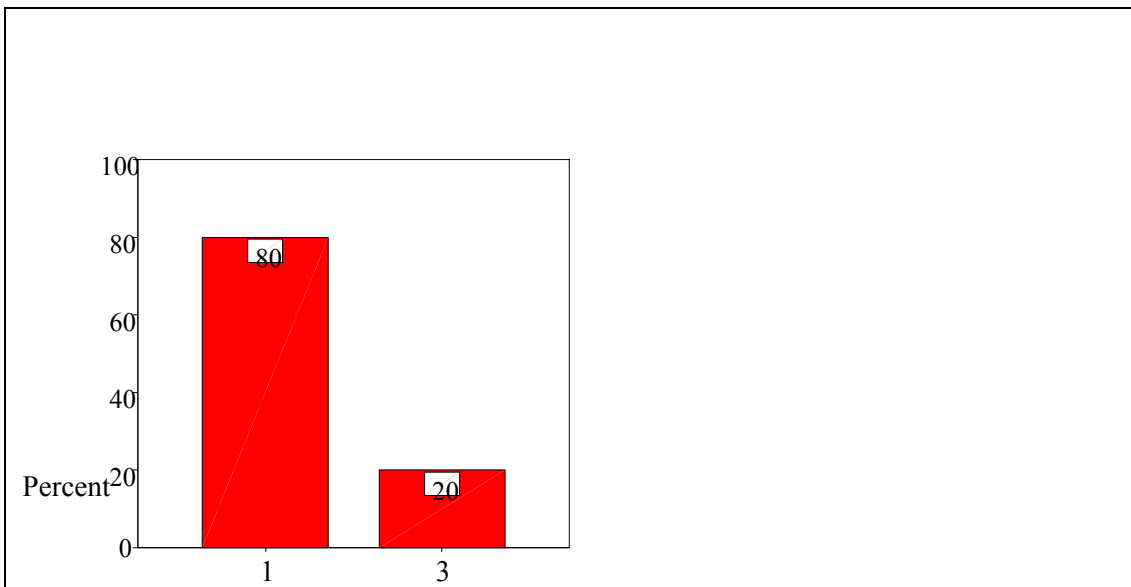
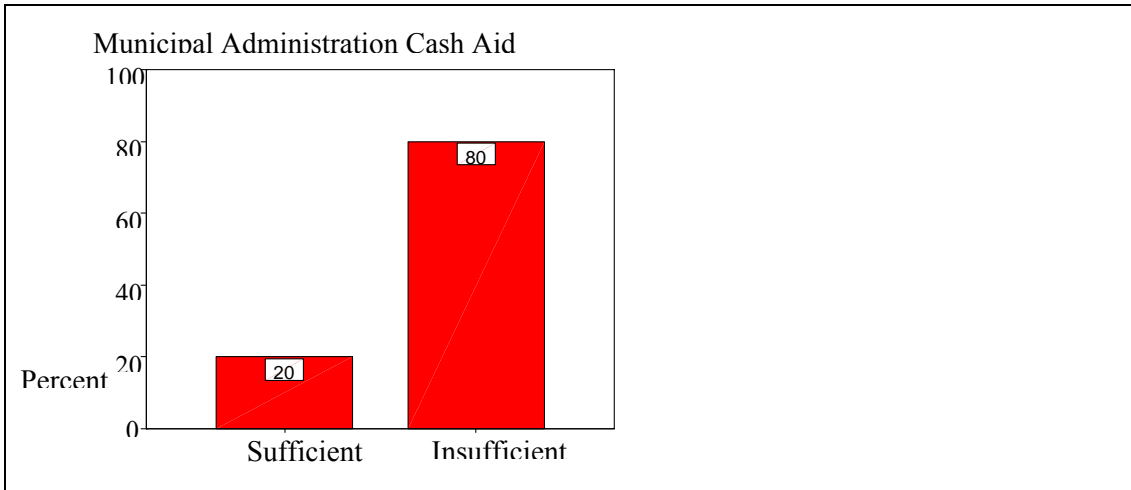
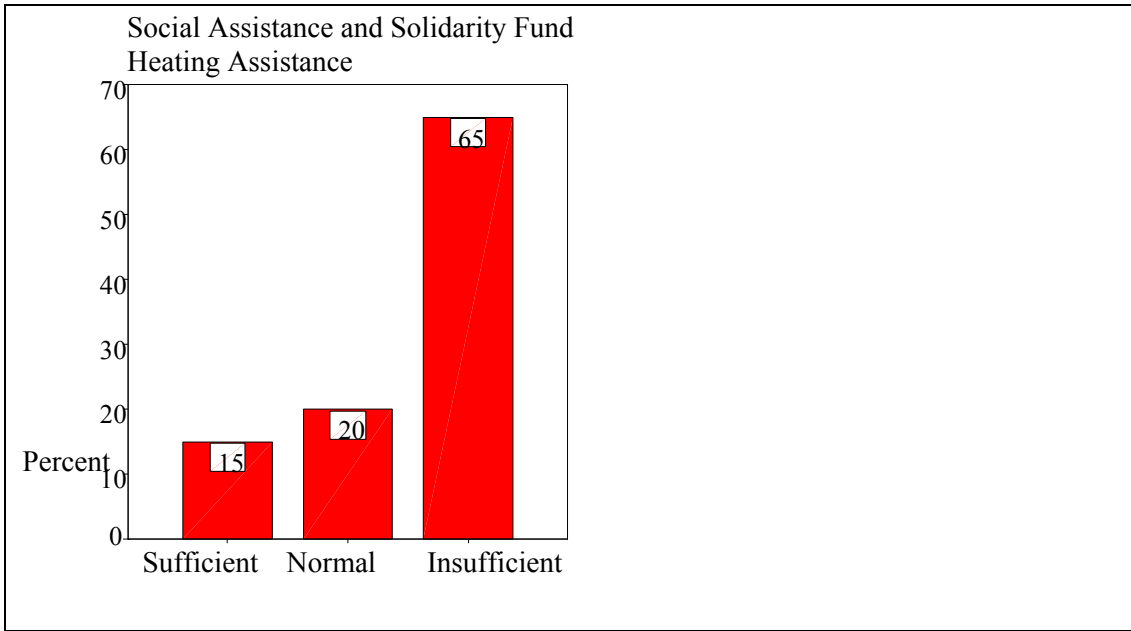
A. Muğla Case

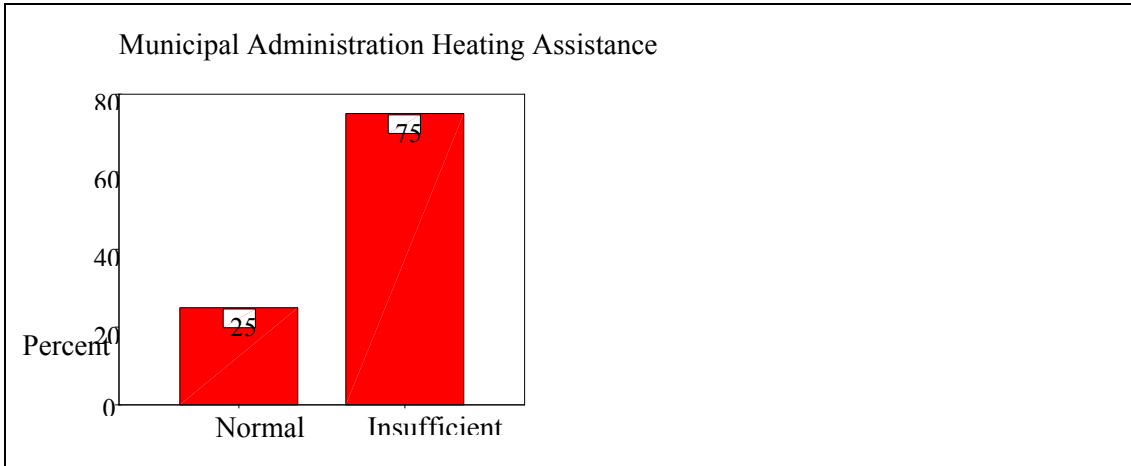




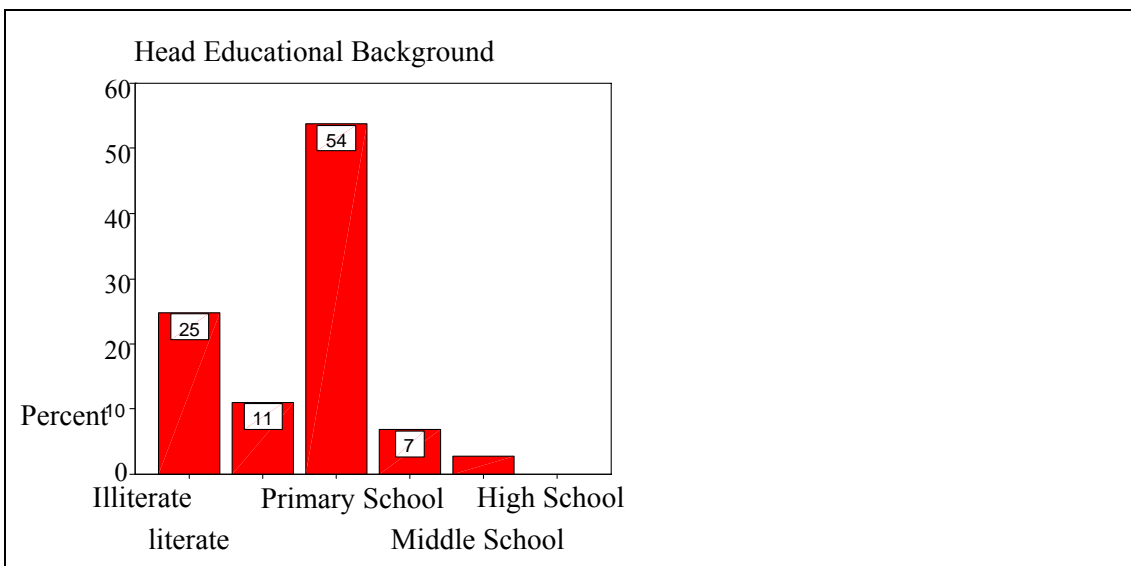
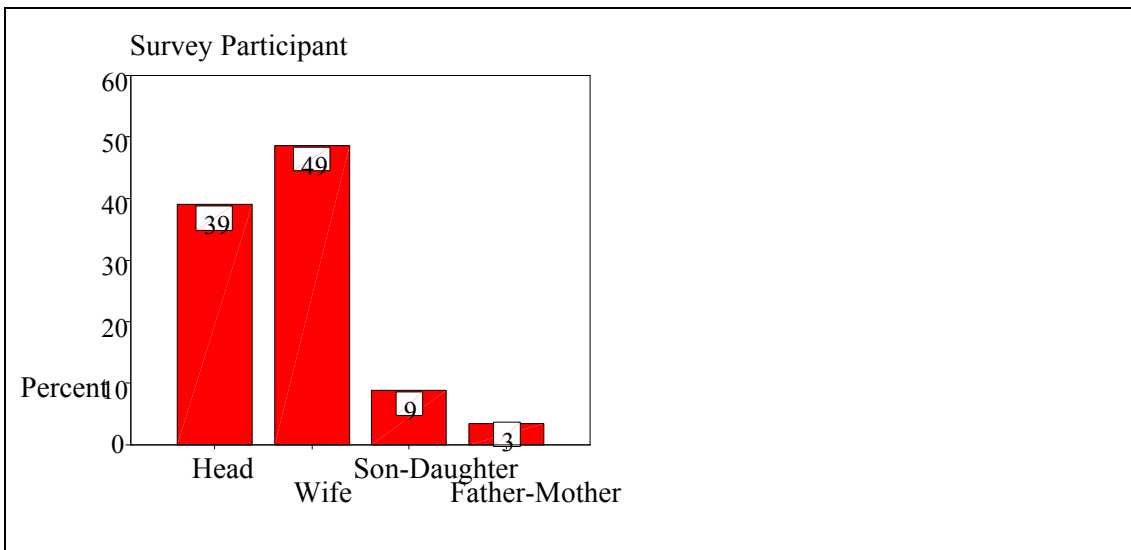




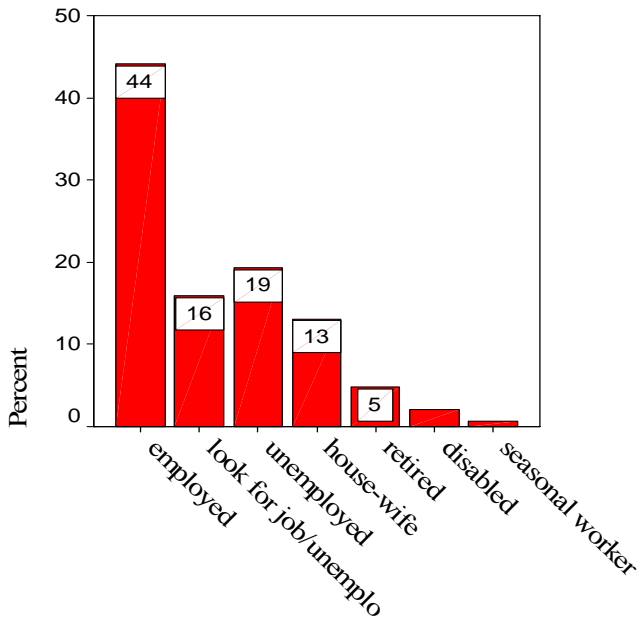




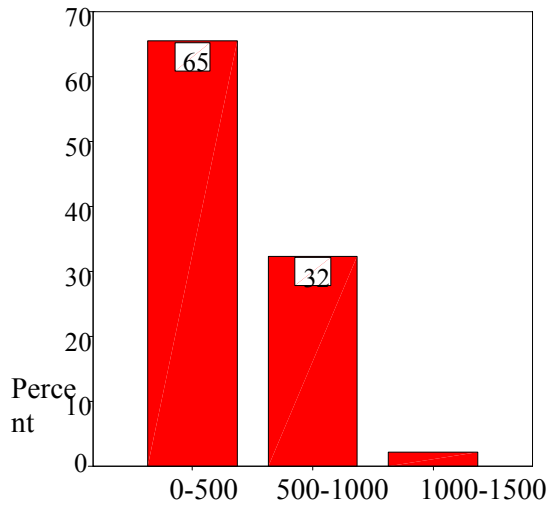
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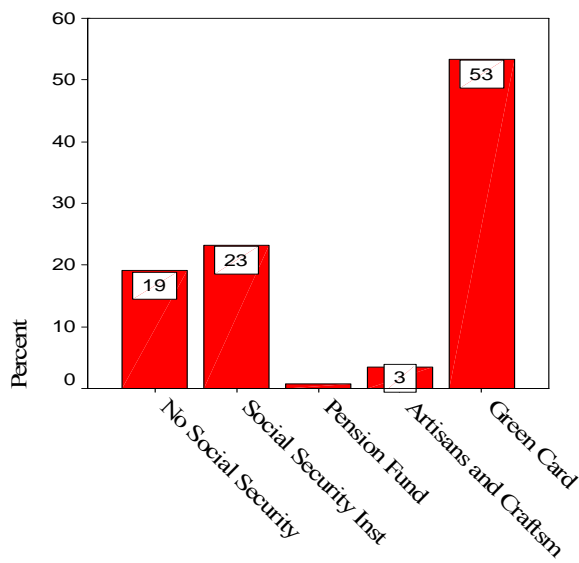
Head Employment Condition1



