

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF SOCIAL, HUMAN AND MATHEMATICAL SCIENCES

Division of Sociology, Social Policy & Criminology

**Urban Poor Migrants in Turkey: Why are They Still Committed and
Loyal to the State and Social Order?**

by

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Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

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Social movements and their effects on society have been attractive for researcher for over a century. Especially together with the workers' movements in the 19th century, different approaches and explanations were produced from distinct point of views in order to analyse the reasons, forming process, participants, aims, effects, emergence and decline processes, and results of social movements have been discussed and analysed. In these years, features, aims and participants of social movements have also changed. Especially in the last four decades new explanation were produced in order to explain this change such as resource mobilisation and new social movement approach. Change in people's experiences, globalisation, and improvement in technologies have increased awareness of people about the problems of their everyday experiences.

In this route, urban poor's experiences in Turkey changed due to social, political, demographic and economic developments particularly in the last three decades. Urban poor migrants, previously, had different tools such as family/kinship solidarity, continuing tie with their villages and opportunity to have informal urban settlements. These tools eased their integration into the cities they migrated and were used as coping mechanisms in order to reach better living standards and upward mobility. However, these tools lost their effectiveness due to change in the structures, earthquakes and economic crisis

during 1990s. Therefore, newly coming migrants could not involve with these traditional welfare mechanisms.

However, even in the environment where traditional mechanisms have weakened and during economic crisis, some segments of urban poor migrants appeared to be stayed committed to the state and social order. Although it is anticipated that these problems cause frustration and anger for poor migrants against the rest of society and the state, thus these factors increase their demand to form and participate in social movements, these groups prefer to stay away from this kind of movements and do not participate in social movements even if these movements aim to defend their rights and increase their living conditions.

Therefore, the focus of this research is exploring the main factors that affect urban poor migrants' attitudes and behaviours towards the state and society in Turkey even it is anticipated that urban poor migrants experience relative deprivation and this might cause frustration and grievance towards society and state. The research found a number of factors that affect urban poor migrants' attitudes and approaches towards the state and the rest of society. It was also found that some factors which are closely related to Turkey's unique features are more effective amongst all factors.

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Fatih URKMEZER declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

Urban Poor Migrants in Turkey: Why are They Still Committed and Loyal to the State and Social Order?

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. None of this work has been published before submission

Signed:.....

Date:.....

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Definitions and Abbreviations

CCT- Conditional Cash Transfers

DIE- State Statistic Institute

DPT- State Planning Organisation

ES- Retirement Chest

EU- European Union

GDF- General Directorate of Foundations

GDP- Gross Domestic Production

JDP- Justice and Development Party

OECD- Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

SGK- Social Security Institution

SSK- Social Insurance Institution

SYDV- Social Assistance and Solidarity Fund

SYGM- General Directorate of Social Assistance

TBMM- Grand National Assembly of Turkey

TL- Turkish Liras

TUIK- Turkish Statistic Institute

UN- United Nations

WB- World Bank

Chapter 1: Introduction

This study aims to investigate the main reasons that keep urban poor committed and loyal to the state in Turkey when one would actually expect them to be disaffected. Why do they not protest about their conditions and living situations; and what are the factors that affect their attitudes are the main questions which are investigated in this study. Besides this study will also reveal what these people's silence means?: A sign of commitment to social networks such as family and/or neighbourhood, of fear, of apathy or a real commitment to the state. The main reason underlie their silence will be revealed through participants' expressions. Members of disadvantaged groups who do not want to accept their living conditions can adopt varied strategies that can range from individual strategies for upward mobility to collective strategies for a social change (Simon et al, 1998). Some segments of urban poor in Turkey do not choose collective strategies and do not participate in social movements. Although Turkey experienced a variety of social movements, these people did not choose to participate and they preferred to stay committed to state and social order. Even in past economic crisis periods in which people experienced huge declines in their income and consumption levels, the connection between poor people and the state was maintained. The reasons for this connection and the commitment status of poor people, particularly of urban poor people will be explored and discussed in this study. Therefore, the main research question for this study will be: Why are the some segments of urban poor in Turkey committed and loyal to the state and what factors affect their attitudes and approaches towards the state and society?

The research objectives are:

1. To explore the reasons those prevent these urban poor people to participate in social movements and keep them committed and loyal to the state and to understand the urban poor's attitudes to and engagement status within society and the state,
2. To explain the targeted group of urban poor's attitudes towards the state and the rest of society depending on these factors.

The reasons for deciding to participate or not participate in social movement participation are diverse and dynamic. This study seeks to understand what affects some segments of urban poor's decision for not participating in social movement by examining these people's experiences and expressions. Social movement is defined by Tarrow (1998:4) as "collective challenges, based on common purposes and social solidarities, in sustained interaction with elites, opponents, and authorities". While Tarrow's definition put the emphasis on common purposes, Turkdoğan (1997:27) put his emphasis on differences between one's expectation and the social reality in the definition of social movements: "...riots and social movements are the results of the differences between social reality and people's expectancy". Without considering the differences between approaches, social movement has drawn the attention of researchers for years.

Social movements started in the 19th century as the workers' movement (Onder, 2003). 1960s witnessed social movements that mainly aimed to have equal economic and social rights and these movements were class based, intended to have political power and social change (Onder, 2003). These movements can be called "Classic Movements". Studies in social movements were also dominated by the approaches that see social movements as the results of grievances and strains (see Agnew, 1992 and Smelser, 1962). For example Gurr (1970) states that people rebel when they realise that there is a large discrepancy between their legitimate expectations of material rewards and their actual rewards. However, socio-economic changes and effects of globalisation led a change in the structures and causes of social movements in 1970s and these are called as "New Social Movements". New Social Movements concept is used to define environmentalist, feminist, cultural, anti-nuclear and ethnic movements emerged from 1970s (Onder, 2003). New social movements participants are groups and individuals from diverse sections of the society for various reasons while in the classical social movements' actors were socio-economic groups and they were struggling against mostly material interests (Offe, 1985). As they will be seen in the next chapters, new social movements have distinct features in compare to their older counterparts ranging from their participants, aims, tools they use, and the type of organisation. Social

movement approaches mainly analyse social movements that were rooted in the western countries. However, as a Muslim country, Turkey's experiences and social dynamics have distinct features than Western countries. Thus, these approaches are seen too "Westocentric" (Bayat: 2005) in order to understand the factors that affect social dynamics in a modern Muslim contemporary. Therefore, this study reveals the factors that ease to understand the social dynamics in Turkey and that mostly effective in urban poor migrant respondents' attitudes and actions.

While new social movements became prominent both as movements and as theories among the world during 1970s, Turkey was experiencing different developments: Classic social movements emerged as mass movements during 1970s, while new social movements appeared after 1980 (Sunal, 2005). Turkey witnessed social movements, demonstrations, strikes, political polarisation and even violence among workers, students, civil servants and leftist and rightist groups ended up with a military coup in 1980 (Simsek, 2007). 1980 was not only a political threshold for Turkey, 1980 was also a threshold for both economic and social areas in Turkey that affected ongoing years. Turkey witnessed a crucial change in economic, social and cultural policies and structures in the post-1980 era (Bugra and Keyder, 2006). Turkey adopted a series of reforms in order to integrate into international markets and overcome the economic crisis she had experienced. These reforms changed the economic system in Turkey from an import-substituting industrialisation model toward a market oriented and export-oriented strategy in this period. This new model required structural changes that were consistent with neo-liberal economic policies such as privatisation, deregulation, reducing state intervention and public spending. Impacts of the introduction of neo-liberal policies on the areas of society were rising long term unemployment, lower wages for employees, permanent poverty and high informal employment rates during 1980s (Kalaycioglu, 2006:234; Aybars and Tsarouhas, 2010:755). Therefore particularly urban areas became convenient areas for both poor people and organisations especially aiming to solve their problems.

Although governments tried to maintain control over all kind of social movements and organisations during 1980, Turkey began to tolerate the existence of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) by the late 1980s and

early 1990s (Simsek, 2007). Particularly NGOs interested in solidarity with poor people and social assistance began to flourish during 1990s due to highly visible poverty particularly in urban areas. Economic crises, high inflation, structural adjustments and stability programmes with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), conflict in the South East, migration, growing urbanisation and earthquakes strongly influenced two decades in the post-1980 era in Turkey. Thus poverty became highly visible and controversial in society, particularly in the squatter house neighbourhoods in urban areas (Adaman and Keyder, 2006). In order to challenge these developments, state took an important step for fighting against poverty. Social assistance programmes, under the control of the Social Assistance and Solidarity Fund (SYDV), gained significance in this period together with economic crises and weakening family solidarity (Kalaycioglu, 2006). Although the SYDV was founded in 1986 as an early response to the emerging forms of poverty in the post-1980 period (Bugra, 2007: 46), through the end of the 1990s its importance in implementing anti-poverty policies increased. Then new anti-poverty tools began to be implemented in line with a programme from the World Bank (WB) and its support. These developments caused changes in approaches and evaluations towards poverty, deprivation and inequality. Government institutions carried out poverty research projects until the late 1990s. However, their reports and studies were mostly based on the absolute poverty approach (Bircan, 2000). Together with the change in traditional welfare mechanisms, approaches to the problems of poor, especially urban, changed. Neo-liberal economic policies, economic crises, continued internal migration from rural areas to urban, earthquakes and changes in social and demographic structures caused transformations to and erosion in traditional welfare mechanisms (Bugra and Keyder, 2006; Ozturk, 2011, Aybars and Tsarouhas, 2010). In line with the growing awareness of social problems, fighting against poverty was put as a goal for the first time in the “8th Five Year Development Program for 2001-2005”. Features of poverty, particularly in urban areas, changed while the welfare model was in transformation as well (Bugra and Keyder, 2006). This new kind of poverty was seen as more exclusionary in an environment where weak solidarity based on informal networks prevailed. Some researchers labelled this new problem as “New

Poverty” (Bugra and Keyder, 2003), while it was also labelled as “Permanent Poverty” (Ozturk, 2011) or “The New Form of Poverty” (Isik and Pinarcioglu, 2008). Yet, it has been generally accepted that a new kind of poverty began to exist particularly in urban areas caused by massive social change.

As will be seen in the literature review chapter, poverty and the different forms of inequality are seen as important factors that stimulate people to respond and act in an aggressive way towards the rest of society and state. Especially in urban areas, urban migrants who cannot integrate into a city and realise that they cannot achieve their expected standard of living, might use different kind of violence towards society and state (Cornelius, 1969; Gizewski and Homer-Dixon, 1995). Relative deprivation theory reveals the connection between poverty, inequality, frustration and aggressive attitude (towards society and state). People compare their conditions and positions with other target groups and/or individuals they choose (Tyler and Smith, 1995; Gurr, 1970). When urban poor cannot achieve their expectations and their upward mobility is restricted by several factors then migrants experience rising relative deprivation which can lead to grievances and the breakdown of social bonds (Cornelius, 1969; Gizewski and Homer-Dixon, 1995). Relative deprivation can cause personal violence as well as collective action against state. People who experience relative deprivation are more likely to organise a social movement to improve their conditions (Morrison, 1971). However, not every type of relative deprivation has the ability to cause an aggressive response towards society and state. According to Hirschman (1973) people can tolerate existing and even increasing inequality and deprivation when they have hope for upward mobility in developing countries and he coined this condition as the “tunnel effect”. Nevertheless this effect needs continuing economic growth and political stability, and during economic crises the tunnel effect loses its effect in developing countries.