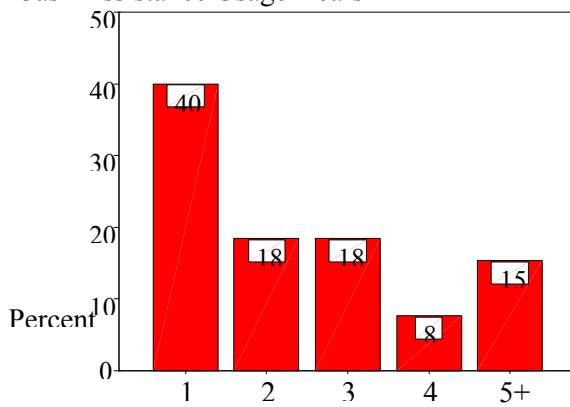
Household Total Monthly Wage

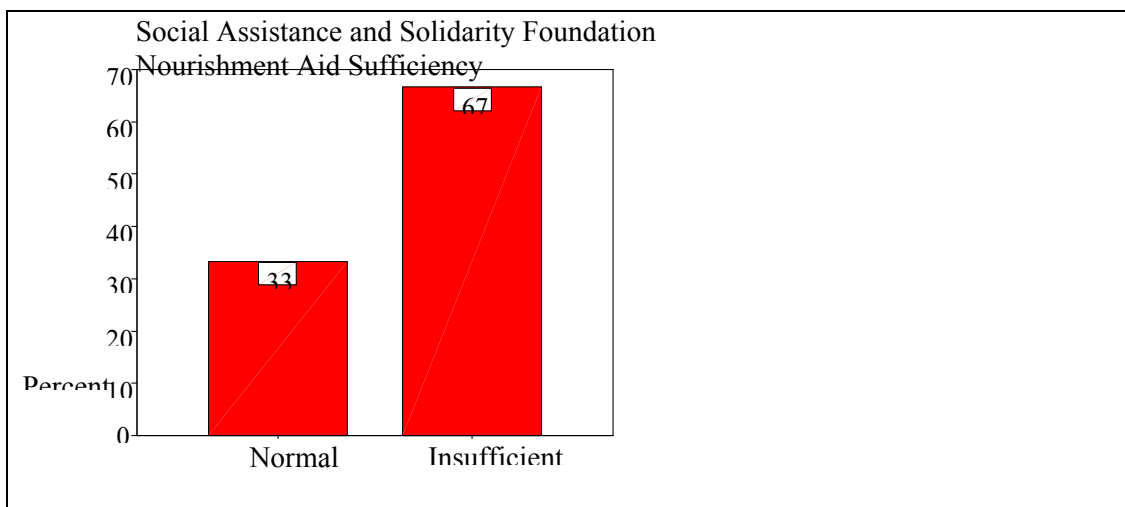
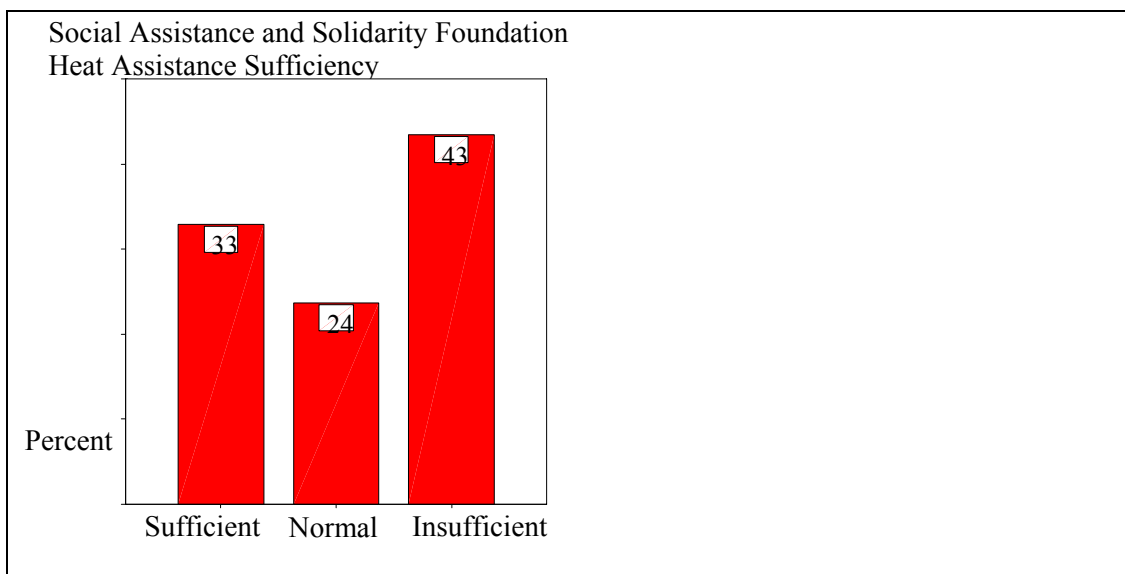
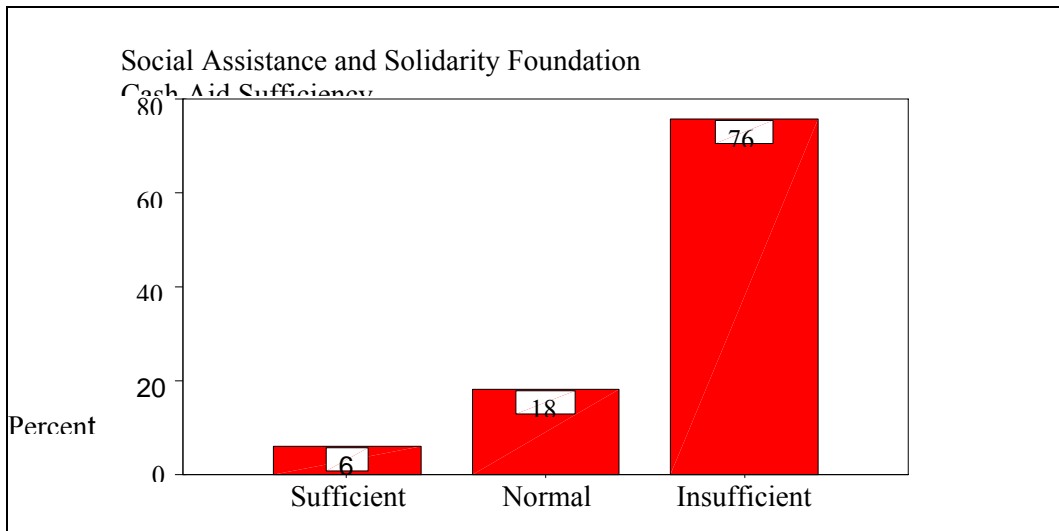


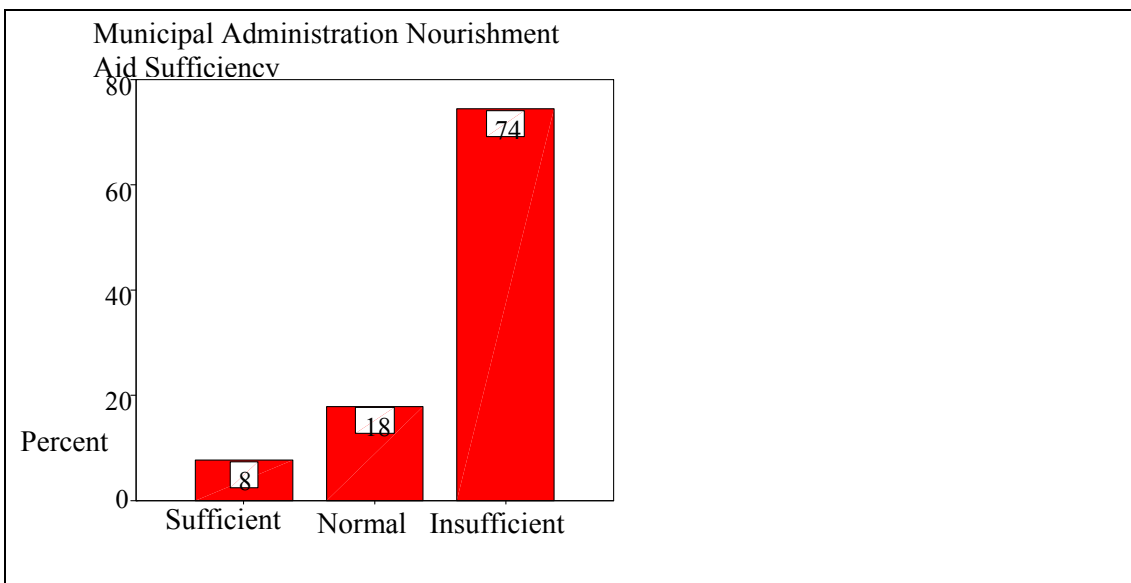
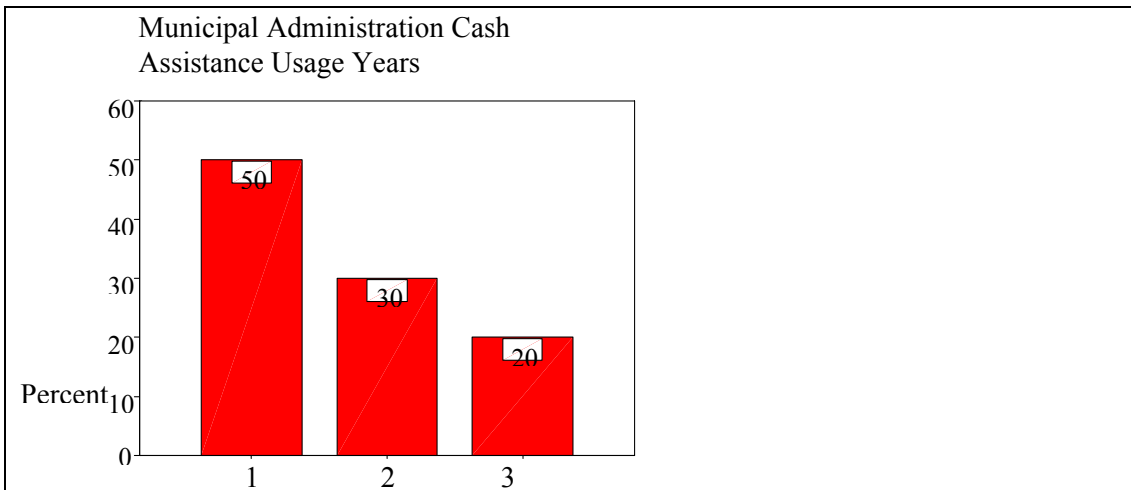
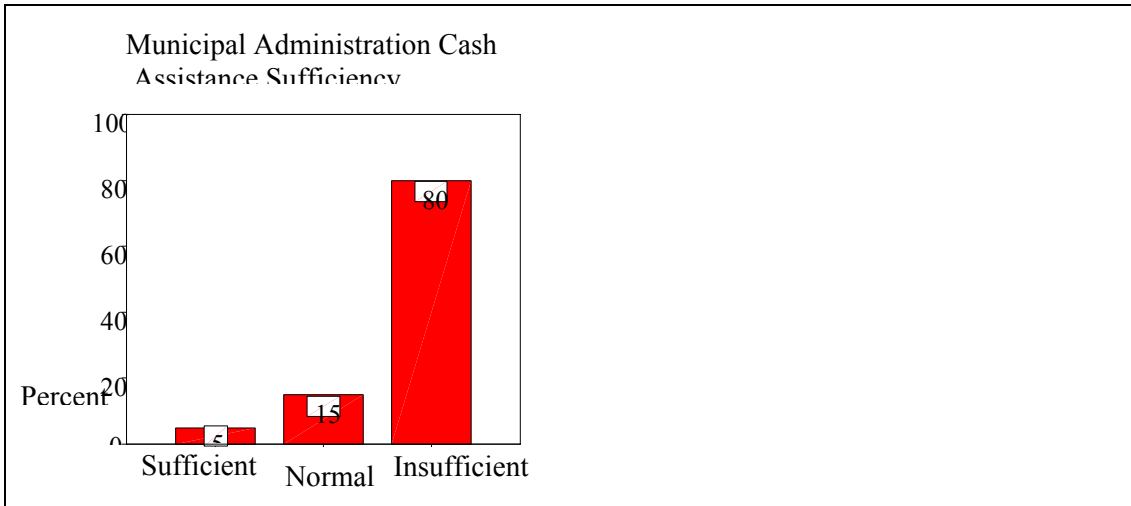
Head Social Security

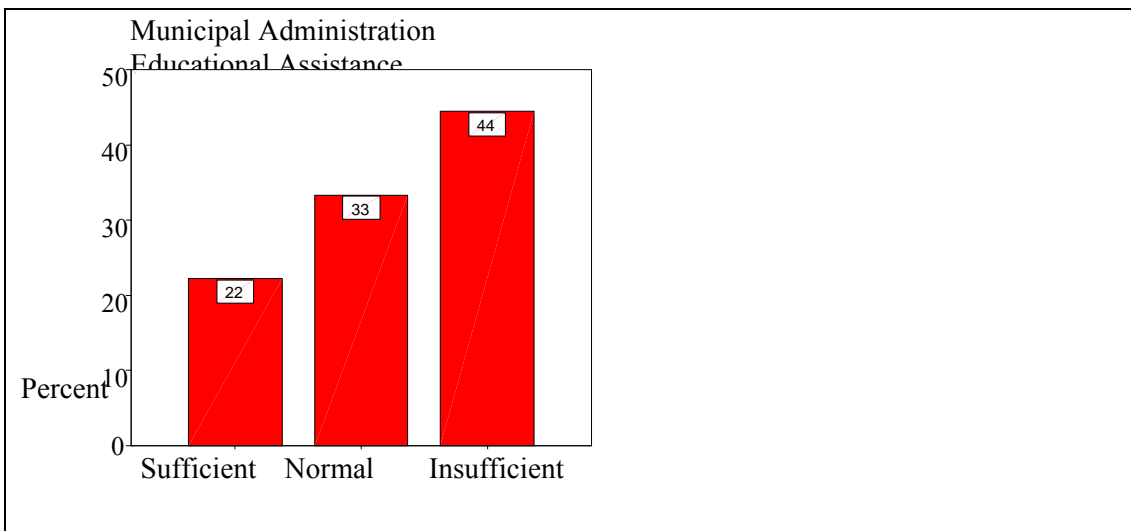
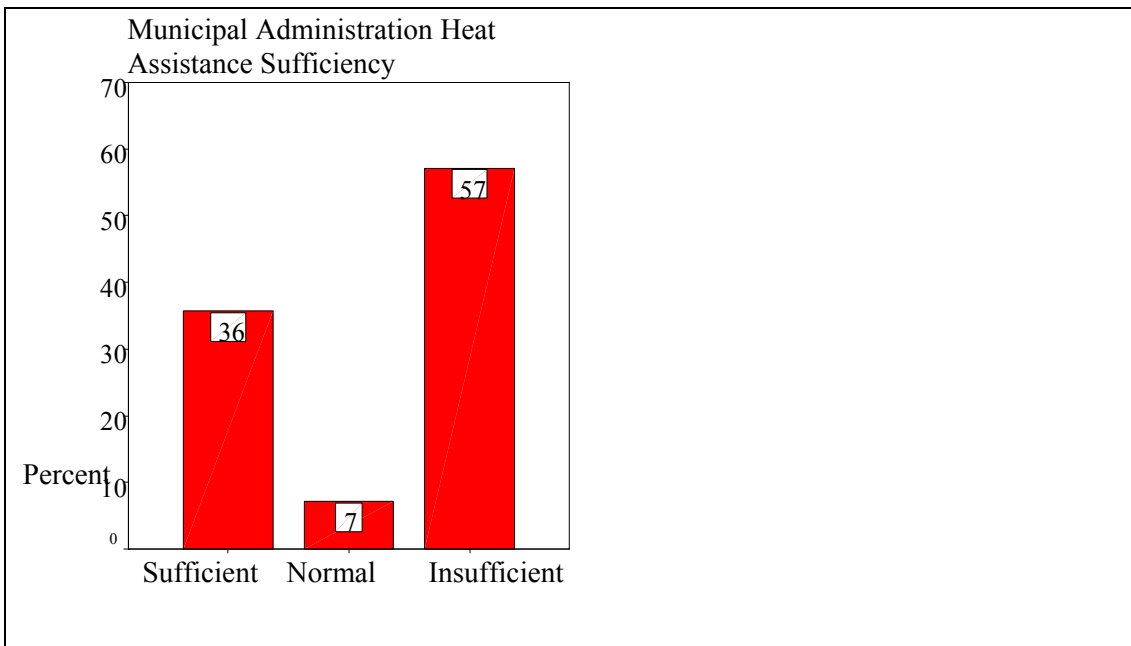


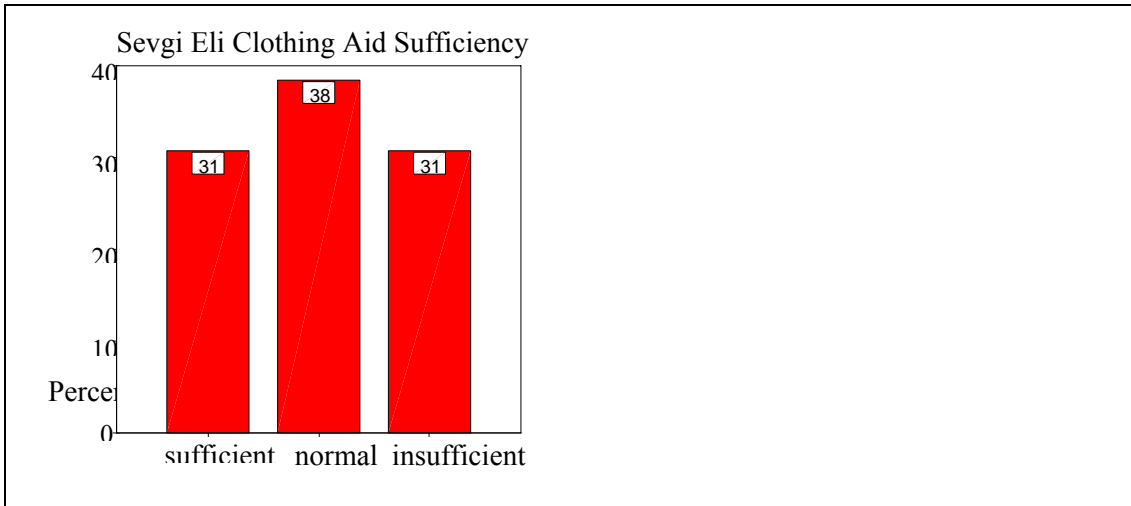
Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation Cash Assistance Usage Years



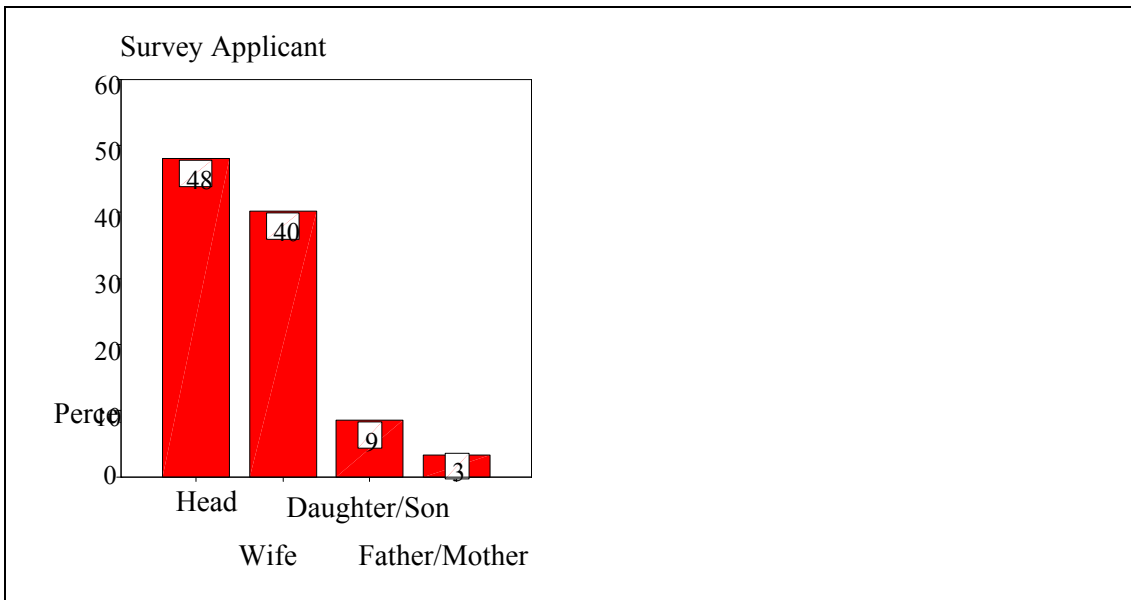


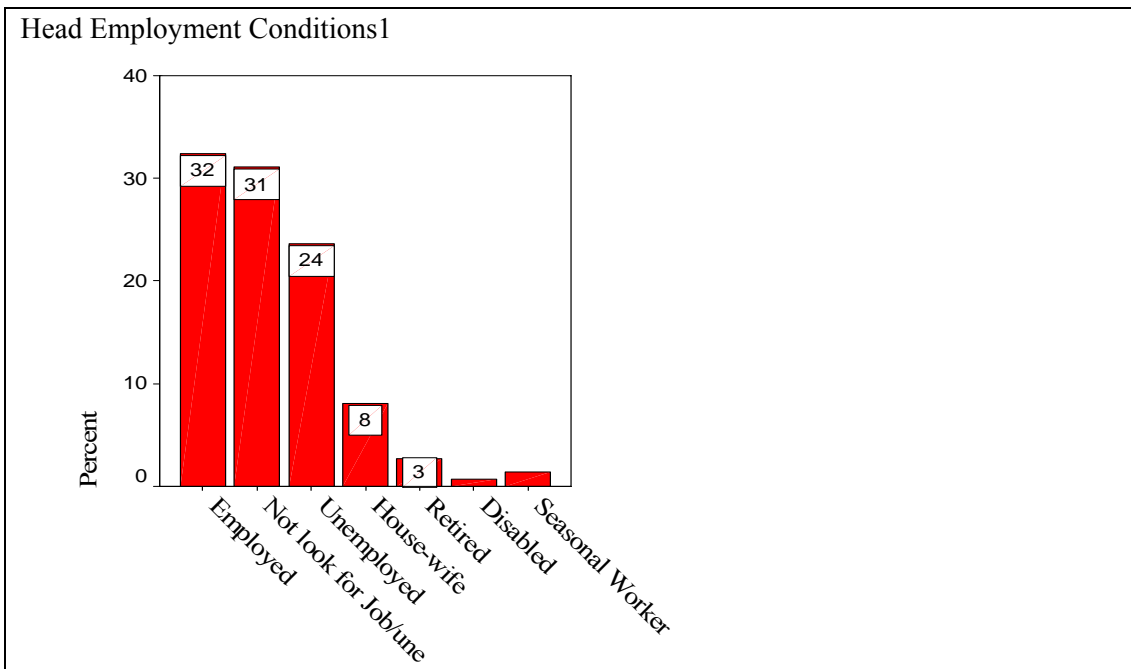
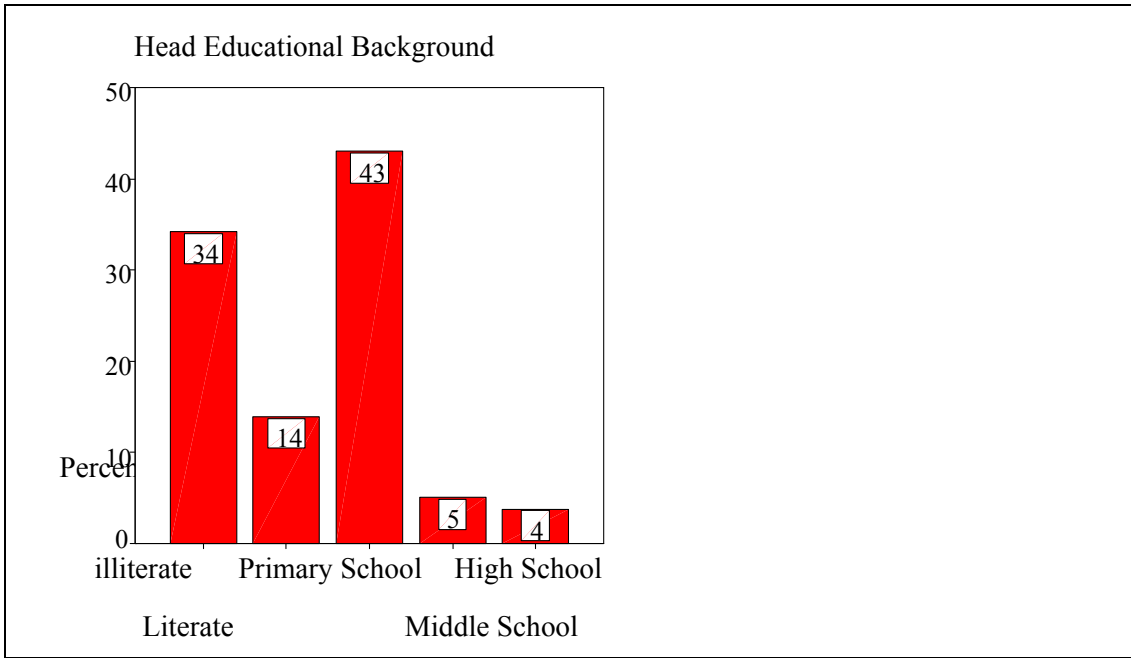


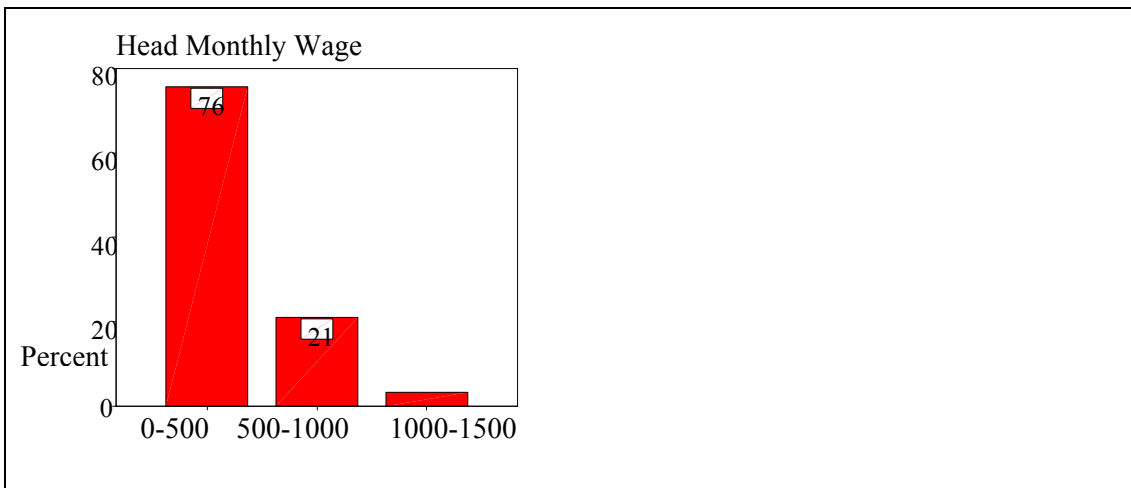
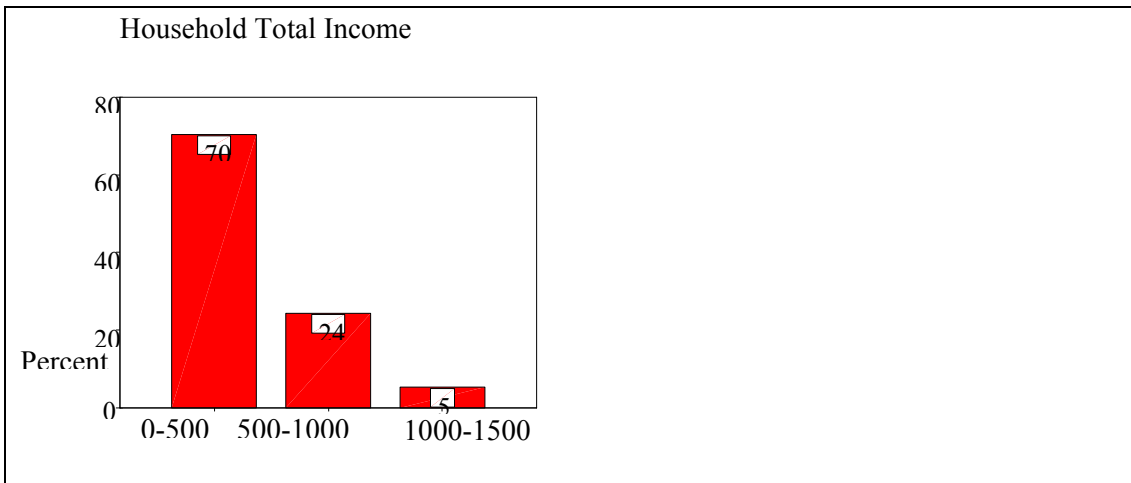
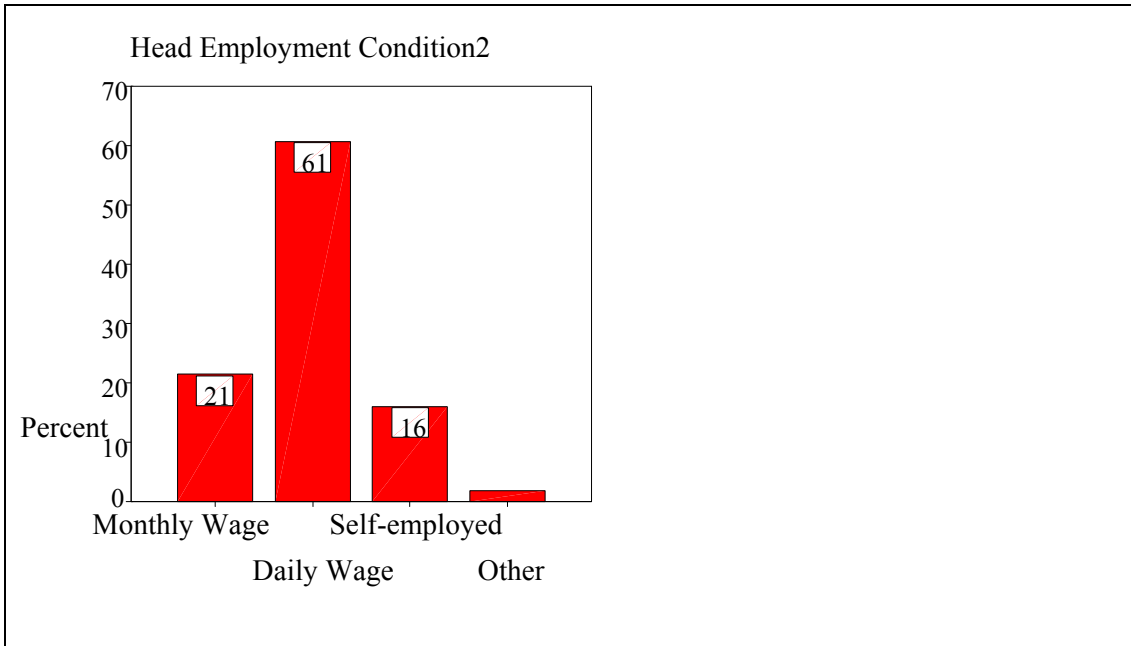