Participation in a social movement or not to participate in a movement is a personal choice but there are several reasons that affect this decision. Although it is mentioned as a personal choice, as it will be seen later, this choice is also affected by other factors. The reasons people become active and the reasons they do not, are numerous, hugely diverse and vary according to personal, cultural, environmental and structural circumstances. Motivational

factors, barriers, triggers and enablers of participation could be analysed in order to understand why some people participate more and why others participate less. This can be addressed by adopting perspective that examines the personal and societal factors that inhibit people's engagement, and by taking a psychological perspective to explore people's motivations (Brodie et al. 2011). Therefore people from different perspectives were added in this study in order to obtain their ideas and experiences related to study's objectives. Apart from personal motivations and barriers, there are other factors which affect broader people and groups. The institutional bodies of state and its implementations and tools such as social policy implementations, social aids and networks which are used as social control agents can be counted. States might use these tools in a clientelist approach instead of accepting them as the rights of their citizen. As Marshall (2006) pointed out one of the three elements of citizenship is "social element" and it contains having social services as a right. However, governments depend on clientelist approach use mostly social services as tools that help to control societies in order to maintain their sovereignty. Clientelism is typically defined as a relationship of exchange in which political leaders receive support for targeted benefits (Swamy, 2016). Clientelism in this study is used as a style of redistributive politics based on the political exchange of votes against government transfers to targeted groups (Robinson and Verdier, 2013). As definitions reveal, clientelism involves the provision of social transfers to their followers by politicians in return for their political support. Although it is submitted that developing countries mostly have clientelist politics (Markussen, 2011), it is also accepted that it is appeared in different contexts even in developed countries (Casamatta and Vellutini, 2008 and Alvarez-Rivadulla, 2012). As a developing country, Turkey has been the matter for clientelist approach by politics in order to maintain their position. Political clientelism and party patronage has played an important role in Turkey since the emergence of multi-party system following the World War II (Sayari, 1977). Although it might appear in different contexts, clientelist approach in Turkey has shaped the implementation of social welfare tools as it will be seen later.

As indicated before, classic and new approaches bring distinct perspectives to social movements for their structures, reasons and their participants. Relative deprivation mentioned above discussed by the classic approach as the reason for social movement and a reason that stimulate for participation in a social movement together with alienation from mass society. However, new approaches adopt that grievances and frustration are not only reasons to start or participate in a social movement. Beck (2008) states that, as pointed out by McCarthy and Zald, grievances alone are not enough to explain contention as most individuals at most times have complaints. Grievances are thus a necessary, but insufficient explanation, of why some motivations become organized into sustained contention and movements and others do not. As it will be discussed later, McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1988) indicate that the reasons for why people join or form social movements can be analysed from macro-level and micro-level perspective. These approaches put the ideas and explanations of people's motivations and reasons for participating or forming social movements together with the features of different types of social movements. Nevertheless, these approaches' explanations might not correspond to the experiences of countries that have different cultures and dynamics. For example some of the lower class' activities in Middle East countries that might be seen as resistance, may actually contribute to the stability and legitimacy of the state and state institutions (Bayat, 2000b). As this study aimed to investigate the factors that affect people who do not participate in social movements and protests, a fieldwork depended on participants' own expressions is used in order to reveal the factors and dynamics that affect their decision and perception processes. Why, under similar conditions, some segments of urban poor are not mobilised while others are, even though they are affected by the same structural problem? As Melucci (2003) puts it if we wish to understand the individuals we must introduce the dimension of personal motivations or barriers. Hence, this study seeks to receive urban poor people's ideas, experiences and understanding related to study subject.

In order to conduct this study and reach these aims, Istanbul is chosen for fieldwork for several reasons: Istanbul is the biggest metropolitan city in Turkey; it is the financial, service and industrial centre; it is still attractive for migration; the private sector has a growing interest in the peripheral lands of Istanbul and the integration of squatter house neighbourhoods and for their

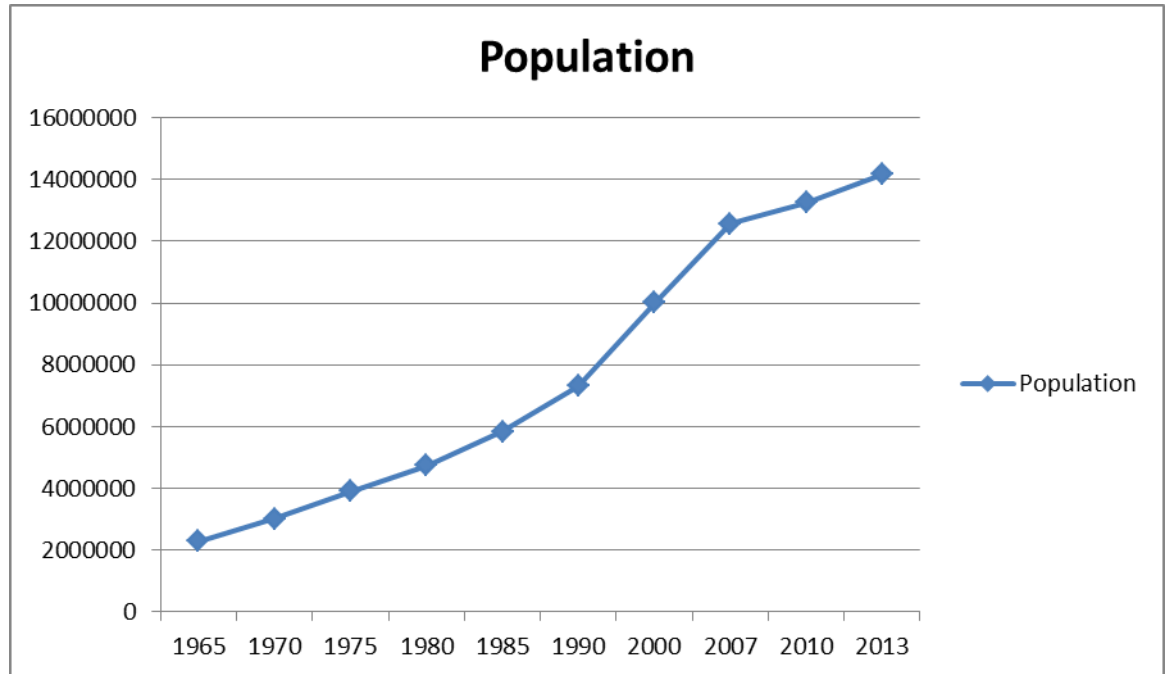
residents has become more difficult when compared to other cities in Turkey (Erman and Eken, 2004:67). Although there are many cities in Turkey that receive internal migration and social problems can be observed as a consequence, these social problems are experienced and can be observed in their extreme forms in Istanbul (Bugra and Keyder, 2003:6). As Muggah (2012:2) pointed out, cities can be a place of safety, resilience and opportunity while at the same time can be a home for insecurity, inequality and squalid poverty which can threaten political, economic and social stability. As the only mega-city in Turkey, it is the result of a rapid urbanisation process and the combination of high population density amid poverty and limited resources, which has led to the rapid growth of slum areas (UN, 2003a), Istanbul presents an example to observe the effects of urban poverty features on the experiences and coping strategies of the urban poor that might also appear in unique combinations in urban areas as Wratten (1995) indicates.

Figure 1 shows the total population of Istanbul in the last 5 decades. As it can be seen, Istanbul has become a mega-city (with over 10 million people) in the last decade in the terms of the United Nation's (UN) definition. However, Istanbul has a unique place among other third-world mega-cities due to the successful integration of internal migrants into its city life through several mechanisms during the national development period –until the post-1980s- (Keyder, 2005). The acquiring of land and housing through mostly illegal ways such as invasion of public land and building illegal houses; effective networks among relatives, friends and townsmen which help both to find formal and/or informal jobs and to acquire land and housing were the dominant tools of social, economic and cultural integration and put Istanbul in a unique place in other third-world cities (Bugra and Keyder, 2003; Keyder, 2005).

However, these mechanisms have been eroded after 2000. Integration tools such as employment opportunities, land invasion and house building have collapsed as the consequences of neo-liberal policies, economic crises, earthquakes and the commodification of the land, and these make Istanbul a city in which social exclusion strongly emerges (Keyder, 2005:131). Therefore, Istanbul appears as an ideal location in order to conduct a study which aims to investigate the factors that affect the urban poor who experience acute forms

of poverty, and reasons that prevent them from any attempts to form or join protests.

Figure 1: Population of Istanbul in years¹



Source: TUIK

As summarised above, developments experienced in Turkey in the post-1980 era led to enormous changes in social, economic and political areas. Although for a time Turkey was able to achieve continuous economic growth and to increase her connections with the world (Boratav, et. al 2000), the post-1980 period was characterised by a series of economic crises, high inflation, conflict in the South East, and oscillations between military, popular and religious pressures, and these meant the state was unable to secure a stable social system (Manning, 2007:492). At the end of the 20th century, Turkey's portrait was of a politically unstable, economic-crisis-ridden, ideologically nationalist, geopolitically isolated and culturally conflictual state (Keyman and Onis, 2007:212). Collier et al (2003) pointed out the importance of economic factors in undermining social cohesion that also help to fuel conflicts. Further, in Turkey's experience, erosion in traditional welfare strategies which help poor people to overcome their poverty; new characteristics of poverty which

¹ Numbers of migrants will be shown in the Methodology chapter.

encompasses all dimensions of poor people's lives; and the spread of poverty particularly in urban areas have the capacity to reinforce this conflictual environment. However, these developments and experiences did not cause similar responses of urban poor groups. Some segments of urban poor in Turkey have stayed committed to social order even during the recent crisis periods. Therefore, it is important to understand the reasons for the continuation of this connection and factors which provide and sustain their commitment to the state.

This study uses triangulation in order to create a more comprehensive view to study objectives. There will be three different sources by which the relational perspectives of poor urban migrants' deprivation and the factors and drivers that keep them committed to the state will be explored. These are 30 poor urban migrants who are recruited through NGOs, three NGO representatives and three officials who are responsible for social policy, social order and social assistance. The semi-structured interview method is used in order to gather their experiences, observations and opinions. Three different guides were produced and used for interviews with these groups of participants. The guides for interviews with poor migrants were produced. All processes were approved by the university ethics committee prior to fieldwork. All interviews were tape-recorded and then transcribed.

In all, this study mainly focuses on urban poor in Istanbul and the reasons that affect their attitudes and behaviours. As a part of a mega-city, urban poor face deprivation which affects all dimensions of their lives. Consequences of these problems can be felt in every part of society and as it is stated above can cause more serious social and political problems. New social and economic policies, rapid urbanisation process and the negative effects of economic policies have caused structural and relational changes in the post-1980 era. Socio-economic consequences of rapid urbanisation and transition in welfare regime have a capacity to cause new social problems in Turkey. Turkey is now confronting these social consequences of urbanisation, unemployment and the transformation of welfare regime. Turkey's main challenge in the area of society is now to provide and maintain social cohesion through implementing effective social tools in order to increase the engagement status of poor people

with the society and the state. In order to prevent herself from encountering new social problems that could emerge from the urban poor's deprivation and experiences, Turkey needs to plan and develop effective social policy tools to keep the urban poor committed to the state and increase social cohesion. Therefore, the primary focus of this study has emerged from the need to understand why some segments of urban poor are still committed and loyal to the state and the reasons that affect their attitudes towards society and the state. This study adopts that urban poor people's silence is the sign of their commitment; however the design and methodology of this study will also reveal the real meaning of their silence. Because, in order to constitute effective social policy tools, one needs to understand the feelings and opinions of people who suffer from deprivation and disadvantages. In line with these ideas the main research question for this study is: Why are the some segments of urban poor in Turkey committed and loyal to the state and what factors affect their attitudes and approaches towards the state and society?

In order to answer this question, this study contains 8 chapters, together with the Introduction chapter.

The Literature chapter evaluates the discussions about mainly poverty, urban poor and response models of urban poor to their circumstances. As a response model, social movements and main approaches used in order to analyse them will be handled with more detailed. Besides main approaches that aim to reveal the factors that mostly motivate urban poor to form and/or participate in social movements will be discussed. At the end of chapter, studies related to poverty, urban poor and their response models will be displayed.

The methodology chapter reveals the approaches and methods adopted by the researcher in order to reach the study objectives. The approach of the study, the study design, the research methods, details of the fieldwork carried out and the limitations of the study are placed in this chapter together with the explanation of the analysis process.

The fourth chapter is about Turkey's experiences. There are two sub-chapters here. The first part of the chapter reveals the welfare provision that exists in Turkey. The historical roots of the welfare provision; social and political approaches and developments to welfare provisions; the traditional welfare

provision and the transition and change of the traditional welfare provision are considered in this part. By this way, knowing the roots of Turkey's social structure and the current status of the welfare provision will help the reader to understand contemporary welfare initiatives and experiences of the urban poor. The second part is about the urbanisation process of Turkey. In order to understand Turkey's contemporary problems, the urbanisation process in regard to poverty in urban areas must be elaborated upon. The roots of internal migration, the changing features of migration and migrants and the integration process of those migrants to cities are placed in this sub-part. Further the urbanisation process and its effects on the urban poor and the welfare provision in Turkey are also revealed in this chapter.

The next three chapters are analysis chapters based on the information and data obtained directly from the fieldwork conducted by researcher himself throughout interviews with the targeted groups; the urban poor, NGO representatives and state officials. The 5th chapter explores and reveals the status of the participants in society and before the state. The 6th chapter analyses factors that affect urban poor migrant respondents' behaviours and attitudes such as personal, organisational factors and welfare provisions, from the urban poor's perspective. The 7th chapter reveals the observations and opinions of NGO representatives and officials related to factors that keep the urban poor committed and loyal to the state. This chapter provides other perspectives to the objectives of this study. By this way, the study objectives can be addressed in a more comprehensive manner. The final chapter will be about evaluations and conclusions from this piece of research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This study mainly aims to investigate reasons that keep some segments of urban poor committed to the state in Turkey despite expectations that they would protest their conditions at least during economic crisis periods. “Why do some segments of urban poor not protest about their conditions and situations?”, “what are the factors that affect their attitudes and still keep them loyal to the state?” are the main questions investigated in this study. Although Turkey has witnessed economic and political crises since 1980, some segments of urban poor are not completely disenfranchised even in these periods. Poverty has been discussed as a distributional –economic- and material problem. Although statistical materials such as income, income distribution, the poverty line, living standards and consumption have been studied and discussed in both academic and political areas, the effects of poverty on relational issues such as relationships, attitudes and responses of poor people have been examined less extensively. Besides it is also aimed to reveal the reasons that affect urban poor people’s decisions to participate social movements. Therefore, approaches to social movements and the factors according to these approaches that emerge as motivators or barriers for participating social movements should be discussed. The reasons people participate are complex, diverse and vary according to personal, cultural, environmental and structural circumstances. While some factors encourage and enable participation, a range of barriers prevent people from getting involved. Hence, process and factors that affect people’s decision to participate or not participate should be discussed and revealed in order to understand the factors that affect urban poor people’s decisions. Therefore, relevant literature, approaches and concepts will be discussed in order to reveal the study’s place among these approaches and the importance of this study. In the first part of this chapter, the approaches to the main root of this study such as poor, poverty and urban poor will be revealed. The effects of unpleasant conditions on the urban poor’s attitudes and models of urban poor responses as a result of their experiences will be subjected. Then, main approaches to social

movements will be revealed and the factors that have a great place both for people's decisions and social movements' recruiting process will be subjected.

2.2 General Literature

This part consists of four sub-sections. In the first poverty and the distinct features of urban poor will be discussed. Why urban poor were chosen in order to conduct this study and the distinct features of urban poor that attract social movement approaches will be revealed. In the second step, discussion and approaches to poverty and its effects on society and the ways these problems affect urban poor's attitudes and approaches towards the rest of society and state will be discussed. Theories and approaches used to explain how poverty and deprivation affect people's responses will also be discussed in this part. Evaluations and discussions about the consequences of poverty, particularly related to engagement status, disaffection, responses of poor people will be dealt with in this part. The main urban poor response models will be discussed in the third part. Particularly social movement as a model will be revealed due to its relation to the study objectives. In the final part, factors that affect people's decisions to participate or not to participate social movements will be discussed in order to reach study objectives.

2.2.1 Poverty and Urban Poor

2.2.1.1 Poverty

Poverty has always been an important problem for all societies. It was experienced as a lack of resources and insufficient production in the past but in contemporary world, although mass production is enormous and societies are becoming increasingly affluent, every society had a section living in deprivation. As Bhalla and Lapeyre (1997) indicated, poverty has become a common problem for both developed and developing countries (together with unemployment) for the first time since 1930. It could be said that poverty is a universal problem that spreads across all societies in the world and has the potential to cause problems for the whole society because of its nature (Bugra, 2007:33). Therefore poverty alleviation policies are crucial in both the political

and social context. Creating reasonable and applicable strategies for the alleviation of poverty makes society more secure and equitable. Poverty is still one of the great national and international concerns as the source of social problems. Because of its characteristics and potential to cause other problems, it is a focus of the millennium development goals of the UN.

However, it should be understood first what poverty is and why it needs to be defined before identifying the problem linked to it and before implementing any policy to alleviate poverty (Alcock, 2006). Rowntree and Booth conducted pioneer studies of poverty in the late 19th century in UK cities, York and London. Although there are many meanings in the academic discourse, especially Rowntree's definition is closer to the meaning of absolute poverty. He defined poverty as a level of income "insufficient to obtain the minimum necessities for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency" (Townsend, 1962:215). The absolute poverty approach emphasises income deprivation and required for reaching and sustaining minimum living standards and basic human needs including food, water, and shelter. The WB's estimations and studies² about global poverty share a similar approach with this idea while the UN defined absolute poverty as "a condition characterized by severe deprivation of basic human needs, including food, safe drinking water, sanitation facilities, health, shelter, education and information"(UN, 1995:Chapter 2,18). These international organisations' studies and reports about global poverty are major resources for researchers due to their convenience in order to make comparisons between countries.

However, Townsend (1962) stated that the absolute poverty approach provides no reliable indicators for comparative studies and adds there is no reliable basis for international comparisons until more reliable indicators are devised for any single country and these indicators should be based on the relative poverty concept. There is relativity in the meanings of poverty and subsistence and because of that they can only be defined in relation to different materials at a particular time to the members of a particular or different society (Townsend, 1962). This approach to the concept of poverty is defined as the

² The World Bank started to use \$1 a day per person - which was re-determined as \$1.25 in 2005 – as the standard for the poverty line to enable international comparisons.

relative poverty approach and the main accepted definition is by Townsend (1979:31) as “Individuals, families and the groups in the population can be said to be in poverty when they lack the resources to obtain the types of diet, participate in the activities and have the living conditions and amenities which are customary, or are at least widely encouraged or approved, in the societies to which they belong”. In this approach, poverty is defined not just based on material conditions of people but also considering the social context at a particular time which shapes norms of social practices and participation in society. One way of measuring relative poverty is to specify a threshold below the median income- and people with incomes below this threshold are considered as poor. The EU takes this line as 60% of median national income.

The relative poverty approach is generally used in developed countries and it is evaluated as not appropriate for developing countries in order to measure poverty especially if the main concern is to raise the minimum-absolute standards of living of people in those countries (Kakwani, 2003). This is because, the main concern of the policy of developing countries is to ensure that people in those countries have an adequate chance of meeting their basic needs and living standards. In this sense, Sen’s capability approach brought a new understanding to poverty approach and enhanced the concept. Sen sees poverty as “...the failure of basic capabilities to reach certain minimally acceptable levels. The functionings relevant to this analysis can vary from elementary physical ones such as being well-nourished, being adequately clothed and sheltered, avoiding preventable morbidity, etc., to more complex social achievements such as taking part in the life of the community, being able to appear in public without shame, and so on” (Sen, 1992: 110). These are the absolute requirements for people in order to be able to participate in society, and Sen adds (1983:161) that poverty takes an absolute notion in the area of capabilities. There are capabilities which are also absolute requirements for everyone in order to be adequately sheltered, nourished and clothed, and participating in society. This approach affected the UN, and the UN initiated a range of indicators such as life expectancy, adult literacy, gross enrolment ratio and income per capita in order to produce a comprehensive

perspective of the world poverty problem in Human Development Index (HDI) after 1990.

2.2.1.2 Urban Poor's Position

This study focuses on the urban poor's experiences and their attitudes and approaches towards society and state. Therefore, their unique features related to their experiences which affect their responses to their unpleasant conditions need to be discussed. The experiences of the urban poor and their polarisation and segregation processes occurred in the changes that have taken in the last quarter of 20th century came to our attention through the social exclusion idea (Thorns, 2002). Social exclusion involves changes in economic, social and political structures. Especially in developing countries, such as Turkey, this change has occurred together with neo-liberal policies and globalisation. As a result of demographic changes and migration flows, urban areas have grown in those countries. However, urban migrants could not be absorbed by cities and their deprivation turned into acute forms. In order to understand the urban poor's distinct and acute forms of deprivation, the main differences between the urban poor and their rural counterparts should be discussed.

Growth of squatter and informal housing in rapidly expanding cities in developing countries is the result of rapid urbanisation and this urbanisation process is anticipated to continue through internal migration (UN-Habitat, 2003a). Therefore, urban poor areas are shaped by urban migrants who are the results of rapid urbanisation in developing countries where a systematic welfare provision is mostly absent and social security covers just limited formal workers which involve a small proportion of the workforce. Economic, social, political and environmental policies are main reasons underlying internal migration which is determined mostly by both pushing and pulling factors. Political instabilities and civil wars can be counted as political factors while lack of income sources, transition from an import substitution policy to competitive open economic models recommended by international organisations, greater employment, health and education opportunities in cities are some of the pushing and pulling factors on the urbanisation process (UN-Habitat, 2003a).

However, urban areas have become the areas in which most acute poverty problems are experienced particularly in slum areas in developing countries.

Especially due to economic crises and structural adjustment programmes - which decrease formal and even informal employment opportunities - along with demographic changes - migration etc - poverty became increasingly concentrated in urban areas during the 1980s and 1990s (Wratten, 1995). The combination of high population density with poverty and limited resources creates an environment which reinforces illegal housing and inadequate living standards (UN-Habitat, 2003b). Eradication of these areas is counted as one of the UN's Millennium Development Goals along with the eradication of poverty. As Davis (2006: 20) cited from Anqing Shi urban poverty would become the most significant, and politically explosive, problem of the 21st century.

What are the differences between types of urban poverty? Are there any differences between rural and urban poverty? Wratten (1995) sees the conceptualisation of urban poverty as a separate category from rural poverty problematic for two reasons: the categories of definition are arbitrary and this may divert the attention from the structural causes of poverty. The relationship between these areas and their existence still continue unchanged and the most significant thing regarding to poverty is the structural determinants of poverty that affect poor people in both areas. The United Nations (2003a) also points out the continuum of rural-born individuals in urban areas by indicating the continuing of the rural lifestyle particularly in informal settlements that makes the difference between these cities and 'modern' middle-class societies. Nevertheless, urban and rural poverty terms are generally used particularly by the international organisations. Amis (1995) identifies 7 specific features of urban poverty which should be considered in policy formation in urban problems related to poverty:

- The importance of position within and access to labour markets which involves both physical and social access to the labour force. Particularly in urban areas employment status is seen as factor in underlying poverty,
- The ability of the informal sector to absorb the unemployed is limited. Although the informal sector had served as a solution for people, especially migrants, by using networks based on irregular relationships; economic crises, the expiring of unskilled tasks and

competition in the market decreased the capacity of the informal market's absorption powers in urban areas.

- A Greater Vulnerability to Changes in Market Conditions. The urban poor's response capacity is limited to changing economic conditions due to their limited capacity to the production sources.
- The Critical Importance of Female Headed Households in the Composition of the Poor. Women are, generally, one of the most disadvantaged groups with limited chances of having assets and reaching the labour market, education, and social security.
- Fewer "Coping Strategies". The urban poor have fewer coping strategies than their rural counterparts. This is mainly because of their limited chance to reach production sources. However, they have a better chance to receive social assistance which can improve their capacity to cope.
- The Individualised and private Nature of Urban Poverty which affect Individuals rather than communities. Personal problems of the urban poor sticks with them if there is not a general insurance programme and no safety net scheme.
- A Greater Exposure to Environmental Risks. In this sense, limited services, especially infrastructure, provision by the state/municipality to poor people's neighbourhoods cause and affect their ill health conditions along with their bad working conditions.