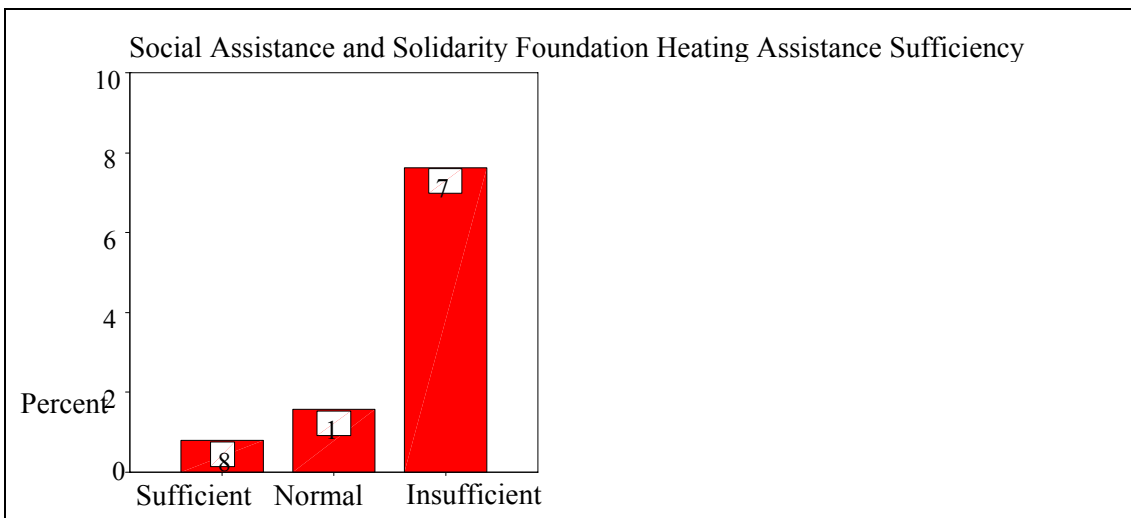
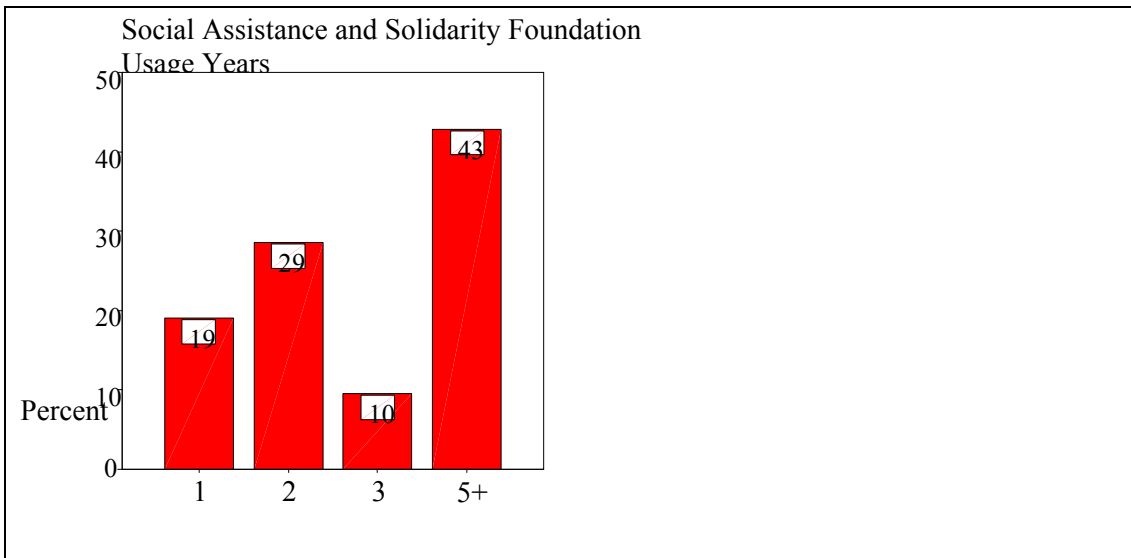
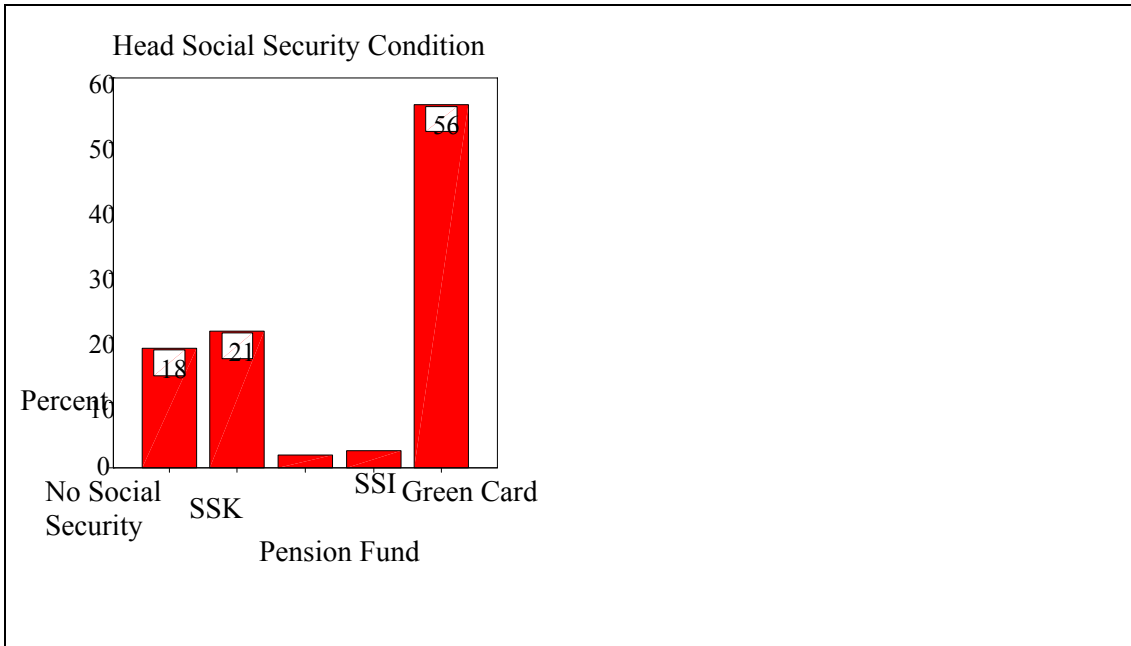


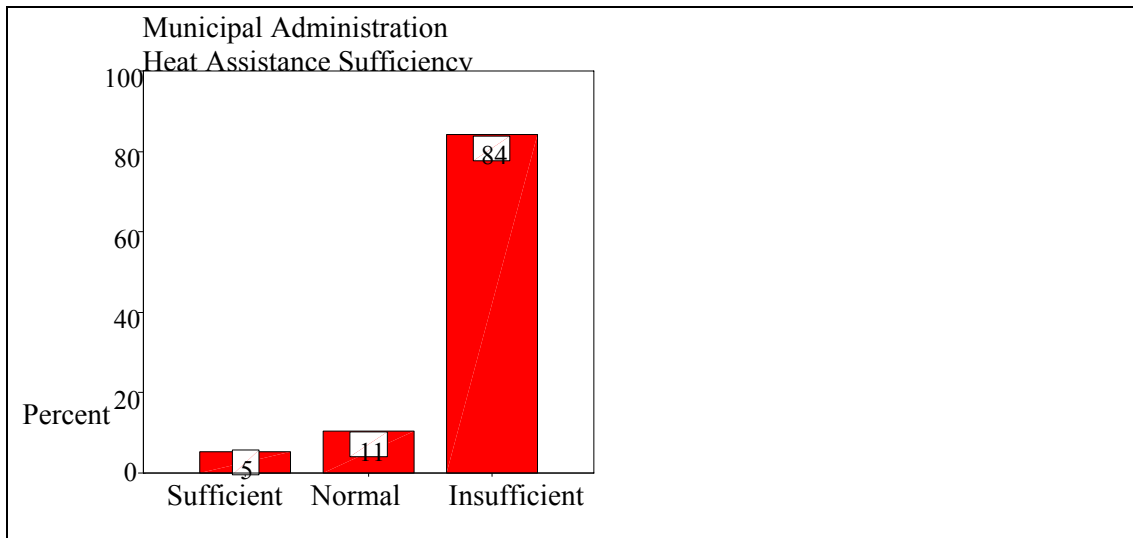
C.Aydin Case:











APPENDIX C: Survey Form

ANKET FORMU:

Sayın Katılımcı,

ODTÜ, Kentsel Politika Planlama ve Yerel Yönetimler Anabilim Dalı, Doktora Tezım kapsamında yapılmakta olan bu anket akademik amaçlı kullanılacak ve yanıt verenlerin isimleri kesinlikle saklı tutulacaktır. Bu nedenle, aşağıda yer alan soruları içtenlikle cevaplamanızı rica ediyorum. Çalışmaya katkıda bulunduğunuz için teşekkür ederim.

Zuhal Önez Çetin

A. Genel Bilgiler:

1.Hane halkı Reisine olan yakınlık:

- 1.Kendisi
- 2.Eşi
- 3.Ođlu-kızı
- 4.Babası-annesi
- 5.Diđer

2.Hane halkı birey sayısı:

- 1.1
- 2.2
- 3.3
- 4.4
- 5.5+

3.Eđitim Durumu:

- 3.1.Hane Halkı Reisi Eđitim Durumu (.....)
 - 3.2. Diđer Hane Halkı Bireyi Eđitim Durumu (....)
- 0-Okuma yazma yok
- 1.Okuryazar
 - 2.İlkokul
 - 3.İlköđretim
 - 4.Lise
 - 5.Üniversite/ Yüksekokul
 - 6.Yüksek lisans-Doktora

4.Okuyan Çocuk Sayısı:

- 1.1
- 2.2
- 3.3+

5.Çalışma Durumu:

- 5.1.Hane Halkı Reisi Çalışma Durumu (.....)
 - 5.2. Diđer Hane Halkı Bireyi Çalışma Durumu (....)
- 1.Çalışıyor
 - 2.İş Arıyor/ İşsiz
 - 3.İş Aramıyor/İşsiz
 - 4.Ev Kadını
 - 5.Öđrenci
 - 6.Emekli
 7. Özürlü
 - 8.Mevsimlik İşçi
 - 9.Emekli

10.Diğer

6. İşteki Konum:

6.1.Hane Halkı Reisinin İşteki Durumu (.....)

6.2. Diğer Hane Halkı Bireyinin İşteki Durumu(.....)

1.Ücretli/ Maaşlı

2.Yevmiyeli

3.İşveren

4.Kendi Hesabına

5.Diğer

7.İşten Elde Ettiği Aylık Gelir:

7.1.Hane Halkı Reisi Aylık Geliri (.....)

7.2. Diğer Hane Halkı Bireyinin Aylık Geliri(.....)

7.3.Hanenin Aylık Toplam Geliri (.....)

1. 0- 500

2. 500- 1.000

3. 1000-1500

4. 1500-2000

5. 2000-2500

6. 2500-3000

7. 3000+

8. Sosyal Güvenlik:

8.1.Hane Halkı Reisi Sosyal Güvenlik Durumu (.....)

8.2. Diğer Hane Halkı Bireyi Sosyal Güvenlik Durumu (.....)

0.Sosyal güvenlik yok

1.SSK

2.Emekli sandığı

3.Bağ-kur

4.Özel sigorta

5.Yeşil kart

6.Diğer

B. Yoksulluk Kurumları ve Hizmetleri:

9. Aşağıdaki kurumların sağladığı sosyal hizmetlerden yararlanıyorsanız, bu hizmet ya da hizmetlerden yararlanma süreniz ve bu hizmetlerin yeterliliğine ilişkin fikriniz nedir?

Kurumlar	Yararlanılan Hizmet Türü			Yararlanma Süresi		Yeterlilik Düzeyi
	Nakdi	Ayni	İstihdam Yaratmaya Yönelik	Kaç Yıldır Hizmetten Yararlanılıyor?	Hangi Sıklıkta Hizmetten Yararlanılıyor?	
SDYV						
İl Özel						

İdare						
Belediye						
Özel Yardım Kuruluşu						

10. Belediyenin sosyal yardım hizmetlerinden yararlanıyorsanız, belediyenin hangi birim ya da birimlerinden yararlanıyorsunuz?

.....

11. Belediyenin sosyal yardım hizmetleri alanında yeterli bilgiye sahip misiniz?

a-Evet b-Hayır (Neden.....)

12. Belediyenin sosyal yardımla ilgili hizmetleri hakkındaki bilgiyi nereden edindiniz?

a-Belediyenin dağıttığı broşürlerden
sakinleri
b-Gazete /Dergi
c-Yerel TV- Radyo
vatandaşlardan
d-Akraba/Komşu/Mahalle
e-Muhtar
f-Yardım alan diğer

13. Belediye sosyal yardımla ilgili hizmetlerin dağıtımında adil davranıyor mu?

a. Evet b.Hayır (Böyle düşünmenizin nedeni

14. Belediye sosyal yardımların dağıtımında ailelerin ihtiyaçlarına uygun mu hizmet sağlıyor (öncesinde ihtiyaç tespiti yapılıyor mu?)

a. Evet b.Hayır (Böyle düşünmenizin nedeni

15. Belediyenin maddi ve aynı (gıda, eğitim, sağlık, yakacak) yardım faaliyetlerini yeterli buluyor musunuz?

a. Evet b.Hayır (Neden

16. Belediyenin sağladığı sosyal hizmetleri yeterli bulmuyorsanız, belediyelerin sağlaması gerektiğini düşündüğünüz hizmetler nelerdir?