Wratten (1995) also expresses that although there are some caveats as aforementioned, there are four interrelated areas attributed to urban poverty:

- Urban Environmental and Health Risks contribute to the problems arising from unhealthy housing and working conditions, pollution and high living densities.
- Vulnerability Arising from Commercial Exchange points out the limitation of free or cheap sources of necessities compared to rural areas, and, therefore, the importance of earning more money in order to minimise the vulnerability to shocks or crises.
- Social Diversity, Fragmentation and Crime indicates the high diversity among the people in urban areas that may cause new tensions and

survival strategies. Relationships in urban areas might also be more impersonal.

- Vulnerability arising from the Intervention of the State and Police implies that poor people in urban areas have more contact with the state and its agencies than rural counterparts which sometimes may cause problems for them.

In line with these ideas, Mingione (1996) also shows factors which are typical for urban rather than rural poverty: a much higher cost of living than the average, the lack of opportunities for self-provision and self-help, and the negative impact of greater social instability and isolation. In all, the contemporary urban poor hardly reach employment opportunities even in informal markets, live and work in unhealthy conditions, are more vulnerable to economic and social changes and shocks, lose their relationships with their families in their home villages and in the remote neighbourhoods in the city they live which cause isolation and increasing tension with the rest of society and state organisations and mean they need more coping mechanisms in order to afford daily necessities which are likely hard to reach compared to rural areas. These features may be uniquely combined in cities, and reinforce insecurity and life-threatening health risks experienced with poverty and shape coping strategies adopted by poor households (Wratten, 1995). Hence, “it is particularly likely that economic poverty will become transformed into acute, progressive and unstoppable forms of social exclusion” in urban areas (Mingione, 1996: 13). The empirical picture of the conditions of urban poor migrants and the reasons that keep them engaged with the city will be revealed in the next chapters.

2.2.2 Effects of Poverty on Urban Poor

2.2.2.1 Poverty and Its Effects

People who live in economic deprivation lack adequate income to live in better conditions and mostly experience minimum living standards as Amis (1995) pointed out. Because of that it is not easy to reach sufficient education, health, housing and other amenities for them. Besides that inadequate education

causes inadequate skills which are vital for finding employment in the neo-liberal economic and competitive conditions which are adopted by the most developing countries. Unemployment triggers poverty and insufficient social relations and this cycle makes social bonds weaker between excluded people and society. This in turn makes a barrier to providing social cohesion (Mingione, 1996). This dynamic process begins with inadequate income and causes social bonds to weaken and even be broken off.

Both Silver (1994) and Del Castillo (1994) elaborate on social exclusion and social bonds and state that broken social bonds are an important result of social exclusion. People who could not afford their basic needs could permanently lose their confidence in society and state, lose their self-esteem and feel disaffected and disenfranchised. This situation could affect both their physical and psychological conditions. As Amartya Sen (1997) states long-term unemployment and sense of exclusion can cause cynicism about the fairness of social arrangements and the feeling of a grievance against the world. One the consequences of this process is inadequate or absent social relations and social bonds between a person and society which is mainly affected by the individual's unemployment and insufficient income to afford the participation process particularly in urban areas (Mingione, 1996). As it is aforementioned, social bonds are weaker in urban areas particularly compared with rural areas (Amis, 1995). Besides, it is showed that urban poverty has different features to rural poverty and urban poor has to solve more complex problems in an environment of weakened social bonds and informal networks. The urban poor have lost their social bonds and self-esteem. Family protection and solidarity still have an important role in rural areas although even in the local areas safety nets tend to disappear (Davis, 2006), these solidarity and protection mechanisms were weakened due to different reasons in urban areas. Because of living in poverty, feeling exclusion, strain with society and lost confidence in society and state could be generally observed in urban poor areas.

2.2.2.2 How Does Poverty Affect Urban Poor?

The previous part reveals that poverty and deprivation damage social relationships and social bonds. In order to prevent this damage and produce social cohesion, it should be understood the ways these problems affect

people's attitudes and approaches towards the rest of society and state. According to Sambanis (2004), urbanisation increases instability and there is an emerging consensus in the literature that a low level of income is a significant condition for some forms of violence. However which kind of violence are we interested in? Gizewski and Homer-Dixon (1995:1) identifies three types of three categories of urban violence which are relevant to conflicts that arise over urban problems:

- a. Political violence, the product of mass unrest and dissatisfaction with state performance;
- b. Communal and ethnic violence, and
- c. Criminal and anomic violence.

Particularly, the first type of violence is focused on by this study which includes protests, riots and rebellions and is the product of dissatisfaction with state performance and services. Theories that explain the relationship between poverty and crime also reflect the psychological processes that move urban migrants to any kind of violence. Social Disorganisation, Strain and Marxist Theories are three well-known theories which explain the positive relationship between unpleasant economic conditions and crime³. In line with this approach, Cornelius (1969: 833) and Gizewski and Homer-Dixon (1995) suggested three propositions that are typical for urban poor:

- a. Urbanisation breeds economic frustration among urban migrants. Migrants' needs such as employment, housing and other essential urban services cannot be met by public and private sectors. The urban poor's upward mobility is restricted due to their inadequate education and skills. Therefore these groups cannot join in any consumption activities and then feel marginalised themselves. Migrants experience relative deprivation. Thus frustrated material expectations and feelings of relative deprivation lead to the breakdown of social bonds, alienation

³ For the main approaches and theories about the relationship between poverty, inequality, and crime and violence see Sambanis (2004), Whitworth (2011), Agnew (1992), Agnew et al (1996) and Collier et al (2003).

- and increase the migrants' propensity to engage in radical political activity. This process involves materials related to Strain Theory of Crime developed by Merton (1938), Agnew (1992) and Gurr (1970).
- b. Migrants have problems in adjusting socially and psychologically to the urban environment. These problems are the products of cultural conflicts, the disorganisation of living habits and primary group breakdown. Also, traditional large families transform into nuclear families due to economic and demographic conditions. Hence, traditional social controls on behaviour are weakened and urban poor enter a phase in which they are susceptible to recruitment into extremist political movements. This process involves explanations related to Social Disorganisation Theory of Crime developed by Shaw and McKay (1942).
 - c. Urbanisation, increased political awareness, and mobilisation of radical opposition go hand in hand. A high level of social communication, competition between distinct economic interests and organised political activity accelerate the politicisation of migrants. Migrants' frustration and experiences are translated into aggressive protest movements against established urban governments. This process reflects the opportunities and environment which ease the facilitation of a social movement.

These three approaches reveal how urban migrants' experiences can cause deprivation, anomie, strains and feelings of alienation. These psychological processes are the results of a rapid urbanisation process particularly in developing countries and could occur in many simultaneously (Gizewski and Homer-Dixon, 1995). Urban poor migrants can experience real and perceived exclusion and changes in their previously effective social relationships. These changes affect their social relations, attitudes and behaviours. Judgements about what is "just", "fair", "deserved" or some other one is "entitled" to receive are a significant personal judgement which guide feelings, attitudes and behaviours in their interactions with others (Tyler and Smith, 1995). People's behaviours and attitudes are linked to their perceptions about whether or not they receive what they deserve. Therefore as much as a person's expectations are high the possibility of his/her relative deprivation might be high.

2.2.3 Responses

It is stated above that urban poor have distinct characteristics different from their rural counterparts as well as other urban population groups. This approach is mainly based on their precarious socio-economic status, mostly informal integration into market economies, instability in social networks, distinct coping behaviours and exposure to direct effects of deprivation and exclusion. Therefore examination of urban poor has been the matter of sociological studies since urbanisation accelerated in the 19th century in Europe, particularly associated with urban problems such as urban crime, unemployment, inner-city conditions, cultural duality and migration (Bayat, 2000b). Especially with the growing number of urban excluded and disenfranchised people in urban areas in developing countries, consequences of neo-liberal policies and the acceptance of urban poverty as threat to social and political orders brought these people again on to both academic and political agendas. Therefore, possible types of responses of urban poor need to be discussed in order to reveal main models and approaches to the consequences of deprivation and exclusion.

People who live in disadvantaged conditions can prefer to act individually in order to gain actual equity through individual compensation or retaliation; or act in a collective action such as ballot initiatives, protests and strikes (Tyler and Smith, 1995). Distinct factors can shape and affect these responses models disadvantaged people. According to Bayat (2000a, 2000b) there are four main responses to changing social and economic realities of excluded urban poor migrants as a result of their everyday experiences: Passive, Survivalist, Quiet Encroachment and Social Movement.

2.2.3.1 Passive

The “passive poor” approach is based on Oscar Lewis’ studies in Latin America and the “culture of poverty” term emerged from these studies. Lewis highlights the main essentials of poor people as fatalism, hopelessness, criminality, religiosity, lack of ambition and traditionalism. However, policy makers and elites adopted these characteristics attributed to whole poor and consider

them as politically passive (Bayat, 2000a). In this model people react to their current conditions in a passive way and they accept their conditions. Nevertheless, this kind of response also includes some costs. Feelings of personal relative deprivation and injustice may cause psychological problems and stress. Further, people may direct their frustration towards their family members and sometimes themselves which can result in domestic violence, attempting suicide and/or alcoholism (Tyler and Smith, 1995). However, poor people in different cultures can handle poverty in varying ways. Social and economic context also affect experiences and responses of poor people. Bugra and Keyder (2006) show that economic transformation in Turkey also caused changes in networks and strategies of poor people.

2.2.3.2 Survivalist

This approach accepts the poor as an active group rather than a passive one. Although they are powerless they are actively coping with social and economic conditions. Poor people use coping mechanisms in order to meet their necessities. As it is stated above urban poor have distinct coping behaviours compared with their rural counterparts. Because although urban context includes more competition and individualism, it also contain various form of networks, institutions and opportunities which can create sources for coping. Beyond that, these people created their own survival and resistance strategies (Silver, 1998) which determine approaches and attitudes of them to the rest of the society and state.

As indicated by Amis (1995), the urban poor are more vulnerable to any kind of shocks and crisis in the environment that both living and working conditions are unhealthy and solidarity and relationships among relatives and neighbourhoods have weakened. As Eroglu (2013) states poor households can make plans about their deployment; urban poor should develop and use strategies in order to conduct daily lives and have at least minimum living standards including food, shelter and other basic necessities. There are two types of coping strategies for poor people in risky environments such as in developing countries in order to reduce income risks: Ex-ante (risk-management) and ex-post (risk-coping) strategies including self-insurance via savings and informal insurance mechanisms (Dercon, 2002). Ex-ante strategies

are protective risk-management strategies taken by households in risky environments, whereas ex-post strategies are risk-coping strategies taken by households in order to mitigate the consequences of shocks/risks. These strategies can vary from reducing expenditures to diversifying sources of income. Such strategies may have short-term or long-term impact in line with risks. Households mainly implement coping mechanisms with short-term effect such as using savings or selling assets, when those mechanisms are not sufficient, mechanisms with long-term effect should be preferred such as withdrawing children from school (Amendah et al, 2014). According to Eroglu (2011) poor households can implement four types of responses for their situation and coins these types as “Household responses to poverty”. These responses are income generation, income allocation, consumption and investment. This model allows us to analyse urban poor’s “strategic and non-strategic responses devised against persistent and transient forms of poverty” (Eroglu, 2013:774) which are important for urban areas where emerge as risky environment for poor people. Dercon (2002) identifies two types of risks with respect to people affected by them: Idiosyncratic and Common. The common risks (economy-wide, aggregate, covariate) affect everybody in a society or group, while individual or idiosyncratic risks affect the particular individual. Nature of the shocks is important to understand and implement the strategies and policies in order to reduce the negative effects of shocks. Idiosyncratic shocks can be insured within a society, but common shocks cannot be shared if everybody is affected (Dercon, 2002). According to Amendah et al (2014) idiosyncratic shocks have relatively higher impacts on urban poor than their rural counterparts. This is the consequence of urban environment in where social bonds and relationships are not as tight as in the rural areas.

Urban poor have to find a solution in order to afford a shelter, bills, transportation, food consumption, expenditure for education, health in more risky, unhealthy, unsafe and more excluded area. Coping behaviours of poor can be diverse and complex. Chambers (1995) compares the poor’s strategies with the people who have formal employment and income. The former (especially in the South-developing or less developed countries) are identified by Chambers as “foxes” which have a portfolio of activities with a different

member of families in order to generate more income, whereas the latter are identified as “hedgehogs” which have one single income source. This is also related to the risky environment of urban areas and especially in developing countries’ urban areas. However, Amis (1995) does not agree with the idea that urban poor have more solutions and strategies than their counterpart in rural areas as it is stated before. According to Amis (ibid), with the collapse of developmentalist states, formal provision of basic needs such as education and health decreased in urban areas in where community networks and structures are not developed as well as in rural areas. Hence, urban poor are not easily surviving.

Although cities are seen more successful in generating new forms of income provision (UN-Habitat, 2003a), personal characteristics of urban poor creates a barrier for them to enter into qualified job markets. Therefore, entry-constraints in profitable facilities forced poor people to concentrate on low return activities (Dercon, 2002). Coping behaviours taken by, mostly, urban poor in order to provide food, income, support and survival can be listed as follows (Chambers, 1995): Home gardening, Common Property Resources (fishing, hunting etc), Scavenging, Processing, Hawking, Share-rearing of Livestock, Mutual Help, Contract Outwork, Casual Labour, Specialised Occupations, Domestic Service, Child Labour, Craftwork, Mortgaging and Selling, Family Splitting, Migration for seasonal work, Remittances, Seasonal food-for-work, Public works and relief, Stinting, Begging and Theft. These mechanisms can be used by urban poor separately or mostly more than one in any time. Households use the diversities of coping behaviours in order to mitigate the consequences of risks and shocks and increase their income and chance to afford their daily necessities.

Coping behaviours play a two-sided role in urban poor’s life. In one hand, capacity and effectiveness of coping behaviours in meeting the necessities can affect attitudes and responses of those people, on the other hand as Bayat (2000a) states that they can be and end for them in where resources and opportunities for collective action are seen to be absent. It is also argued that these people strive to resist and make advance their lives when opportunities rise (Bayat, 2000b:539).

2.2.3.3 Quiet Encroachment

Bayat (2000a-2000b) offers this term in order to assess the responses of urban poor's in developing countries to the conditions and consequences of globalisation. This notion describes "silent, protracted and pervasive advancement of ordinary people on the propertied and powerful in order to survive and improve of their lives" (Bayat, 2000b: 545). It is a cluster of individual actions rather than a collective demand movement. Although there are similarities between this notion and coping strategies there are two main differences between them: First people's struggles and gains are derived at the expense of themselves or other poor in coping strategies, however in the quiet encroachment process, people's advancement occurs at the expense of the state, rich and/or public -invasion of public land-. Second, this kind of action involves a cumulative encroaching rather than a defensive which means that an expansion of their space by winning new positions with every action (Bayat, *ibid*). As a result of this cumulative action urban poor reach a better off position. However, this action requires some conditions as well. There must be a good network system, particularly informal, with which urban poor could engage and receive help achieve encroachment. Besides the state has to be relatively weak to implement the rules, and/or pursue populist policies but can prevent collective actions. In every circumstances, this kind of action cause significant changes in urban poor's lives, urban life, and social policy (Bayat, 2000a).

2.2.3.4 Social Movements

As it indicated before, this study mainly interested in urban poor people's participation processes in social movements in Turkey. Thus, approaches to social movements are needed to be discussed as a response type of urban poor. A social movement is just one specific form of collective action among many according to Melucci (2003). Melucci specifies diverse forms of collective action and puts social movements against social order as a specific form while counts other forms as competition, deviance, cooperation, social Movements defend social order, individual resistance, individual mobility and collective rituals. Melucci's specification also refers to this study's approach to social

movements. Social movements objected in this study are the ones which against social order and contain a rejection to the participants' everyday experiences. Social movements are distinct from other movements of collective action such as consensus or solidarity movements because they aim for a redistribution of political, social and economic power and an alteration in social structure (Della Porta and Diani, 2006: 23). Therefore, social movements contain urban mass protests and resistance actions in which poor and excluded people gather together in a collective action in order to express their demands and reach specific goals are the movements related to this study. Thus, although defining what a social movement is can be difficult and can depend on the writer's approach, social movements subjected in this study can be defined as "collective challenges by people with common purposes and solidarity in sustained action against elites, authorities, other groups or cultural codes" (Klandermans, 2004).

There are three main approaches to social movements that point different ways for describing analysing social movements. These are Collective Behaviour (Classic), Resource Management and New Social Movements Approaches. Prior to the 1970s, the study of social movements was dominated by collective behaviour approaches that focused on movements as products of grievances, anomie and/or social strain. However, with the effect of the change in the organisation, participants' patterns and aims new approaches emerged after 1970s which are Resource Mobilisation and New Social Movement Approaches.

2.2.3.4.1 Collective Behaviour

Mainly three approaches can be counted under the Collective Behaviour Approach: The Chicago School Approach to Collective Behaviour, Mass Society and Relative Deprivation. These approaches also named as Classic Approaches to Social Movements.

According to Chicago School Perspective collective behaviour occurs when established systems of meaning and sources of information have broken down, forcing participants to construct new meanings to guide their behaviour (Morris and Herring, 1987). Therefore, collective behaviour arises under some forms of structural breakdown- dramatic event, migration, natural disaster, urbanisation, rapid social change, etc.- that leads to non-institutionalized

efforts aimed at reconstituting ruptured social structures (Morris and Herring, 1984). This approach considers that social movements are semi-rational responses to abnormal conditions of structural strain between the major societal institutions; that strain causes malfunctioning of the whole social system (Mamay, 1991).

Mass society approach also has similar approach to social movements with Collective approach. However, mass society theorists emphasize the characteristics of mass societies which make movements possible: cultural confusion, social heterogeneity, weak cultural integration mechanisms, and a lack of attachments to secondary group structures (Morris and Herring, 1984: 7). Kornhauser (1959) argued that rapid social changes such as economic crisis, rapid industrialisation and urbanisation and migration can diminish people's routine associations. This process can make individuals isolated from their relations and established institutions. At the end of this process, alienation from society can motivate people to participate or form social movements.

Relative deprivation refers to people's perceptions about their well-being and conditions relative to their comparisons with others. People evaluate their income and living conditions by comparing them with other people they choose. Relative deprivation theory helps to explain and analyse two main things: First, it explains why the objectively deprived are satisfied with receiving low levels of social resources. Second, it can explain when riots occur and who is motivated to participate in a collective protest (Tyler and Smith, 1995). Gurr (1970) sees relative deprivation as the source for social movements. He states that people rebel when they realise that there is a large discrepancy between their legitimate expectations of material rewards and their actual rewards. The important thing is in relative deprivation theory is the subjective evaluation of a person of his/her conditions in society rather than his/her objective conditions. Therefore, comparisons and the choice of other individuals to make comparisons with are the significant parts of relative deprivation theory.

Although there are differences among these approaches, collective behaviour theories share several similarities (Staggenborg, 2008:13): First, these theories argue that social movements arise as a result of some type of structural or cultural “breakdown” or “strain” such as rapid social change or dramatic event. Second, they see social movements as existing outside institutionalised structures. These approaches consider social movements irrational. Third, these theories assign an important role to the shared beliefs of participants in analysing the emergence of social movements. According to Beck (2008-cited from McAdam, 1982) these classic approaches mainly posit a psychological process whereby social conditions affect individuals and motivate them to challenge the status quo. Further, grievances are a necessary, but insufficient explanation for participating social movements. While some motivations become organized into sustained movements other motivations do not. Classic theories are criticised (Gusfield, 1994) for their failure to consider the importance of the mobilisation of people into organised collective action. For sustained movements, organisation and material resources should be included in the analysis of social movements. Therefore resource mobilisation approach brought a perspective in which sustained resources and the organisation bring these resources together emerged.

2.2.3.4.2 Resource Mobilisation

As indicated above, grievances and strain were seen necessary but insufficient factors to participate or form social movement. Early theorists of resource mobilisation such as C. Tilly (1978) and McCarthy and M. Zald(1973, 1977) pointed out that strain and grievances can always be found in a society, however the necessary tools for the mobilisation of people are resources and organisation. Main pillars of resource mobilisation are resources (skills, money, time etc), social movement organisations and political opportunities. According to Staggenborg (2008), Edwards and McCarthy (2004) state several resources which are used and created by social movements: Moral resources, such as legitimacy, cultural resources including strategic know-how, social-organisational resources such as networks and organisational resources, human resources such as the experience of activists and material resources such as money. As these resources are used effectively grievances and strain can turn in a social movement. However, the most distinctive part of resource

mobilisation approach than the classic ones is its treatment to the logic of social movements and their participants. The resource mobilisation theorists point out that social movements are rational. Participants are also conscious and rational for being a part of social movements. As McCarthy and Zald (1977:1218) indicated “a social movement is a set of opinions and beliefs in a population which represents preferences for changing”. Thus a social movement is based on rational individual’s conscious decisions to form or participate in social movement. Hence, a social movement, according to this approach, is a way for people who excluded from access to established institutions to change the system and/or implement new rules to enhance their access to scarce sources in a rational way (Zomeren et al, 2008). This brings the idea that an individual in a social movement is under the effect of a rational decision process including cost and benefit logic (as in Olson, 1965) in where political opportunities exist rather than sentimental processes. Resource mobilisation paradigm added mainly two things to the social movement debates: social movements are not spontaneous and disorganised, in contrast they are forms of political participation; and social movement participants are not irrational (Ferree, 1992:29). When the organisation is established through which supporters can be recruited, material sources are reached and political opportunities exist, social movement can be formed and sustained.

2.2.3.4.3 New Social Movements

Started with the 1970s new approaches began to emerge to analyse and understand social movements. Due to the change in the aims, organisations, participants and tactics, classic approaches were criticised for not encompassing all the actors that participate social movement and their demands. Especially in the developed and/or advanced societies, new types of social movements such as gay, feminist, environmentalist, human rights activist and ethnic movements emerged. Therefore new approaches follow these movements in order to analyse these movements. In this period resource mobilisation approach emerged in the USA while new social movements approach emerging in the European countries. Although these approaches emerged in order to explain these new movements, resource mobilisation

approach was also criticised because of being overly structural and ignoring cultural and relational factors (Beck, 2008). Johnston et al (1994:6) conceptualise the main characteristics of new social movements as follows:

1. New Social Movements do not bear a clear relation to structural roles of the participants. Participants find their roots in their social status such as gender, youth, sexual orientation etc;
2. The New Social Movements are more difficult to characterise ideological terms, instead they exhibit a pluralism of ideas and values. They tend to have pragmatic orientations and search for institutional reforms that enlarge the systems of members' participation in decision making;
3. The grievances and mobilising factors tend to focus on cultural and symbolic issues that are linked with issues of identity rather than on economic grievances that characterised the working class movements;
4. The relation between the individual and the collective is blurred. The movement becomes the focus for the individual's definition of himself/herself, and action within the movement is a complex mix of the collective and individual confirmations of identity;
5. New Social Movements often involve personal and intimate aspects of human life...They extend into arenas of daily life: what we eat, wear, and enjoy; how we make love, cope with personal problems;
6. New Social Movements employ new mobilisation patterns characterised by non-violence and civil disobedience that, while often challenging dominant norms of conduct through dramatic display;
7. New social movements search for alternative forms of participation and decision making relating to issues of collective interest;
8. In contrast to centralised bureaucracies of traditional mass parties, New Social Movement organisations tend to be segmented, diffuse and decentralised.