.....

17. Valilik (Sosyal Yardımlaşma Vakfı) ve İl Özel İdarenin sosyal yardım faaliyetlerini nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?

.....

18. Yoksullukla mücadelede belediyenin başarılı olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?

a. Evet b.Hayır (Neden

Belediyenin başarısız olduğu düşünülüyorsa;

19. Sizce hangi kurum ya da kurumlar yoksullukla mücadelede başarılı?

.....

20. Sosyal yardımlar ve yoksullukla ilgili eklemek istediğiniz düşünceler;

.....

APPENDIX D: Interview List

Denizli Municipality, Head of Education, Culture and Social Affairs Department:Hüdeverdi Otaklı

Denizli Municipality, Social Staff: Sami Güngör

Denizli Municipality, Social Staff: Behiye Oğuz

Denizli Municipality, Social Staff (Head of Disabled Coordination Center):Sevgi Gökçe

Denizli Special Provincial Administration: Assistant General Secretary İsmail Özkan

Denizli Special Provincial Administration: Strategic Planning Staff Pelin Aslı Özen

Denizli Governorate: Assistant Governor of Halil İbrahim Öztekin

Denizli Head of SASF: Fatih Işık

Denizli SASF Social Staff: Murat Oturaklı

Denizli SASF Social Staff: Serkan Arıcan

Muğla Municipality, Head of Education, Culture and Social Affairs Department:Hülya Ereşter

Muğla Municipality Assistant Mayor: Hüseyin Daşçı

Muğla Municipality Social Staff: Ali Birgül

Muğla Municipality Social Staff: Soner Uysal

Muğla Municipality Social Staff (Project Department Coordinator):Ömür Çakmaklı

Muğla Municipality Municipal Police Department Social Staff: Ayhan Hasdemir

Muğla Municipality Municipal Police Department Social Staff:İbrahim Uysal

Muğla Municipality Women Solidarity Center: Leyla Bütün

Muğla Special Provincial Administration Assistant General Secretariat: Veli Çelik

Muğla Special Provincial Administration Education, Culture and Social Affairs Department: Abdullah Almış

Muğla Special Provincial Administration Health Department: Ahmet Selçuk Çimen

Muğla Governorate Assistant Governor: Ahmet Ali Barış

Muğla Head of SASF: Mustafa Haney

Muğla SASF Social Staff: Sabri Ayhan

Aydın Municipality Head of Education, Culture and Social Affairs Department: Tahsin Kocaman

Aydın Municipality AY-BA Center Social Staff: İbrahim Gülümser

Aydın Municipality AY-BA Center Social Staff: Filiz Şengönül

Aydın Special Provincial Administration General Secretariat: Halil İbrahim Aktemur

Aydın Special Provincial Administration Education, Head of Culture and Social Affairs

Department:

Faruk Uludađlı

Aydın Special Provincial Administration Education, Culture and Social Affairs Department

Social Staff: Figen Puşlu

Aydın Special Provincial Administration Education, Culture and Social Affairs Department

Social Staff: Engin Ünal

Aydın Head of SASF: Murat Bildik

Aydın SASF Social Staff: Neziha Kırhođlu Bildik

Aydın SASF Social Staff: Zeynep Özbek

APPENDIX E: Curriculum Vitae

CURRICULUM VITAE PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: Çetin Önez, Zuhâl
Nationality: Turkish (TC)
Date and Place of Birth: 09.10.1980, İzmir
Marital Status: Married
e-mail: zuhalonez@gmail.com

EDUCATION

Degree

	Institution	Year of Graduation
MS	METU Political Science and Public Administration	2006
BS	Osmangazi University, Business Administration	2003
High School	Denizli Anatolian High School	1998

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2004- Present	Pamukkale University Political Science and Public Administration Department	Research Assistant

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English

PUBLICATIONS

Torlak, S. Evinç - Önez, Zuhâl, (2005), "Evaluation of Local Agenda 21 As a Participative Model", Ed. Özgür, H.- Kösecik, M., Contemporary Essays on Local Governments (*Yerel Yönetimler Üzerine Güncel Yazular- I*), Nobel Publication , pp. 649-675.

Önez, Zuhâl, (2008), "Administrative Problems of Special Environmental Protection Area (SEPA): Pamukkale Special Environmental Protection Area Case", SBE, *Akademik İncelemeler Dergisi*, No: 3 (1), pp.55-73.

Çetin Önez, Zuhâl, (2012) "Yoksulluğu Azaltmada Yeni Bir Yaklaşım: Yoksul-Yanlı Turizm", Pamukkale Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi, Vol. 11, pp.97-109.

Çetin Önez, Zuhâl and Hüseyin Özgür, (2012), "A Critical Theoretical Evaluation on Pro-Poor Tourism and Poverty Alleviation", Mustafa Kemal Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi, Vol. 9, No.17, pp.115-133.

HOBBIES

Photography, Basketball.

APPENDIX F: Turkish Summary

TURKISH SUMMARY

Dünya, 1980'lerden bu yana, neo-liberal politikalarında etkisiyle sosyal, politik, yönetsel ve ekonomik alanlarda bir dönüşüm sürecine sahne olmaktadır. Küresel bir problem olarak yoksulluk sorunsalı bu sosyo-ekonomik dönüşüm sürecinde, gelişmiş ve gelişmekte olan ülkelerin politik gündemlerinde en ön sırayı almaktadır. Dünya'da kapitalist sermaye birikiminin mantığı altında, yoksulluk günden güne kötüleşmekte ve toplumun dezavantajlı ve kırılgan kesimlerinin problemlerini derinleştirmektedir. Özellikle gelişmekte olan ülkelerde yoksulluğun kötü etkilerini engellemeye yönelik çabalarda çok az ilerleme görülmektedir.

Bu kapsamda tez çalışması, küresel ölçekte ortaya çıkan sosyo-ekonomik dönüşümü ve bu dönüşüm sürecinin kentsel yoksulluk ve kentsel yoksulluğu azaltma üzerindeki etkilerine odaklanmakta, ayrıca gelişmekte olan bir ülke olarak Türkiye'nin kentsel yoksulluk süreci ve kentsel yoksulluğu azaltma politikaları Cumhuriyet Dönemi, başlangıç tarihi olarak alınarak ayrıntılı bir şekilde incelenmektedir. Çalışmada 1980 ve sonrası dönem, neo-liberal politikalarla birlikte kentsel yoksulluğun yapısında ve doğasında meydana gelen değişimi gösternede kritik bir öneme sahiptir. Tez çalışması neo-liberal teorinin yoksulluk ve yoksulluğu azaltma söyleminin eleştirisi üzerinde durmaktadır. Harvey (2005: 64-67), bu noktada neo-liberalizmin yoksulluğa bakış açısını şu sözlerle tanımlamaktadır; "neo-liberal teori yoksulluğun serbest piyasa ve ticaret koşulları altında en iyi ve en güvenli şekilde azaltılabileceği düşüncesi üzerine odaklanmaktadır." Kotz (2000: 1-2) bu noktada, neo-liberal teorinin yoksulluğa bakış açısına şu sözleriyle katkıda bulunur: "Kapitalist sistem (serbest piyasa ekonomisi)' nin bireyin ideal olan arasından özgürce seçim yapabilmesine imkan tanımakla birlikte, neo-liberal politikalarla birlikte ekonomik performansta etkinlik, ekonomik gelişme, teknik ilerleme ve adalet konusunda optimumu yakalanabilecektir". Bütün bu düşüncelere ek olarak, neo-liberal teori, yoksulluk problemine insan sermayesi eksikliğinden kaynaklı ve bireyin eksikliklerine dayanan bir problem algısıyla yaklaşmaktadır. Neo-liberal teoriye göre birey kültürel olarak da yeniden sosyalleştirilmelidir; bu noktada insan sermayesi eksikliği giderilmeli ve bireyin işgücüne katılımını gerektiren mobilizasyonu sağlanarak, yoksullar yapabilir kılınmalıdır. Bu

bağlamda, sosyal yardım ve hizmetlere dayalı sosyal politika tabanlı uygulamaların bireyi bağımlılığa iteceği, bireyin işgücüne girişini kısıtlayacağı, tembelliğe sürükleyeceği ve bu nedenle de yoksulun mutlak suretle işgücüne entegre olması gerektiği düşüncesi hakimdir (Room, Katz: 548- 553). Neo-liberal politikalar daha çok sosyal harcamalarda kısıtlamaya gidilmesi, yoksulu koruyan sosyal güvenlik ağlarının azaltılması, sosyal güvenlik kurumlarının rolünün azaltılması gibi önerilere dayanmaktadır. Fakat böyle bir teorik kapsamda, neo-liberalizmin önerdiği politikalar çerçevesinde yoksulluğun azaltılmadığı, hatta yoksulluk verilerinde özellikle gelişmekte olan ülkelerde kötüleşmeye gidildiği gözlemlenmiştir. Neo-liberal politikaların uygulanmasıyla birlikte, sadece işsiz kesimin değil, çalışan yoksul rakamlarında da artış olduğu gözlemlenmiştir, sözü edilen politikalar yoksulun yaşam koşullarının kötüleşmesine yol açmakla birlikte, yoksulluk döngüsünden çıkabilmelerinin olanaklarını da kısıtlamıştır. Bu noktada artık yoksul, sadece finansal güçlüklerle değil, aynı zamanda sosyal dışlanmanın da unsurlarını içeren kültürel, politik ve sosyal problemlerle mücadele etmek zorundadır. Bu açıklamadan da anlaşılacağı üzere yeni yoksulluk, yeni bileşenleriyle birlikte gelişmiş ve gelişmekte olan ülkeleri ekonomik, sosyal ve kültürel açılardan tehdit eder hala gelmektedir.

Tez çalışmasında, yoksulluk ve yoksulluğu azaltma; neo-liberal politikaların incelenmesini baz alarak, 1980 ve 1990 sonrası dönemler itibariyle Bretton Woods kurumlarının birincil (ekonomik ve siyasal özgürlük akımı) ve ikincil kuşak reform (politik ve yönetsel özgürlük akımı) süreçleri üzerinden ayrıntılı şekilde incelenmiştir. Bu kapsamda, Yapısal Uyarlanma Reformları, birincil kuşak reformlar olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır, bu reform paketleri devletin sorumluluk ve yönetsel alanlarında azaltmaya gidilmesi gerektiği üzerinde odaklanmaktadır. Fakat, bir süre sonra, yapısal uyarlanma reformlarını uygulayan ülkelere yoksulluk oranlarında ciddi artışlar yaşandığı gözlemlenmiştir (İnsel, 2001: 62). Minimal devlet anlayışı yoksul birey ve grupların yaşam koşullarının daha da kötüleşmesine yol açmıştır (Chossudousky, 1999: 15-16). Türkiye’de gelişmekte olan bir ülke olarak, bu sosyo-ekonomik dönüşüm sürecinden etkilenmiştir ve özellikle kentsel yoksulluk, bireylerin yaşam koşullarını tehdit eder bir hal almıştır. Kentsel alanlar günümüzde şu risklerle karşı karşıya bulunmaktadır; gelir yetersizliği, gelir dağılımında adaletsizlik, konut yoksunluğu, sosyal koruma mekanizmalarında azalma, sağlık ve eğitim olanaklarına sınırlı erişim (WB, 2006). Günümüzde, kentsel yoksulluk, 1980 sonrası sosyo-ekonomik süreçten etkilenmiş ve yeni kentsel yoksulluk sorunu sosyal dışlanma, sosyal ayrımcılık ve kırılabilirlik gibi söylemlerle yeni bir boyut kazanmıştır. 1990 sonrası, ikincil kuşak yapısal reform sürecinde Bretton Woods kurumlarında, yoksulluğun kötüleşen istatistikleriyle birlikte, özellikle politika önerilerinde bir değişim yaşanmıştır (Öniş and Şenses, 2003: 14). Bu çerçevede,

yoksulluğu azaltma söylemi de değişime uğramıştır. Bu değişimi 2000 yılında yayımlanan Dünya Kalkınma Raporunda da görmek mümkündür; etkin yoksullukla mücadele stratejisi üç boyut etrafında tanımlanmaktadır; fırsatları arttırmak, yapabilir kılmak ve güvenliği arttırmak. Bunlara ek olarak rapor iyi yönetim, yoksulun karar alma süreçlerine katılımı ve yerelleşmeyi destekleme gibi konular üzerine odaklanmaktadır. 1990 sonrası, ikincil kuşak reform süreciyle ortaya çıkan etkin-yapabilir devlet düşüncesi ve yeni bir yönetim modeli olarak yönetim; katılım, yerelleşme, hesap verebilirlik, şeffaflık gibi argümanların ortaya çıkmasına neden olmuştur. Bu kavramlar yoksulluğu azaltma söylemini de etkilemiş ve yoksullukla ilintili birçok sorumluluğun yerel yönetime geçişine sebebiyet vermiştir.

Bu kapsamda, yerel yönetimler politika yapıcılar olarak yoksullukla mücadelede ön plana çıkmıştır. Yerel yönetimler temelinde yoksullukla mücadelenin, yoksullukta merkezi hükümete nazaran daha etkin politikalar üretebileceği düşüncesi; yerel yönetimlerin merkezi hükümete oranla daha katılımcı, hesap verebilir olduğu, daha etkin ve hizmet sunumu yapabileceği, halkın ihtiyaçlarına daha kolay cevap verebileceği düşünceleri üzerine inşa edilmektedir. Bu kapsamda, Dünya Bankası Kentsel Yönetim Programı kentsel yoksulluğu azaltmada yerel yönetim üzerine vurgu yapmakta, Dünya Kalkınma Raporu (2003) kentsel yoksullukta yerel yönetimlerin sorumluluklarının artması gerektiği düşüncesini belirtmekte, Birleşmiş Milletler Habitat Konferansı ve Milenyum Zirvesi yerel yönetimlerin yoksullukla ilgili temel roller üzerine odaklanmakta olan küresel örnekler olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Yerel yönetimler, devletin yerel ölçüğe güç aktarımıyla birlikte refah hizmetleri sunumunda ön plana çıkmış ve yoksullukla mücadeledeki sosyal sorumlulukları artmıştır (Brenner, 1999: 442). Bu noktada, her ne kadar yerel yönetimlere yoksullukla mücadelede yeni sorumluluklar yüklenmekteyse de yerel yönetimler finansal, yönetsel ve teknik birçok kısıtla karşı karşıya bulunmaktadır. Bunlara ek olarak yerel siyaset değişmekte, yerel ölçekte ekonomik rekabet ve ekonomik büyüme odaklı politikalar ön plana çıkmaktadır. Yerel yönetimler kendilerini kentsel düzeyde daha rekabetçi bir ortamda bulmakta ve yoksullukla mücadele yerel yönetimler açısından daha zor bir hal almaktadır çünkü değişen sosyo-politik gündem refah sağlayıcı hizmet sunumu yapmak yerine piyasa odaklı seçim yapma gereği düşüncesine dayanmaktadır (Pickvance and Preteceille, 1991). Bu açıklamalardan da anlaşılacağı üzere, yerel yönetimler her ne kadar yerel siyasette özellikle yeni kentsel yoksullukla mücadelede yeni sorumluluklar kazanmışsa da, diğer yanda kapitalist sermaye birikimden pay almak için kentsel yarışa dahil olmuştur; bu da özellikle kentsel yoksul kesim için refah hizmeti sunumunda problemlere sebebiyet vermektedir.

Bu kapsamda tez, yerel yönetimler üzerine ortaya çıkan “yerel yönetimler merkezi hükümete nazaran yoksullukla mücadelede daha etkin, verimli politika ve çözümler üretebilir” küresel söyleminin reddine dayanmaktadır. Günümüzde merkezi hükümetlerce çözülemeyen yoksullukla mücadele sorunu, yerel yönetimlerin parçacıl çözümlerine bırakılmaktadır. Çalışma iki temel varsayıma dayanmaktadır; birincisi “yerel yönetimler yoksullukla mücadelede standart, genel, eşit ve adil yoksullukla mücadele politikaları üretmezler çünkü her yerel yönetimin kendi doğasına özgü eşitsiz gelişmeden kaynaklı yerel bağlı farklı değişkenleri bulunmaktadır.”

Yerel otorite farklılaşması toplumun doğasına özgü bir özellik olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır, sosyal süreçler bu ortamda eşitsiz bir şekilde gelişmektedirler (Duncan ve Goodwin, 1988: 61). Bu kapsamda yerel, sosyal süreçler üzerinde yoksullukla da ilintili olarak üç türlü hiyerarşi üzerinden etkide bulunmakta ve farklılaşma yaratmaktadır. Bu hiyerarşinin ilk iki bileşeni bağlı ve gerekli ilişkileri kapsamaktadır. Yerele bağlı farklılaşmada, mekana bağlı değişkenler sosyal mekanizmaların işleyişinde fark yaratmaktadır. Nedensel yerel farklılaşmada, sosyal mekanizmaların kendileri yerel kaynaklı olarak oluşmaktadır. Son olarak, yerel etkiler birden fazla bütünleşik etkiden kaynaklı ve yerelden türemiş yerel süreçler sonucu oluşmakta, ve bu etkilerin sonucunda da bir çeşit yerel sosyal sistem üretilmektedir (Duncan ve Goodwin, 1988: 61).

Bunlara ek olarak çalışmada, yoksulluğu azaltma politikaları Cockburn’un (1977) tipolojisi üzerinden yerele bağlı yoksulluğu azaltmadaki değişkenleri göstermek amacıyla incelenmiştir. Bu tipolojide yerel yönetimlerin sorumlulukları üç başlık etrafında analiz edilmektedir.

Üretim ve sermaye birikiminin devamlılığı

- a. Kentsel alt-yapının sağlanması yoluyla (örnek olarak yol yapımı)
- b. Mekanın üretiminde, yeniden organizasyona ve yeniden yapılanmaya yardım yoluyla (örnek olarak planlama ve kesel yenileme)
- c. İnsan sermayesine yatırım yoluyla (örnek olarak eğitim)
- d. Talebi yönlendirme yoluyla (Holland, 1975)

Kolektif tüketim yoluyla işgücünün yeniden üretiminin sağlanması

- a. Materyal olarak devamlılık sağlanması yoluyla (örnek olarak yerel yönetim konutları)
- b. Kültürel olarak devamlılığın sağlanması yoluyla (örnek olarak kütüphane, park alanları)

Sosyal düzen ve uyumun sağlanması

- a. Düzen sağlama araçlarıyla (örnek polis)
- b. Nüfus için destek hizmetlerle (örnek olarak sosyal hizmetler ve başka refah sağlayıcı hizmetler: geçici konaklama gibi..)
- c. Meşruluğun sağlanmasına destek yoluyla (örnek okullar, sosyal hizmet ve halkın katılımı)

Bu tipolojiye göre tez çalışmasının ikinci varsayımı şu düşünceye dayanmaktadır “tez çalışmasındaki alan illerin yerel yönetimleri yoksullukla mücadelede daha çok sosyal düzen ve uyumu sağlamaya yönelik nakdi ve ayni yardıma yönelmektedirler. İnsan sermayesini arttırmaya yönelik kapasite artırıcı ve eğitim programları kısıtlı düzeyde uygulanmaktadır; esas amaç yoksulun işgücünün yeniden üretimi olmamakla birlikte yoksulun yardımlarla materyal olarak varoluşunu desteklemektir”.

Çalışmada, Türkiye ulusal düzeyinde AKP'nin yoksulluğu azaltmada parti gündeminde yerel yönetimlere, özellikle belediyelere neo-liberal bakış açısıyla eşdeğerli yeni sorumluluk alanlarını yüklediği gözlemlenmiştir. Tez çalışmasında GEKA illeri kapsamında kentsel yoksulluk ve kentsel yoksulluğu azaltma politikaları ayrıntılı şekilde incelenmiştir. Yerel yönetimlerin yoksullukla mücadele politikaları incelenirken, merkezi hükümete bağlı bir kuruluş olan Sosyal Dayanışma ve Yardımlaşma Vakıfları'nın kentsel düzeyde yoksullukla mücadele program ve politikaları yerel yönetimlerle karşılaştırmalı bir şekilde araştırılmıştır. Araştırma kapsamında sosyal hizmet sağlayıcı durumunda olan yerel ve merkezi hükümet çalışanlarının düşünceleri derinlemesine mülakat tekniği kullanılarak incelenmiş, ikincil olarak sosyal hizmet yararlanıcıları olan yoksul hanelerin sağlanan hizmetlere ilişkin düşünceleri anket uygulaması yardımıyla alınmıştır.

Araştırmada GEKA illeri olan, Muğla, Aydın ve Denizli'nin her ne kadar benzer özelliklere sahip olsalar da (aynı bölgede bulunmaları, demografik olarak fazla farklılaşmamaları, aynı bölgesel index kategorisi TR32'de yer almaları gibi..), bu illerde yer alan yerel yönetimlerin yoksullukla mücadelede yerel yönetimlerin doğasına özgü eşitsiz gelişmeden ve yerele bağlı farklılaşmadan kaynaklı olarak; sistematik, standart, eşit ve genel yoksullukla mücadele politikaları üretmedikleri sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Yerel bağlı değişkenler sosyal mekanizmaların ve pratiklerin nasıl işleyecekleri üzerinde etkide bulunmaktadır. Çalışmada, derinlemesine mülakat metodu ve anket çalışmaları sonunda üç GEKA ilinde ki yerel yönetimlerin yoksullukla mücadelede yerele bağlı farklı değişkenlerden kaynaklı sistematik, genel, eşit ve standart yoksulluğu azaltma politikaları üretmedikleri gözlemlenmiştir. Tez kapsamında yerele bağlı değişkenler şu kategoriler altında incelenmiştir, kurumsal yapıdan

kaynaklı deęişkenler: yoksulun başvuru süreci, yoksulun belirlenmesi, yoksullukla ilgili kurumsal birimler, hizmet sunumu ve dağıtımı, dięer kuruluşlarla ortak çalışma ve geliştirilen projeler, yoksulun katılım süreci, uzman personel, hizmet içi eğitim, kapasite artırımı ve eğitim kursları. İkincil olarak sosyal hizmet ve yardımların kategorizasyonu başlığı altında yerele baęlı şu deęişkenler irdelenmiştir; genel sosyal hizmet ve yardım uygulamaları, sosyal hizmet ve yardımlardan yararlananların sayıları ve sosyal hizmet ya da yardımların miktarı. Son olarak yerele baęlı deęişkenler başlığı altında yerel ve merkezi hükümet ilişkilerinden kaynaklı farklılıklar incelenmiştir. Yerele baęlı farklı deęişkenler çalışmada şu konular etrafında incelenmiştir; belediye parti yönetiminin merkezi hükümet ile ilişkileri, belediye başkanının öncelikleri ve yoksul yardım ve hizmetlerine etkisi, yerelleşmeden kaynaklı sorunlar, yasal ve finansal sorunlar, ilin kendi sosyo-ekonomik özelliklerinden kaynaklı yerele özgü deęişkenler.

Denizli AKP belediye yönetimi merkezi hükümetle ilişkilerinin yoksulluęu azaltma faaliyetlerine olumlu katkı yaptığı gözlemlenmiştir. Yerel-merkezi hükümet arası ilişkiler yerele baęlı bir deęişken olarak hizmet sunumunda belediyeye pozitif katkı sağlamaktadır. Buna ek olarak, belediye başkanının öncelikleri sosyal hizmet ve yardım öncelikleriyle uyumlu olduęu gözlemlenmiştir; özellikle belediye çalışanları yoksullukla mücadelede hizmet sunumunda hiçbir finansal kısıtla karşılaşmadıklarını belirtmektedirler. Belediye Sosyal, Kültür ve Eğitim İşleri Müdürlüğünde çalışan belediye personeli yerelleşmeden kaynaklı özellikle nakdi yardım konusunda problem yaşadıklarını belirtse de GEKA illerinin yerel yönetimleri birlikte değerlendirildiğinde, nakit yardımı ve özellikle lise öğrencilerine eğitim yardımı konusunda Denizli AKP belediye yönetiminin en ön sırada yer aldığı gözlemlenmiştir. Bu da yerele baęlı eşitsiz gelişmeden kaynaklı, yoksullukla mücadelede bir farklılaşma olarak değerlendirilmiştir. Kurumsal olarak belediye değerlendirildiğinde, Denizli AKP belediyesi farklı kurumsal birim ve yapılanmalara sahiptir, bunlar karşımıza Sevgi-Eli, Engelli Koordinasyon Birimi ve Çocuk Merkezleri olarak çıkmaktadır. Belediye bünyesinde kurulu olan yoksullukla ilintili bu birimler dięer illerdeki yerel yönetimlerle farklılık göstermekte ve her ilde deęişik ihtiyaç sahibi ve yoksun kesimin belediye hizmetlerinden yararlandığı saptanmıştır. Denizli Engelli Koordinasyon Merkezi, dięer alan il çalışmaları içerisindeki tek il olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır, bu birim engelli kesimin işgücüne entegre edilebilmesi için yoğun bir şekilde kurslar düzenlemektedir. Dięer alan illerinde de engellilere yönelik gıda, eğitim ve engelli materyal yardımı yapıldığı gözlemlenmişse de bunun tek bir hizmet birimi tarafından yönlendirilmedięi saptanmıştır. Bu kapsamda, belediye yönetimleri öncelikli olarak yoksullukla mücadelede yoksulun kim olduğunu net bir şekilde ortaya koymalıdır.

Yoksullukla ilintili sosyal yardım ve hizmet sağlanmadan önce her ilde yoksulluk risk haritası çıkartılmalı ve ihtiyaç sahibi gruplar ayrımcılığa maruz kalmadan belirlenmelidir. Mülakatlar analiz edilirken, belediye bünyesinde kurulan her birimin sadece diğer illerle yoksullukla mücadelede farklılık yaratmadığı, bunlara ek olarak belediyeye bağlı ya da bağımsız kurulan formasyonlarında kendi içlerinde farklılaşmalar yarattıkları tespit edilmiştir. Kentsel alanda yaşayan bütün kırılğan sınıflara hitap eden kapsamlı yerel bir kurumsal yapılanmanın her üç ilde de oluşturulamadığı sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. GEKA illerinin üçünde de yerel yönetimlerin parçacıl yoksullukla mücadele pratikleri sergiledikleri saptanmıştır. Denizli ilinde, kurumsal farklılaşma yaratan diğer birim Kadın Çalışma Grubudur. Yerel Gündem 21 kapsamında kurulan Kadın Meclisi yoksullukla ilgili alan çalışmalarına yerelde en yoksul mahallelere pilot uygulamalarla devam etmektedirler. Denizli AKP belediye yönetimi kurumsal düzeyde sivil toplum örgütleriyle yoğun ortaklaşa hizmet sunumu içerisindedir, bu ortaklaşa yoksullukla mücadele çabasını Sevgi-Eli kapsamında görmek mümkündür; Sevgi-Eli finansal olarak belediye bütçesinde ayrılan paylar ve bunlara ek olarak da bağışlarla hizmetlerine devam etmektedir. Bu doğrultuda, Denizli AKP hükümeti toplumda kolektif sorumluluk bilincini geliştirmeye çalışmakta ve Liberal-Muhafazakar yaklaşım çerçevesinde sosyal haklar ve vatandaşlık kavramları yerine yoksullukla mücadelede sivil toplumu yetkilendirmeye çalışmaktadır. İkincil yerel farklılaşma yaratan kategoriyi inceleyecek olursak, Denizli Belediyesi sosyal hizmet sunumunda Muğla ve Aydın belediyelerine nazaran en yüksek oranda nakdi yardım sağlayan belediye olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Nakdi yardım toplumun ihtiyaç sahibi olan kesimlerine sosyal komisyonlar yardımıyla sağlanmaktadır, Aydın belediyesi bu kapsamda yoksullara nakdi yardım hizmeti sunmamaktadır; Muğla belediyesi Denizli belediyesine kıyasla çok kısıtlı sayıda kişiye nakdi yardım hizmeti vermektedir. Açıklamalardan da görüleceği üzere her üç ildeki yerel yönetim farklı alanlarda yoksullara sosyal hizmet ve yardım sunmaktadır.

Bu açıklamalara ek olarak, tez çalışmasında sadece sosyal hizmet sağlayıcılarının görüşleri alınmamıştır, bunlara ek olarak sosyal hizmetlerden yararlanan kesimlerin düşünceleri alınmıştır. Tez kapsamında anket çalışması GEKA illerindeki en yoksul mahallelere uygulanmıştır. En yoksul mahalleler merkez ilçedeki Yeşil Kart Ofislerinden alınan bilgiye göre belirlenmiştir ve anket çalışmasında kişiler belediyeden, İl Özel İdareden, SDYV' dan yardım alan ve yeşil kart kullanan bireyler arasından seçilmiştir. Anket çalışması üç bölüm etrafında irdelenmektedir, ilk bölümde hane halklarının genel profilleri tespit edilmeye çalışılmıştır; bu kapsamda hanede yaşayan birey sayısı, hane reisinin ve hane halkını toplam geliri, sosyal güvenlik koşulları, çalışma durumları tespit edilmiştir. İkinci basamak olarak

ankete katılan bireylerin hangi kurumdan ya da kurumlardan yardım aldıkları, kullandıkları yardımın türü (nakdi, ayni, kapasite arttırıcı ya da eğitim), kullanma sıklıkları, kaç yıldır yardım aldıkları ve aldıkları yardıma ilişkin yeterlilikle ilgili fikirleri alınmıştır. Son olarak anket çalışmasında, özellikle belediyenin yoksullukla mücadeledeki etkinliğini ve rolünü değerlendirebilmek adına, belediyeyle ilgili şu sorular sorulmuştur; sosyal yardıma ilişkin bilgi (sosyal yardım hakkında bilgiyi nereden elde ettikleri), belediyenin hangi biriminden ya da birimlerinden yararlanıldığı, belediyenin sağladığı hizmetin ya da hizmetlerin yeterliliği, yoksullukla mücadelede SDYV ve İl Özel İdarenin değerlemesi, belediyenin sağladığı hizmetlerin adil olup olmaması, belediyenin sosyal yardım ya da hizmetleri sağlarken ihtiyaca uygun hizmet sağlayıp sağlamadıkları, belediyenin yoksullukla mücadeledeki başarısı ve son olarak da açık uçlu bir soru olarak yoksulluğu azaltma kapsamında hane halklarının kişisel görüşleri anket çalışması çerçevesinde alınmıştır.