New movements, as it indicated before, mainly address issues like environment, peace, human rights, and cultural issues. Further social movements subjected these issues spread among all over the world. Hence the features pointed above are the general characteristics of new movements from different countries. New social movements also display a breakdown from old movements. Claus Offe (1985) compares new and old social movements in respect to their actors, issues, values and modes of action, while Dalton et al (1990) points out ideology, origins, structure, style, and goals of the groups in order to define what is new about new social movements. Although these points were indicated in order to display the difference between old and new movements, this approach was also criticised due to several reasons: As Beck (1998) pointed out, new social movements were criticised by Bagguley (1992) for not identifying new processes. There are very little unique characteristics in new social movements comparing to old movements. Another critic showed by Dalton et al (1990) is that New Social Movements are simply a front for revolutionary and anti-system political groups. Instead of the change and challenge the capitalist system in a more political way, new social movements prefer and aim to restore the system. As Staggenborg (2008) points out, Tilly (1998) indicated that new movements use same tactics as nineteenth-century movements' use such as demonstration, in order to display their demands. There are still social movements which concern economic-well-being and aims economic demands and it is also disputable that the middle class is the main participant group for the first time (Pichardo, 1997:418).

Although there are caveats about new social movement approach mostly targeting the "new" concept that differ the contemporary movements from the old movements, there are major developments that bring with new social movements approach. First of all, new social movements represent a new aspect of contemporary politics by referring ideology and political identity which affects basis, structure and tactics of the movements (Dalton et al, 1990). It also showed by Inglehart (1990) that political style and the factors that mobilise their activists in new social movements are new compare to old movements. Instead of using political parties, "less elite-directed" ways have been true of participation by depending on individual's values. And finally, new

social movement approach is valuable as it directs attention to “the importance of culture, identity and everyday life in the mobilisation and outcomes of social movements” (Staggenborg, 2008:24)

2.2.4 Factors

As it is discussed in the second part, theories highlight that how urban poor are affected by their unsatisfactory circumstances. It is showed that deprivation that urban poor experience in their everyday life might affect these people’s behaviours and attitudes towards the rest of society and state institutions. It is also revealed that what kind of behavioural responses can be displayed by urban poor groups. Particularly social movements and main approaches that are used to explain these collective actions and how they are formed and sustained are discussed above. As this study aims to reveal why some members of urban poor do not participate in social movements, especially the relationship between urban poor, deprivations they experienced and social movements should be discussed. It is obvious that not every situation of deprivation might cause a movement and an aggressive response towards society and state. Hence, the factors that can determine an individual’s attitudes to society and state; and people’s decision process and the factors that affect an individual’s decisions should be revealed.

Members of the disadvantaged groups can adopt diverse methods in order to improve their everyday experiences. These methods can range from individual mobility to collective actions such as social movement. As “people do not act collectively without good reason” (Snow and Benford, 1992:142), poor people might engage in social movements as a result of the effect of some reasons. Macro and micro perspectives might help us to reach the answer about when social movements might be occur and how people can participate or form social movement (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, 1988). According to Simon et al (1988) these are complementary perspectives that might affect each-other mutually. While macro conditions refer to political, economic and organisational themes that make a movement more likely to emerge; micro conditions refer to individual and structural accounts of individual activism that cause an individual to engage a social movement. As this study mainly aims to reveal the factors that affect an individual’s decisions to participate in a social

movement, mainly micro conditions will be discussed in this part. However, it is worth to generally elaborate macro conditions due to their effects on people's everyday life experience.

2.2.4.1 Macro Conditions

2.2.4.1.1 Macro Political Conditions

McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1988) point out that macro conditions are important to analyse the factors that ease to emerge social movements. In line with globalisation national social movements tend to evolve larger actions that might affect more states and regions. Therefore, social movements could be discussed in the wider political developments in the regions and countries. Hence, Structure of Political Opportunities, Regime Crises, Absence of Repression and Welfare State Expansion can be listed as macro political conditions.

McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1988) refer to sensitivity of the political system with the Structure of Political Opportunities. Movements might be formed or sustained due to several reasons but political conditions must be suitable for a social movement. However, it is obvious that not every political opportunity causes a social movement. Thus, although there is still debate that what constitutes a political opportunity and in which circumstances a political opportunity leads to a social movement, yet it is clear that social movements are affected directly by the broader political environment (Beck, 2008).

Regime Crises are also related to political opportunities. However McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1988) see regime crises more fertile periods for a social movement emergence. There is a suitable area for the challengers who want to change the existing order if there is a crisis for the dominant power holders. Especially afterwards of wars and economic crises are count to be regime crises periods that might cause and/or ease for social movements. Turkey's experience also displays similar developments. Social movements with high level of participation occurred especially during or after economic crises such as Zonguldak Worker Movement in 1991 and demonstrations in the beginnings of 2000s. According to McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1988) reveals Habermas's

approach about the legitimation crisis of modern capitalist state that cause a discrepancy between material expectations and achievements of these expectations. This discrepancy causes a continuous discontent and crisis among groups which then cause social movements. As it is indicated above, discrepancy between expectations and achievements can cause frustration among especially urban poor who migrated to urban areas for upward mobility. Hence, frustrated material expectations and feelings of relative deprivation lead to the breakdown of social bonds, alienation and increase the migrants' propensity to engage in radical political activity (Gizewski and Homer-Dixon, 1995).

Absence of Repression means that, according to McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1988), absence of the repressive control agents or the relatively weakness of these agents ease a social movement emergence. Apparently this situation is an obvious especially during regime crises periods. If the movement opponents are reluctant to suppress a social movement then this movement might possibly sustain and/or enhance. Tilly (1978) also indicates the difference between the repression and facilitation in order to distinguish the systems that increase or decrease the cost of participation. According to Klandermans (2004) this process directly affects the supply side of a social movement which refers to the opportunities used by organisers. On the contrary, if movement opponents -state- make feel themselves powerful among people, this make people reluctant to participate in a social movement. People can feel themselves powerlessness against the state (Tyler and Smith, 1995; Sambanis, 2004). This can also shape people's attitudes and behaviours against state institutions. Although people can evaluate their conditions as injustice they might not act in aggressive way and/or participate in any collective action against the state because they accept that the state is more powerful than them. Social movements and collective actions might occur particularly when state capacity declines (Gizewski and Homer-Dixon, 1995; Hvinden, 2004).

Finally, the last macro political condition is listed by McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1988) as Welfare State Expansion. This process implies that the state enhance their penetration into the previously private areas of people which then cause a different contention sources between state and people. Thus, new social movements emerge in order to defend these areas, such as environment,

feminist etc, against the state's intervention. It is also obvious that particularly neo-liberal policies have caused change in both state's intervention areas and people's everyday experiences. Posner (2012: 2) sees the World Bank's (WB) emphasis on poverty as an example for creating a balance between market-led development and social and economic exclusion of a broad range of the population. This is particularly important for urban areas in developing countries in which this type of development and these types of experience have become a reality (UN, 2003b). Thus, McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1988) indicate that while modern state penetrates more areas of life, it also creates more groups dependent upon itself. As these demands could not be satisfied, these groups might form a social movement.

Further of these factors, there are the ways of welfare implementations that affect people's attitudes towards state and state institutions. Social policies and social policy tools might be used in a clientelist way for distinct aims. One of the main aims of the clientelist implementations of social policy tools lies beneath the definition of clientelist approach to social policy. As indicated in the introduction chapter, clientelism refers a style of redistributive politics based on the political exchange of votes against government transfers to targeted groups (Robinson and Verdier, 2013). While this definition mainly refers to government transfers, this mutual relationship might emerge in a distinct ways and might contain different resources such as public goods, jobs, services and aids. Therefore, political clientelism might be defined as the distribution -and /or promise of distribution- of resources by office holders and/or candidates in exchange of political support mainly in the form of vote (Auyero, 2000). As stated in the first chapter, although it might appear in developed countries as well, clientelist approach is common throughout the developing world. Poor groups and poor voters are more vulnerable to political clientelism as well particularly in developing countries and mainly through CCT. While poor voters are not alone in seeking clientelistic benefit, clientelism is strongly associated with poverty (Stokes, 2007; 617). Due to the inability of poor people to meet their necessities and afford their expenses these group of people, therefore, might easily be target for this kind of redistributive politics. Through these redistributive politics poor people who need any support in

order to conduct their lives, might become a benefit dependent and can conduct their lives by depending on these sources. Therefore, office holders and/or candidates target these necessities and dependency of poor people by distributing and promise of distributing public sources- transfers, services, jobs and aids- in order to gain their political support. This kind of relationship is especially effective when cash transfers are involved clientelism process because poor voters are more responsive politically to these types of rewards (Penfold-Becerra, 2007). Therefore, politicians mainly adapt cash transfer tools such as CCTs in order to gain poor people's support. However, as it is seen in the process of clientelist approach, although it might appear in anti-democratic countries as well, clientelism is mostly used in the countries in which parties and/or groups must be elected in order to reach political power. The systems that clientelist implementations are pervasive in their elections force their leaders to pay more attention to public opinion than pure autocracies and these might be coined as electoral patronal systems (Hale, 2010). In contrary to the programmatic implementations of services, under the clientelistic environment voters might expect to receive a particular benefit to supporters only. Therefore clientelistic implementations might undermine the universalistic institutions and subvert democracy by creating informal and class cutting, reciprocal relationships (Mungiu-Pippidi, 2015).

As it is seen, clientelism is based on an exchange of support and sources between clients and patrons. It is obvious that there are power differences and inequality. Power differences between the both sides of the relationships create the balance between the patrons and clients. Besides, inequality does not refer only the differences between two sides, it also refers the inequality exists in the society. As Robinson and Verdier (2013) put it, clientelism is fostered by low productivity and inequality. Low productivity leads to poverty and as it seen poverty eases the implementation of clientelist implementations. Further, inequality means that patrons can command large amounts of sources that might easily be transferred to people in need. Instead of using sources to the development of a society in a programmatic way, clientelistic implementations undermine the efficient management of political and economic resources of the state (UNDP: Human Development Report, 2005). According to Grindle (2016) clientelism challenges the democratic ideals of citizenship, participation, representations and accountability. As it stated before,

clientelistic approaches also hinder the citizenship and rights approach. Public goods and services are conceived by the people as a favour of the great state instead of a right. By this way people accept a “low-quality social citizenship” (Grindle, 2016: 245) that also affect their civil and political rights which would create a full citizenship according to Marshall (2006).

Citizenship is an important sign and concept in order to create and enhance bonds between people and the state. In line with Marshall’s (2006) citizenship approach which involves three important areas of civil rights, political and socio-economic- the lack of or denial of these rights might cause the diffusion of poverty especially in urban areas and a weakening of social bonds which might affect the whole society (Mingione, 1996). In the contemporary world, all three elements of citizenship rights are derived from the past experiences of the societies and emerge as the reality of the living in a modern society. Especially, the protection social rights bring arises from the right to be collectively protected or insured against the risks of living in society (Lo Vuolo, 2016). Particularly, the importance of social rights emerges in the risky environment which is more possible in developing countries. However, as it seen, clientelist approaches are salient in developing countries. Thus, people who live in risky urban environment in developing countries are the object of clientelist social policy implementations and, they perceive these tools-aids, transfers etc- as the goodness of state instead of a right. Especially the process of CCTs are based on the conditions such as health control, schooling, and vaccination, therefore these implementations then become a temporary right for the people rather than a social right. As Ansell and Mitchell (2011) points out, since people accept these tools as the goodness of the state, they bargain for resources rather than demanding them as a right. Social benefits divide people into two groups: “being needy” and “real citizens” (Gencler and Yildirim, 2015: 657). This kind of process also subverts the democratic institutions and participation as indicated before. While clientelism is rooted in particularism and relationships of exchange; democracy is based on notions of equality and citizenship rights (Grindle, 2016: 242). The main elements of democracy such as legitimacy, transparency and accountability might be undermined through clientelist implementations. While these elements ensure the citizenship and

its parts, clientelism undermines these elements. Besides, people who are excluded from the clientelist exchanges and accessing the resources equally might lose the faith of democracy and the legitimacy of the state.