Bu doğrultuda, Denizli belediyesine özgü olarak anket katılımcıları şu sorunları dile getirmişlerdir; sosyal yardımların yeterli miktar ve kalitede yapılmaması, uzun dönemli aralıklarla sosyal yardım faaliyetlerinin gerçekleştirilmesi, çocuklar, engelliler ve yaşlılara yönelik çeşitli faaliyetlerin yapılmaması, yoksul bireyleri belirlerken hane halkı incelemelerinin yeterli düzeyde yapılmaması, yeterli düzeyde kapasite artırımı ve eğitim faaliyetlerinin olmaması, belediyenin sosyal yardım ve hizmetlerle ilgili olarak bilgilendirme yapmaması, yoksula yapılan sosyal yardımlarda belediye çalışanlarının ayrımcılık yapması. Anket çalışmalarına göre Denizli belediyesinden yardım kullanan ayni ve nakdi yardım kullanıcıları bu yardımları yetersiz olarak değerlendirmektedirler.

Denizli alan çalışmasında, sadece belediyenin yoksulluk ve yoksulluğu azaltma hizmetleri incelenmeyip, yoksul hanelere merkezi hükümete bağlı olarak hizmet veren SDYV kurumunun da ayni ve nakdi yardımları, hizmet sunumları sosyal hizmet kullanıcıları tarafından değerlendirilmiştir. Bu noktada nakdi yardım kullanan bireyler genelde bu yardımdan beş yıldır faydalanmaktadır. Belediye hizmetlerinde olduğu gibi, Denizli SDYV ayni ve nakdi yardımları da, sosyal hizmetlerden faydalanan bireyler tarafından yetersiz olarak değerlendirilmiştir. Denizli’de yoksullukla mücadele eden iki kurum Denizli belediyesi ve SDYV kıyaslandığında, vakfın belediyeye nazaran yoksulu belirleme sürecinde daha avantajlı olduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Vakıf ‘SOY-BIS’ programı yardımıyla, sadece T.C. kimlik numarasıyla, başvuran kişinin sosyal güvenlik durumu, geliri, mal varlığı hakkında ayrıntılı bilgiyi kontrol etme olanağında sahiptir. Aynı programın belediyelerde kullanımına izin verilmemesi, belediyelerce sağlanan sosyal yardım ve hizmetlerde aksamalar oluşmasına, özellikle engelli ve yaşlıların belediye yardımlarından

faydalanmalarında güçlüklerle karşılaşmalarına neden olmaktadır. Vakfın yoksullukla mücadele sürecinde, Mütevelli Heyeti tarafından hızlı karar alması ve çabuk uygulamaya geçebilmesi, yerel yönetim çalışanları tarafından olumlu olarak değerlendirilmiştir. Çalışmada yerel-merkezi hükümet kurumlarının yoksulluk faaliyetleri incelendiğinde aynı hizmetin farklı kuruluşlarca verildiği gözlemlenmiştir. Bu noktada, yerel ve merkezi hükümet çalışanları da eleştirilerini dile getirmiş ve aynı hizmetin birden çok kuruluş tarafından veriliyor oluşunu yoksulu yardıma bağlı hale getirdiğini söylemişlerdir. Denizli belediyesi ve SDYV yoksullukla mücadele hizmetleri değerlendirildiğinde her iki kuruluş da, yoksulun kapasite artırımı konusunda yetersiz kaldığı gözlemlenmiştir. Bu kapsamda SDYV her ne kadar merkezi hükümete bağlı bir kuruluş olarak yoksullukla mücadele hizmetlerini sürdürmekteyse de anket katılımcıları kurum hakkında şu eleştirileri dile getirmişlerdir; kurumda başvuru sürecinde personelin kötü tutum ve davranışları, sosyal yardımların kötü kalitede oluşu, sosyal hizmet ve yardımların adaletsiz dağıtılıyor olması, sosyal yardımların yetersiz oranları. Anket sonuçlarının değerlendirilmesinde, Denizli AKP belediye yönetiminin farklı yerelliğe bağlı kurumsal, sosyal hizmet türlerinden kaynaklı ve merkez-yerel ilişkilerine dayalı değişkenlerinin olduğu saptanmıştır. Bu noktada, anket katılımcıları çoğunluklu olarak sağlanan sosyal yardım ve hizmetleri yetersiz bulmaktadır. Cockburn' un (1977) yerel devlete özgü hizmet tipolojisine göre Denizli belediyesi çoğunluklu olarak ayni ve nakdi yardım hizmetleriyle yoksula sosyal ve refah yardımı yapmaya çabalamaktadır fakat burada temel amaç işgücünün yeniden üretimi olmamakla birlikte, kapasite arttırımı konusunda belediyenin farklı gruplara yönelik çok parçalı hizmetler verdiği gözlemlenmiştir.

İkincil alan çalışması olan Muğla ili belediyesinde yerele bağlı farklılaşmanın bir değişkeninin de ilin ekonomik, demografik ve coğrafi özelliğinden kaynaklı olduğu saptanmıştır. Yerel yönetim çalışanları merkez ilçede kentsel yoksulluğun ilin kendi orijinalliklerinden kaynaklı olarak birincil sorun olmadığını dile getirmişlerdir. Buna ek olarak, Muğla belediyesinin Denizli belediyesi ile kıyaslandığında sosyal hizmet ve sosyal yardımlarda farklılık ve çeşitlilik göstermediği saptanmıştır. Muğla belediyesi her yıl sınırlı sayıda kişiye nakdi yardım ve ayni yardım sağlamakla birlikte; gıda ve yakacak yardımı kullanabilme koşulunu nakdi yardım kullanmaya hak kazanabilmek olarak tanımlamıştır. Belediyenin Sosyal, Kültür ve Eğitim Müdürlüğü'ne ek olarak Muğla belediyesi, Kadın Sığınma ve Dayanışma Evleriyle toplumda kırılgan sınıf olan kadınlara sosyal hizmet ve yardım sağlamaktadır. Bunlara ek olarak, belediye bünyesinde hizmet gösteren Belediye Sosyal İşler Müdürlüğü diğer illerin belediye kurumsal yapılanmasında kurulan aynı isimli müdürlüklerle farklılaşmalar göstermektedir. Muğla belediyesi sosyal yardım ve hizmet

sunumu yerine, birim daha çok kültürel etkinlik ve organizasyonlarla ilgilenmektedir. Müdürlük bünyesinde birçok branş kurs açılmaktadır, fakat birincil amaç yoksulun kapasite arttırımı olmamakla birlikte, beş yıllık sürekli bir katılımın ardından katılımcı bireylere eğitici olma hakkı kazandırılmaktadır. Burada açık bir şekilde ifade edilmesi gerekli husus şudur; her ne kadar aynı hizmet birimi belediye çatısı altında yoksullara yardım amacı altında kurulmaktaysa da her ilde de gözlemlenen ortak nokta, bu hizmet biriminin yıllar itibariyle isim ve sorumluluk alanlarında değişime maruz kalması ve bunun sonucunda da yerel yönetimlerin hizmet sunumlarında farklılaşmaya yol açmasıdır. Muğla belediyesinin yoksullukla mücadelede fark yaratan diğer bir özelliği yoksulu belirleme sürecinden kaynaklanmaktadır; öğrencilere eğitim yardımı verilmesi sürecinde belediye Sosyal İşler Müdürlüğü diğer illerin belediyelerinden farklı olarak bir değerlendirme tablosu ve puanlama usulü geliştirmiştir. Bütün bunlara ek olarak, Zabıta Müdürlüğü yoksulu belirleme sürecinde Sosyal İşler Müdürlüğü ile ortak hareket etmekte ve hane halkı araştırmalarından sonra durumu Müdürlüğe raporlamaktadır. Son yerele bağlı değişkenler kategorinden bahsetmek gerekirse, belediye çalışanları yerel-merkezi hükümet ilişkilerinden kaynaklı kısıtlardan bahsetmemektedirler. Denizli belediyesinde de olduğu üzere, Muğla belediyesinde de sosyal hizmetlerden faydalananların da yoksullukla mücadele pratikleri hakkındaki görüşleri alınmıştır. Bu noktada belediye çalışanları her ne kadar yoksulu belirleme ve başvuru süreci, sağlanan sosyal hizmet ve miktarı, yerel-merkezi hükümet ilişkileri üzerine ayrıntılı bilgi vermiş olsalar da, anket metodu yardımıyla bireyler belediyenin sosyal yardımlarındaki aksaklıklarını ifade etmişlerdir. Bu noktada anket katılımcıları şu noktalar üzerinde durmuşlardır; aynı ve nakdi yardım oranlarında yetersizlik, çocuklara, engellilere, yaşlılara yeterli yardımın yapılmaması, yoksulu belirleme sürecinde yeterli oranda hane halkı incelemesinin yapılmaması, hane halklarının ihtiyaçlarına göre sosyal yardım faaliyetlerinin gerçekleştirilmemesi, belediyelerin politik amaçlı olarak sadece seçim dönemlerinde yardım sağlamaları, belediyelerin kapasite arttırımı ve eğitim faaliyetlerinin yetersizliği, belediyenin sosyal hizmet ve yardımlarla ilgili yeterli bilgilendirmeyi yoksul mahallelere yapmaması. Anket çalışması sonunda sosyal hizmetlerden yoğun olarak yararlanan bireylerin dahi sosyal hizmet sunumuna ilişkin olumsuz düşüncede oldukları gözlemlenmiştir. Muğla belediyesinin yoksullukla mücadelede özellikle kurumsal olarak iyi yapılandırılmadığı ve bu parçalı mücadelenin yoksulluk savaşında yoksul açısından problemlere sebebiyet verdiği saptanmıştır. Bunlara ek olarak, Denizli belediyesinde de olduğu üzere Muğla SDYV, nakdi ve aynı yardım sağlamaktadır. Anket çalışmasında çoğu hane halkının SDYV nakdi yardımlarından yaklaşık beş senedir yararlandığı ve artık sürekli kullanıcı durumuna dönüştükleri gözlemlenmiştir. Nakdi yardımın yanı sıra SDYV özellikler gıda ve yakacak aynı yardımlarını sağlamaktadır. Fakat daha önceki Denizli alan çalışmasında da

gözlemlendiği üzere nakdi ve aynı yardım kullanıcıları bu yardımları yetersiz olarak değerlendirmektedirler.

Muğla Belediyesi ve SDYV' nin yoksullukla mücadelesini değerlendirecek olursak, vakıf yoksulu belirleme sürecinde belediyeye nazaran kentsel düzeyde oluşturduğu yeni komisyonlarla daha avantajlı durumda yer almaktadır. Vakıf sosyal yardım kategorilerinde belediyeye kıyasla daha farklı hizmet çeşitleri (ev tamiri, konut sağlama, nakdi, eğitim, gıda, yakacak ve son olara da proje yardımları) sunmaktadır. Anket katılımcıları vakfı, belediyeye kıyasla daha başarılı bulmaktadırlar. Fakat, bu noktada katılımcılar SDYV ile ilgili olumsuz görüşlerini şu şekilde ifade etmektedirler; adaletsiz sosyal hizmet sunumu ve sosyal hizmet ve yardımların yetersiz oranları. Muğla Belediyesiyle ilgili olarak Cockburn' un (1977) tipolojisini kullanacak olursak, sosyal refah ve destek hizmetlerinde belediyenin yoksula çok kısıtlı yardım sağladığı, amacın yoksulun işgücünü yeniden üretimi olmadığı fakat daha çok sosyal düzeni ve bağı korumak olduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Diğer belediyelerden farklı olarak, Muğla Belediyesi daha çok kültürel faaliyetler düzenlemekteyse de, bu faaliyetlerin organizasyonunun amacı, önceliği yoksula tanımak ve onların kültürel olarak varlığını idame ettirmek olmadığı görülmüştür. Muğla Belediyesi de Denizli Belediyesinde de gözlemlendiği üzere sınırlı sayıda kapasite artırıcı faaliyet düzenlemekte ve kısıtlı oranda insan sermayesine yatırım yapmaktadır.

Tez çalışmasında son alan çalışması Aydın ilidir; Aydın Belediyesi yerele bağlı birçok değişkeni sayesinde yoksullukla mücadelede diğer illere nazaran kurumsal ve sosyal hizmet kategorilerinde çeşitliliğiyle fark yaratmakla birlikte avantajlı bir konuma sahiptir. Aydın Belediyesi kurumsal çatısı altında faaliyette bulunan 15 sosyal komisyon yardımıyla yoksulu belirleme sürecine hizmet etmektedir. AY-BA servis ağı yardımıyla diğer alan çalışmalarında olmayan hizmet türlerini yoksula sağlamaktadır; bu hizmet kategorileri şu başlıklar etrafında sıralanabilir; yemek fabrikası, Sevgi Evi, Alzheimer merkezleri, 7 gün 24 saat ambulans hizmeti, ev yardımı hizmeti (yaşlı ve hastalar), çocuk kültür merkezi, yasal danışmanlık hizmeti, toplu sünnet ve nikah hizmetleri, engelliler için rehabilitasyon hizmeti, ev hanımları için kapasite artırıcı kurslar. Hizmet sunumunda eğer kişi yardımı alabilecek sağlık koşullarına sahip değilse, Sosyal İşler personeli bu yardımları eve hizmet şeklinde sağlayabilmektedir. Bu bağlamda diğer bir yerele bağlı değişken belediye yönetiminin yoksula sağladığı katılım olanağı olarak göze çarpmaktadır, her Perşembe günü belediye başkanı başkanlığında belediye de halk günleri düzenlenmekte ve yerel halkın sorun ve dilekleri dinlenmektedir.

Aydın Belediyesi diğer illerden farklı olarak, yaşlı hizmetleri, aş evleri, kadın sığınma evleriyle toplumdaki kırılgan sınıflara sosyal hizmet ve yardım sağlamaktadır. AY-BA hizmet ağı diğer illerin yerel yönetimleri kıyaslandığında başarılı bir pratik olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. AY-BA sosyal hizmet sunumunu bir sosyal sorumluluk, vatandaşlık görev bilinciyle yapmakta ve belediye personeli amaçlarının sosyal yardım sağlamaktan çok kırılgan kesime sosyal hak temelli hizmet verebilmek olduğunu ifade etmektedir. Fakat diğer illerden farklı olarak, yerel ve merkezi hükümet ilişkileri temelli problemlerden dolayı belediye sadece aynı yardım hizmeti sağlamaktadır. Derinlemesine mülakat metodunda sosyal hizmet çalışanları kendi düşüncelerini ifade etmekten çoğunlukla kaçınmışlardır.

Anket çalışmasında, Aydın Belediyesi sosyal hizmet ve yardım kullanıcıları genellikle belediyeyi başarılı olarak değerlendirmişlerdir fakat belediyenin sağlamış olduğu sadece aynı yardımı (yakacak ve gıda yardımı) yeterli görmeyip, belediyenin yoksula nakdi yardım da sağlaması gerektiği düşüncesi üzerinde durmuşlardır. Anket katılımcıları, belediyenin yoksullukla mücadelesindeki sorunlu yanlarını şu şekilde ifade etmişlerdir; aynı yardımların hanedeki birey sayısını göz önüne alınarak dağıtılmaması, sadece aynı yardım dağıtılıyor olması, fazla yardım ve hizmet çeşitliliğinin olmaması, yardımların zamanında ve periyodik olarak yapılmaması. Aydın SYDV, ilde sosyal hizmet ve yardım sağlayan ikinci kuruluş olarak göze çarpmaktadır. Vakıf belediyeye kıyasla sosyal proje geliştirmede avantajlı konumda yer almaktadır ve her ne kadar belediye sadece aynı yardımla yoksul kesime ulaşmaya çalışsa da vakıf sosyal yardım ve hizmet çeşitliliğiyle (afet ve proje yardımları) ön plana çıkmaktadır. Anket katılımcıları yoksullukla mücadelede SDYV ile ilintili olumsuz düşünceleri şu şekilde ifade etmişlerdir; adaletsiz sosyal yardım sunumu, yetersiz sosyal hizmet ve yardım, sadece Ramazan dönemlerinde geçici ve bir kerelik yardımlar, yaşlı, engelli ve çocuklara yönelik kısıtlı yardım. Cocburn'un (1977) tipolojisine göre Aydın Belediyesi sadece aynı yardımlarla sosyal düzen ve refahı sağlamaya çalışmaktadır, belediyenin esas amacı yoksulun işgücünün yeniden üretimi olmamakla birlikte, insan sermayesine, kapasite artırıcı programlar ve eğitim faaliyetleriyle yeterli yatırım yapılmamaktadır. Diğer illerden farklı olarak Aydın Belediyesinin sosyal hizmet sunumu ve sosyal yardımları anket katılımcıları tarafından olumlu şekilde değerlendirilmekte ve belediyenin yoksullukla mücadelede başarılı olduğu düşüncesi vurgulanmaktadır.

Bütün bu açıklamaların ardından, yerel yönetim kuruluşu olarak İl Özel İdareleri yoksullukla mücadelede ve özellikle kırsal yoksulluk savaşında önemli kurumlardır. Tez kapsamında, İl Özel İdare çalışanlarının yoksullukla ilintili düşünceleri de ayrıntılı bir şekilde incelenmiştir. Alan çalışmalarının belediye yönetimlerinde de gözlemlendiği üzere,

Özel İdarelerinin sosyal hizmet ve yardımları da bir ilden diğerine farklılık göstermektedir. Her üç ilde de aynı isimli Eğitim, Kültür ve Sosyal İşler Müdürlüğü olmasına rağmen, il belediyelerinde de gözlemlenen sorun Özel İdare yönetimlerinde de karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Her ne kadar üç ilde de aynı isimli Müdürlük kurulmuşsa da her ilde bu birimler farklı sorumluluk alanları ağırlık kazanmış ve yoksullukla mücadelede bu birimlerde standart politika üretimine rastlanılmamıştır. Özellikle Muğla İl Özel İdaresinde çalışan yerel personel, farklı hizmet alanlarının tek bir Müdürlük etrafında toplanmasından kaynaklı olarak problem yaşadıklarını dile getirmişlerdir. 5302 İl Özel İdare yasasının da yoksullukla mücadelede kurumsal olarak problemlerin kaynağı olduğu vurgulanmıştır. Alan çalışmalarında her Müdürlüğün farklı sosyal projelerle, değişik kırılgan kesimlere hitap ettikleri gözlemlenmiştir. Derinlemesine mülakat çalışmasının ardından, İl Özel İdarelerinin de belediyeler gibi yoksullukla mücadelede standart politikalar üretmedikleri sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Bu kapsamda yerel yönetimler yoksulun kim olduğunu net bir şekilde ifade etmeli, acil önlem ve talepleri tespit etmeli, belirlenen önceliklere göre politika önerileri geliştirilmelidir. Bütün bu eksikliklere rağmen küçük girişimcilere ve özellikler dezavantajlı durumdakilere yönelik geliştirilen mikro-kredi uygulamaları yoksullukla mücadelede başarı pratikleri olarak göze çarpmaktadır. Fakat anket çalışması kapsamında yoksul mahallelerin hane halklarının mikro-kredi uygulamalarından sınırlı sayıda faydalandıkları gözlemlenmiştir. Ankette mikro-kredi kullanıcıları dahi bu faaliyetleri olumlu ve yeterli şekilde tanımlamamaktadır.

En son incelenen kurum karşımıza SDYV olarak çıkmaktadır, tezin genel değerlendirme kısımlarından da hatırlanacağı üzere Vakfın kurumsal yapısına özgü problemler bulunmaktadır. Derinlemesine mülakat sonrasında da bu genel eleştirilerle tutarlı sonuçlara ulaşılmıştır. Bu eleştiriler şu konular üzerinde odaklanmaktadır; vakfın yasal çerçevesi, norm kadro, yoksul kesimin belirlenme süreci, Vakfın Mütevelli Heyeti, sosyal yardımların objektif amaçlı kullanılmaması. Açıklamalardan da görüleceği üzere sadece yerel yönetim kuruluşlarının değil, merkezi yoksullukla mücadele kuruluşlarının da yoksullukla mücadelede kurumsal ve teknik problemleri bulunmaktadır. Fakat bu noktada belirtilmesi gereken husus, yerel yönetimlerin yoksulluk savaşında yerele bağlı değişkenlere dayalı (kurumsal, sosyal yardım ve hizmet temelli, yerel-merkezi hükümet ilişkileri temelli) olarak ve eşitsiz gelişmeden kaynaklı standart yoksullukla mücadele politikaları üretmemeleridir. Yerel farklılaşmanın derecesi hizmetten hizmete, kurulmuş hizmet birimlerine, yerel merkezi hükümet ilişkilerine kadar değişim göstermektedir. Yerel yönetimlerin doğasına özgü eşitsiz gelişmeden kaynaklı, sosyal süreçler eşitsiz olarak gelişmekte ve sosyal yardım ve pratikler bir alandan diğer alana farklılık göstermektedir. Yerel farklılaşmanın kaynağı

bilinçli ya da bilinçsiz yerel düzeyde politika seçeneklerine dayanmaktadır çünkü yoksullukla ilgili politikalar yerel yönetimlerin harekete geçip geçmemesiyle ilgili olduğu gibi, neyi tercih edip etmedikleriyle de ilişkilidir. Sonuç olarak her ildeki yerel yönetimler yoksullukla mücadelede farklı politikalar uygulamaktadırlar. Denizli’de yerele bağlı bu farklılaşmayı yaratan merkezi hükümetle aynı parti ilişkisinin ve belediye başkanının yoksullukla ilgili önceliklerinin olumlu şekilde kullanılmasından kaynaklanmaktadır. Aydın belediyesi sağladığı farklı sosyal yardım hizmetleriyle fark yaratmakta ve yoksulluk olgusuna finansal öğelerin yanı sıra sosyal ve kültürel öğeleri de katmaktadır. Sokak çocuklarına yardım, kadının istihdam olanaklarının artırılması, alkol bağımlılarına ve engellilere yönelik rehabilitasyon hizmetleri Aydın belediyesinin yoksullukla mücadeledeki farklı bakış açısını sergilemede önemli örnekler olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Muğla belediyesindeyse yerel farklılaşmanın özellikle ilin kendi sosyal, ekonomi ve coğrafi özelliklerinden kaynaklandığı sonucuna ulaşılmıştır.

Anket çalışmasında, yerel ve merkezi hükümet çalışanlarının yoksullukla mücadeledeki çözüm önerileri genelde merkezi hükümet düzeyinde bağımsız bir birimin kurularak, yoksullukta tek elden bir savaş yürütülmesine yöneliktir. Bu birim, yerel ve merkezi kuruluşları yoksulluk savaşında bir araya getirecek ve yerel çalışanlara göre bütünleşik çözümlerin üretilmesinde fayda sağlayacaktır. Bu kapsamda, yerel düzeyde yoksullukla mücadele sadece geçici ve parçalı çözümler sağlayacaktır, düşük miktarlarda para yardımı, Ramazan bayramlarında 1 kg gıda yardımı ve kışın 10 paket kömür yardımı yoksulluk savaşında ve yoksulluğu azaltmada çare olamayacaktır. Merkezi hükümet temelinde bütünleşik politika öneri ve çözümlerine ihtiyaç vardır, yerel yönetimler yoksulluğu azaltma sürecinde merkezi hükümete yoksulu belirleme aşamasında ve yoksulun ihtiyaç ve isteklerini aktarmada destek veren en önemli kuruluşlardır. Yoksulu belirleme sürecinde kentsel düzeyde yoksulluk haritasını merkez ve yerel yönetimlerin ortak çalışmalarıyla çıkarılması gerekmektedir. Fakat bu noktada sosyal yardımların miktarları, kategorileri ve sosyal yardım kullanıcıları, yerel yönetimlerden kaynaklı keyfi uygulamalarının önüne geçmek amacıyla merkezi hükümetçe belirlenmelidir. Daha öncede belirtildiği üzere merkezi hükümet kuruluşlarının ellerinde yoksulu belirleme sürecinde, yoksulun başvurusunun çabuk değerlendirilmesini sağlayan SOY-BIS programı bulunmaktadır. Bu noktada belediyelerin kurumsal çatısı altında, kentsel düzeydeki kırılgan sınıflara yönelik farklı uygulamalar bulunmaktadır, bu da yoksullukla mücadelede farklılaşmaya neden olmaktadır. Belediye bünyesindeki farklı sosyal uygulamaların standardizasyonu ve kurumsallaşması için merkezi hükümetle entegre, uyumlu programlar gerekmektedir. Bu doğrultuda belediye bünyesindeki farklı oluşumlar için yasal mevzuat açık olmalı ve birden

fazla kurumun aynı hizmeti sağlaması engellenmelidir. Nakdi ve aynı yardım konusundaki süreç belediye başkanlarının inisiyatifine göre şekillendirilmemelidir, yerel ve merkezi hükümet kuruluşları arasında standardizasyon sağlanmalıdır. Kurumsal bir gereklilik olarak, yerel yönetimler yoksulun yoksulluğu azaltma sürecine dahil edecek katılımcı platformlar geliştirmelidir. Yoksulluğu azaltma politikaları formüle edilirken yoksulun ihtiyaç ve sorunları dinlenmeli ve bu doğrultuda en uygun politika oluşumuna gidilmelidir. Yerel yönetimler yoksulla ilintili edindiği bilgiyi merkezi hükümet kuruluşlarıyla da paylaşmalıdır. Bunlara ek olarak, yerel yönetimler bazında yoksulun en etkin şekilde belirlenmesi yerele aktarılabilecek uzman personele ve hizmet içi eğitimlere de bağlı olduğundan, merkezi hükümet yerel yönetimlere uzman personel aktarımı ve kapasite arttırımı konularında cevap verebilir hale gelmelidir. Bu bağlamda, yerel yönetimler kapasite arttırımı, eğitim ve yoksulun işgücüne entegre edilmesi konusunda ellerinde yeterli imkanı bulunmamaktadır, merkezi hükümet hem yoksula hem de yeni kentsel yoksullukla birlikte ortaya çıkan çalışan yoksula işgücüne entegre olma konusunda yeterli desteği vermelidir. Son bir kurumsal gereklilik karşımıza yerel ve merkezi hükümet kuruluşlarının yoksullukla mücadelede ortak proje ve programlar geliştirebilmesi olarak çıkmaktadır. Bu kapsamda merkezi hükümet düzeyinde tek elden fakat ortaklaşa yoksullukla mücadele stratejisilerinin geliştirilmesi, yerel yönetimlerin yoksullukla mücadelede yerel farklılaşmaya sebep olmalarını engelleyecektir. Bu noktada unutulmaması gereken SDYV'nin bile bir merkezi hükümet kuruluşu olarak birçok dezavantajlı yönünün olduğudur, bu sebeple ulusal düzeyde de etkin yoksullukla mücadele politikasının yürütülebilmesi için gerekli kontrol sistemi kurulmalıdır.

Bütün bu açıklamalardan sonra görülmüştür ki yoksulluk çok boyutlu bir problem olmakla birlikte, yoksullukla mücadelede bu çok boyutluluk temelinde farklı yoksulluk tiplerine ve bunlara yönelik strateji, politika önerilerine ihtiyaç vardır. Bu farklı yoksulluk tipleri yerel ve merkezi hükümet kuruluşlarınca da dikkate alınmalı ve bunlara yönelik farklı politika önerileri formüle edilmelidir (Ersoy, 2006: 10). Bu doğrultuda, farklı alanlarda daha fazla ampirik araştırmaya gereksinim bulunmaktadır, kentsel yoksulluğu doğru analiz etmek, farklı kentlerde daha fazla yoksulluk araştırmasıyla mümkün görünmektedir (Ersoy ve Şengül, 2001: 23-24). Bu çalışma GEKA illeriyle kısıtlı olmakla birlikte, yerel yönetim farklılaşmasının derinlemesine analizi için bu konu ile ilgili Türkiye'de kapsamlı alan çalışmalarına ihtiyaç vardır. Alan çalışması ve derinlemesine mülakat sonuçlarını tüm Türkiye yerel yönetimlerine genellemek mümkün olmamakla birlikte, bu çalışma yoksullukla mücadelede yerel yönetimlerin politika uygulamaları hakkında gelecekteki çalışmalara ışık tutacaktır.

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ALLEVIATION POLICIES: THE CASE OF THREE PROVINCES IN
TURKEY.....

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans

Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılsın ve kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla tezimin bir kısmı veya tamamının fotokopisi alınsın.
2. Tezimin tamamı yalnızca Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi kullanıcılarının erişimine açılsın. (Bu seçenekle tezinizin fotokopisi ya da elektronik kopyası Kütüphane aracılığı ile ODTÜ dışına dağıtılmayacaktır.)
3. Tezim bir (1) yıl süreyle erişime kapalı olsun. (Bu seçenekle tezinizin fotokopisi ya da elektronik kopyası Kütüphane aracılığı ile ODTÜ dışına dağıtılmayacaktır.)

Yazarın imzası..... Tarih