On the other side, people who receive social aids and transfers particularly in a clientelist approach and under conditions, must stay inside of these exchanges and conditions frame. Especially CCTs are designed in order to promote the “good behaviour” of beneficiaries (World Bank, 2009: 59-64). Lo Vuolo (2016) also sees notions from state paternalism in the promotion of particularly CCTs by which poor people would behave appropriately. As these critics reveal, state transfers and aids to poor groups are used as social control mechanisms through them poor and disadvantaged people would behave in line with the social rules and stay in social and civil society. While these tools are improving the health and education levels of beneficiaries, they do not improve the autonomy and political freedom of them and then make them benefit dependent in a clientelist environment. By this way, these tools are used not just for improving human capital but as an instrument to reinforce social control (Lo Vuolo, 2016). This approach is also consistent with the WB’s approach. WB’s “social risk mitigation” policy aims to create a balance between economic developments and keep poor people in the market. Targeted assistances to the disadvantaged groups are mainly used in order to include them into the market economy, improve their economic activity and enhance social cohesion by keeping them in social and civil society (Posner, 2012: 2). Thus, poor people are perceived as “already being helped” and resources which could be used for a better social policy, would be put in different areas (Lo Vuolo, 2016: 240).

As it is seen above, the implementation models of social policy tools have effect on people’s decision and process. According to McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1988) Welfare State Expansion arises as a Macro political Condition that is efficient particularly in the contemporary world. However, discussions indicated above reveal that the ways of the implementation of social policy tools have also importance on the relationships between state and citizens. It is revealed that clientelist and/or programmatic approaches to the social policy tools reflect the approach and understanding of democracy, transparency and accountability of politics. State’s institutions and the current welfare regime

have an effect on people's perception about their experiences (Tyler and Smith, 1995; Suhrcke, 2001; Wright and Cullen, 2006). Since social policy is a political process and it deals with the protection, care and social justice and these issues affect people's livelihood and everyday life (Hall, 2012); the ways of using social policy is also effective on people's evaluation about government, state and state institutions. According to Agnew (1992) and Agnew et al (1996) and effective social assistance scheme can increase people's commitment to the state. However, the important point in here is the way that social assistance scheme implement. As it is revealed, if social aids and transfers are designed and implemented in a clientelist approach, then a patron-client relationship emerges between politicians, officials and beneficiaries rather than a state-citizen relationship. According to Swamy (2016) social policy is seen as a potential resource for clientelist politicians. Beneficiaries of these tools see these transfers as the goodness of state and/or politicians rather than a right. On the other side, clientelist politicians use public resources in order to hold their positions. Particularly, developing countries are the subject of these implementations. Social policies in developing countries are often captured for clientelist allocation (Brun and Diamond, 2014). Through this approach, social policy is also used as a mechanism that affects people's decisions and attitudes. Thus, people's perceptions about their conditions might shape their responses and attitudes.

2.2.4.1.2 Macro-Economic Conditions

McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1988) identify the macro economic conditions as the wealth might increase the possibility of successful social movement instead of dampening it. As they indicated it is assumed that the most deprived people would be the most likely to participate. Further prosperity of a society would decrease the possibility of a social movement's emergence. Economic conditions serve as important tools both for the emergence of social movements and for the participation process of individuals. As it is indicated by McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1988) wealthy societies might cause more suitable conditions for the emergence of newly social movements. There are more opportunities for creating external sources in order to form or sustain

social movements. Besides, Melucci (2003) puts the importance of identity for participating in a social movement and states that the first to rebel are not the most deprived people but instead the groups who have an identity consciousness and perceive the discrepancy between their existing identities and the new social processes. This situation is also relevant to the expansion of welfare state. New socio-economic relationships would negatively affect people who might lose their previously private areas.

2.2.4.1.3 Macro-Organisational Conditions

These conditions mostly refer to the internal structure of the population that might realise the opportunity created by political and economic conditions. McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1988) point out the importance of the organisations in the emergence and continuity of social movements.

Ecological Concentration refers to the degree of geographic concentration of a homogenous group in their everyday life experiences. Especially urban areas are seen as convenient areas which might increase the structural potential for social movements. In line with this approach, this study chose to study in urban poor areas in which potential social movement participants would be recruited. Urban areas have become the areas in which most acute poverty problems are experienced particularly in slum areas in developing countries. The combination of high population density with poverty and limited resources creates an environment suitable in order to form a social movement and for their recruitment process. The concentration of a group who experience acute forms poverty and deprivation might increase the possibility of social movement.

Level of Prior Organisation implies a significant importance for a successful collective action. Access to an organisation and/or a community group for an individual might increase to participate in a social movement. Besides this would ease the recruitment process of a social movement hence enhance the sustainability of that movement. Members of an organisation would become the target of mobilisation attempts (Klandermans, 2004b). There is a paramount importance of dense networks for the recruitment process of social movements. As Gamson (1992) indicates this process and the importance of pre-existing networks and recruitment networks is a part of common

knowledge. Networks also provide a fertile space for the discussion of politics, the creation of discourse against existing social order (Stekelenburg and Klandermans, 2013). By this way networks enhance their members political and social consciousness, hence people may mobilise easily compare to the people who have no relationship with networks. König's study (1999) also reveals that the empirical studies showed that the most movement participants are recruited through pre-existing network channels.

The final macro organisational condition is the Absence of Cross-Cutting Solidarities. This condition refers to the existing solidarities of a group to other groups in a society. If these solidarity channels are exist and intensify a group's embeddedness to that society then these solidarity channels reduce the possibility for the emergence of a social movement. Although internal solidarity in a group is considered as an important factor that lead to mobilise (Melucci, 2003), this solidarity mainly refers to the solidarity with other groups. As König (1999) points out, the solidarity networks among poor groups keep these groups connected to the society they live. Hence, these solidarity networks do not serve as fertile grounds for the emergence of a social movement. On the contrary, these solidarity networks help these groups to cope with their deprivation, thus increase their connection with the society.

2.2.4.2 Micro Conditions

2.2.4.2.1 Individual Accounts of Activism

Individual accounts of activism mainly refer to the individuals' social psychological perspectives mainly dominated by the classic approaches to the social movements. Thus these conditions will be dealt with depending on these classic approaches. By this way, it will be revealed that under which socio-psychological conditions individual would choose participate or not participate in social movements.

- *Psychological Accounts of Activism:* As indicated above social psychological approaches argued that people participated in social movements because they were frustrated and irrational people and their grievances and frustration make these people outside the usual institutionalized social

structures to attempt to change the existing order. According to McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1988) the emphasis in this condition is on character traits and/or the stressful states as the causes of individual participation process. Mainly, classic approaches' explanations for the emergence and participation processes were accepted as the significant psychological conditions. As it is pointed out by mass society theory social movements arises over the disenfranchised people's aggregation (Kornhauser, 1959). People's aim to overcome the alienation and isolation they experience intensify the participation process. Particularly migrants can easily lose their personal relations in the urban areas, can experience alienation. Further, traditional social control agents might lose their effectiveness as well. As Melucci puts out (2003) mass society approach assumes that individuals, who lose their ties mainly with their primary groups which are offering a sense of belonging might easily become the subject of the disintegration and turn to be isolate individuals. Therefore these individuals' experiences increase their possibility to participate in a social movement. Thus, participants in a social movement might tend to be the most marginal and most excluded from participation in primary groups.

As indicated by McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1988:705) relative deprivation approach to the participation process may be the most attractive approach amongst classic approaches. Relative deprivation refers to people's perceptions about their well-being and conditions relative to their comparisons with others⁴. According to Gurr (1970) relative deprivation is the discrepancy between what people think they deserve, and what they actually think they can get. However, the important point in this approach, it does not look to an objective indicator of deprivation as the source of action. The important thing is in relative deprivation theory is the subjective evaluation of a person of his/her conditions in society rather than his/her objective conditions. Hence, a demand for change begins with, as Klandermans (2004) stresses, dissatisfaction, and feeling of relative deprivation. People evaluate their income and living conditions by comparing them with other people they choose. There are several possibilities about the choice of comparison target for a person

⁴ Melucci (2003) named this approach as "expectation-reward model" that states that the discrepancy between the expectations developed regarding the results from action and its actual results engenders processes leading to collective mobilisation

who makes comparisons (Tyler and Smith, 1995): Members of disadvantaged groups are more likely to compare themselves with other disadvantaged group members than to advantaged group members. Relative deprivation based on group comparisons is named as fraternalistic deprivation by Runciman (1966) while relative deprivation based on personal comparisons is referred to as egoistic deprivation. Second, according to Gurr (1970), relative deprivation is the difference between a person's expectations and capabilities. This means that people make comparisons with themselves at different points in time. Therefore, people compare themselves with either their past experiences and/or their future expectations. As a third model, people make comparisons with people who are similar to them but have better living conditions. Finally, people can make comparisons with other people who live in worse living conditions in order to enhance their self-worth feelings rather than upward comparisons which can cause deprivation. Personal characteristics and motivations underlie these kinds of comparisons. Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2013) see fraternalistic deprivation as particularly important for engagement in protest, while the combination of egoistic deprivation and fraternalistic deprivation is the strongest predictor of protest according to them. However, as McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1988) cited from Mueller's work (1980) frustration and alienation are evaluated as minimal impact in explaining the emergence of rebellion. This approach is put forward by Melucci (2003:64) as well and stated that as "isolated and rootless individuals never mobilise". Due to the limited relational activity for these people, isolated people cannot easily be recruited into social movements. This acceptance is also voiced for poor people who experience deprivation especially in developing countries. One of the most prominent explanations about why people can tolerate inequalities they experience in a rapidly developing country and may not favour redistribution is coined as the "tunnel effect" by Hirschman (1973). The possibility of upward mobility is the most significant factor in the tunnel effect. According to this explanation, people would both use their own mobility experiences and the general mobility pattern while they produce their own expectations about future upward mobility. "An individual's welfare depends on his present state of contentment (or, as a proxy, income), as well as on his expected future contentment (or income)" (Hirschman, 1973: 545).

Currently poor people who see themselves on a rising trajectory may favour the current inequalities, because they expect to go further up the income ladders soon (Suhrcke, 2001). However, if a person sees himself/herself in a stable position while his/her comparison target is advancing, he/she feels worse off than before and this could produce envy which can cause a breakdown in social bonds and damage social cohesion.

- *Attitudinal Correlates of Activism:* In this condition, values and goals of the social movement become prominent in the participation process of individuals. This approach suggests a link between a person's political attitude and her/his participation process. In this condition, participation offers the fulfilment and realisation of an individual's own ideology. As Gamson (1992) points out this process may be labelled as "Collective Action Frames" which displays what's wrong in the world (Klandermans, 2004b). If a social movement's aims and values correspond with an individual's political attitudes, then he/she is more likely to participate in that social movement. However as Klandermans and Oegema (1987) showed not every sympathisers would participate in social movements. They break down the process into four steps in which sympathisers turn into participants through targeting, motivation and participation processes. Therefore, a sympathiser needs more processes to become a participant apart from the ideological factor and political attitudes.

- *Suddenly Imposed Grievances:* Apart from the dramatic and unexpected events which increase public awareness of particular grievances as McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1988) stresses; grievances in general may encourage people to form and/or participate in social movements. Whether they are suddenly imposed or the results of feeling of injustice and experience of inequality grievances are seen as the heart of movement participation (Stekelenburg and Klandermans, 2013). Indeed, grievances as the source of action are discussed as the main condition and are accepted as the first step to analyse an individual's decision process particularly in classic approaches. As it is indicated before judgements about what is "just", "fair", "deserved" or some other one is "entitled" to receive are a significant personal judgement which guide feelings, attitudes and behaviours in their interactions with others (Tyler and Smith, 1995). People's behaviours and attitudes are linked to their perceptions about whether or not they receive what they deserve. It is accepted

that grievances might easily turn into action. However, the way that leads the grievances turn into action became the subject of studies. Thus, as revealed above, the importance of organisations and political opportunities were submitted in order to argue the way that lead to people into social movements.

· *Rational Choice Accounts of Activism:* According to this condition, people may calculate the potential costs and benefits of the action. Thus, if the costs of participation are higher than the benefits of participation, then people may choose other ways of action to change their conditions. This condition reflects the idea that “individuals will join in collective action only when they expect the private benefits to exceed the costs” (Ferree, 1992: 39). Here the costs should not be accepted as only in monetary meaning. The costs might include loss of friends, loss of jobs, loss of opportunities, possibility of being jailed, possibility of being a subject in an investigation etc. Therefore, people evaluate their conditions and thus decide whether he/she will participate. If an individual sees the benefits he/she would gain will be higher than the risks he/she took, then he/she will participate. At this point it should be noted that the goal of the movement will be a collective good. All people who are sympathisers to the movement will benefit from the collective good, if the movement will be achieved, no matter whether they participated in the movement and contributed the achievement of goals (Simon, et al, 1998). However, Olson’s (1965) thesis reveals that collective good or common interest is not sufficient motive for an individual to participate. Olson argues that a rational individual will not choose to participate in a movement to achieve collective goods. Because, every sympathiser will benefit from the collective good whether or not he/she participated, hence, a rational individual will not choose to participate. Instead people will be “free rider”. The free-rider refers that people will benefit from a successful collective action regardless of their contribution, and only participants will bear the costs of failure. (Friedman and McAdam, 1992). Hence, this process decreases the participants’ number recruited from sympathisers’ pool. Particularly repressive environments increases the costs participants might bear, thus people might choose not to participate even if they sympathise the value and goals of a social movement. Free rider problem also intensifies this process. However, it is also worth to

note that rational choice and the calculation process of costs and benefits were targeted due to its atomistic and individualistic approach (Simon et al, 1998, Melucci, 2003). People are not atomised individuals. Evaluations and calculations depending only utilitarian approach might ignore the people's place in the society they live and their relations with other people, groups, state and the rest of society. Solidarity plays an important role in the calculation process. As Gamson (1992) suggests solidarity and collective identity blur the distinction between individual and collective good. Membership of a network would increase solidarity among members and also create a collective identity. Thus, people might overcome the individual calculations and be a part of "we" approach. As Melucci (2003) shows, Hirschman's "exit-voice" model (1975) discussed this approach as well. People may choose individual mobilisation instead of conflictual action if he/she sees an inadequacy between the investments and results. In this model, actor either choose "exit" option and prefer to use individual mobilisation, or choose "voice" option by taking action through forming and/or participating social movement.

2.2.4.2.2 Micro-Structural Accounts of Activism

Growing dissatisfaction with the individual accounts and feeling of inability to explain the process led to more structural analysis and explanations for participation process. The main approach in this condition is that people do not participate in a social movement due to mostly their psychological and/or attitudinal conditions, but structural conditions make it easier for them to participate (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, 1988).

- *Prior Contact with a Movement Member:* Prior contact with a movement member arises as a first micro-structural factor. According to Friedman and McAdam (1992) recruitment process cannot occur without a prior contact with another movement agent. Contact might ease to have information about the goals and values of that movement. Thus, through that agent a consciousness-raising might occur for that individual as well. Beck (2008) also points out the importance of prior contact with a movement member and states that individuals are more likely to participate if their friends and/or family members are already participants. Prior contact with a movement member is significantly

important under repressive conditions. In this kind of regimes, interpersonal relations and contact help to recruit people into social movements (Passy, 2003).

· *Membership in Organisations:* Being a member of a group, network and/or organisation might encourage participating in a social movement. In their study, Snow et al (1980) revealed that informal networks have paramount importance in social movements' recruitment process. Particularly, face-to-face relationships in informal networks enhance members' knowledge and increase their commitments. This condition affects individuals' attitudes and actions through two ways. First of all, people might talk more political subjects in their social networks (Stekelenburg and Klandermans, 2013; McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, 1988). Hence, the members of that social network might increase their consciousness about the political issues. This consciousness-raising also would increase social movement engagement. Further, people might easily overcome barriers in order to participate in a movement as for keeping their commitments with their friends and/or other members of the group (Oegema and Klandermans, 1994). As indicated above, social movements recruit their participants mostly through existing networks. These networks also create and/or a collective identity among their members. A strong identification with a group increases the possibility of participation in a social movement which has similar values and goals with that group (Klandermans, 2004b). Melucci sees identity as the grounds for participation, in which individuals want identity and participation process helps them to satisfy it (2003: 74). By this way, previous affiliations create a new collective identity during the mobilisation process (ibid: 291). Friedman and McAdam (1992: 163) also see the collective identity as the most important incentive for a social movement organisation unless there is a discrepancy between that organisation's identity and that individual's own image. Collective identity motivates people to participate in a social movement. As indicated above being a member of a group might lose the effect of free rider problem. Besides, collective identity also has similar effect. People might participate in a social movement ignoring the cost and benefit calculations, under a "we" approach with a high consciousness of the problem, and values. "More closely the individual is

integrated in a group; the greater will be the degree of her/his political participation” (Melucci, 2003: 299).

- *History of Prior Activism:* This condition also might increase the possibility of an individual’s participation in a social movement. If an individual previously participated actively in a social movement, then he/she has knowledge about the participation and movement processes. Further he/she has already affiliations with people who actively participated in social movements and have membership with organisations which positively affect the likelihood of participation as indicated above.
- *Biographical Availability:* As indicated by McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1988) biographical conditions of a person might encourage or constrain participation. Here, the importance of biographical conditions may occur through the calculations of cost and benefits. Due to the calculation process, people may avoid to participate in a social movement in which they may affect negatively in their family responsibilities, employment, and marriage conditions. People who have no strains due to their responsibilities and relationships might participate in social movements because responsibilities might increase the costs of participating.

There are several other factors which affect deprived people’s attitudes and behaviours towards society and state. As long as they have hope for upward mobility they can tolerate inequalities and their unfavourable experiences and living conditions. This approach of Hirschman revealed that poor and excluded people do not necessarily transfer their discontent into any direct action against the current social order. Apart from that there are other factors effective in people’s attitudes and approaches. Comparison is one of the most important factors that can stimulate people’s actions and attitudes. People make comparisons between themselves and others, themselves in a different point of times and their past, current and future positions. As it is discussed above, if people see themselves in a better position or have hope for upward mobility then they keep committed to the current social order (Sambanis, 2004; Agnew et al, 1996). This approach also enhances the understanding of Hirschman’s theory. People live in a developing country can tolerate inequalities they experience as long as the country achieves continuing economic growth. If there would be an economic crisis, tunnel effect might

lose its efficiency because people would compare their conditions before and after the economic crisis.

Particularly education level of an individual has a significant effect on people's participation decisions. As education provides people knowledge about what the problems are and how the system works and can be changed, educated people are more likely to engage in social movements (Brodie et al, 2011). Thus, education provides sources necessary for knowledge and action. Even if there are limited barriers and superb organisation, illiterate and apolitical people would not be easily mobilised (Inglehart, 1990). Particularly new social movements mostly depend on educated people's demands and aims. As it indicated above, new social movements emerge as youth, middle-class and educated people's movements (Simsek, 2007). Besides, beliefs and perceptions also may directly affect people's attitudes and decisions to support and participate in social movements. Particularly, religion and the implementation of religious affairs affect and shape people's everyday experiences and attitudes. Particularly, as Bayat (2000a) the implementation of a religion may frustrate the participatory culture, disrupt the democratic attempts and may limit the social development in which social movements are now seen as important part. Further, the images and perceptions of state and state institutions might affect people's attitudes. As Bourdieu (1999: 33) points out state exists in two forms: in objective reality, in the form a set of institutions such as rules, agencies, offices, etc., and also in people's minds. In both forms, state and its image on people's perception encompass a substantial effect on social movement issue. As indicated before, a repressive state and its implementation might restrict the possibility of social movement. Besides, the agents of social control should be handled with particularly. The institutional bodies of state and the agents of social control such as police, armed forces, welfare provisions, and social insurance rules take direct roles in shaping the social developments (Melucci, 2003). Thus social movements and the participation process of individuals are directly affected by the larger implementations of state and its social control agents. The images of state in people's minds may also affect people's participation decisions. A powerful state perception may constrain the possibility of social movement emergence.

Paternal state perception brings people the hesitation for demanding attempts, and instead put people in a weaker position before state implementations. These perceptions would not affect just the participation processes, but they also affect their everyday evaluations. Governments and officials can bring the people live in worse conditions as the poor people's comparison targets of comparison in order to prevent threats to the current social order. As long as people think that the current government cares about people like them, they are less in favour of change in economic and political structures (Ravallion and Lokshin, 2000). As it revealed, people's perceptions about their conditions might shape their responses and attitudes. Commitment to government authorities would influences people's judgements on justice and fairness (Takenishi and Takenishi, 1992). If people think and accept that the current social order cares about people like them, they keep committed to the political and economic order (Ravallion and Lokshin, 2000). Hence, if a government can achieve to increase people, particularly poor people's living conditions, their commitment to that government might also increase. Further, people's attitudes and behaviours are influenced by the social context and settings they live. Society can shape people to interpret their experiences in a particular way through several ways such as media, culture and religion.

2.3 Studies in Turkey

Studies in Turkey about urban and their participation patterns in social movements have been mostly based on poverty and their effects on everyday life experiences. From this point, studies have analysed poverty, urban poor and their place in the society, the ways they adopt in order to overcome their deprivation, their responses model to their poverty and deprivation. The emergence of poverty as a problem in political and academic discourse is relatively new in Turkey and entered policy agendas in line with the urbanisation process that started in the 1950s. Urban poor migrants and their integration into the cities attracted researchers. Studies and approaches to poverty and deprivation, particularly in urban areas, developed in line with the studies and developments in the world. Governmental organisations such as the State Planning Organisation (DPT) and the State Statistic Institute (DIE- then TUIK) led poverty research until the last two decades. Their special reports on

poverty for development plans, household surveys and the studies of experts were the main research topics about poverty. These were generally based on the absolute poverty approach to detect the numbers of poor people and the rate of poverty in the population (Bircan, 2000; Gursel, et al, 2000). Studies were mostly about income distribution, and the numbers of poor people, and they relied on official data sources such as household surveys conducted by governmental organisations instead of their own surveys and data. However, especially with the economic transformation after the 1980s, unemployment and inequalities had increased; finding new lands to build squatter housing had become harder; family/kinship networks and ties to the rural areas/villages weakened while the population of urban areas increased (Bugra and Keyder, 2003; Keyder, 2005). Apart from the absolute approach to poverty research, poverty and deprivation researches particularly in urban areas increased significantly after the economic crises and earthquakes that Turkey experienced during 1990s. Particularly, urban poor and their situation before neo-liberal state implementations attracted researchers significantly during the last two decades.

2.3.1 Pioneering Approaches

Poor people's experiences, reasons behind internal migration and poor migrants' integration problems began to attract attention, focussed on urban areas, particularly after the 1950s. However in these studies, urban areas were seen as the source of modernisation and migrants were thought of as a group who should be modernised (Erman, 2001). Integration of migrants into the city was the main phenomenon of studies with that mentality including Karpat's (1976) study. As a part of studies dated in that term and with this focus, Orhan Turkdogan labelled the culture of squatter house neighbourhoods as a "culture of poverty" (Erman, 2001) in his study in which Erzurum squatters' lifestyles were investigated in 1973. Turkdogan distinguishes poverty from a culture of poverty and due to this difference, poverty does not emerge just as an economic issue but it also emerges as a cultural issue (Senturk, 2009). Hence alleviation of a culture of poverty is more difficult than the alleviation of poverty itself because a culture of poverty is a structure which has been

shaped by poor people's common beliefs and culture (Turkdogan, 2003). This approach gives weight to the idea of "blame the victim" instead of giving priority to the state's aid policies in the alleviation of poverty.

The government's approach was also based on the same mind-set which can be observed in the primary guides of all governments: Development Plans. In the first three development plans which concerned 15 years after 1967, there was no systematic unique chapter or part for poverty, income distribution or even internal migration and urban squatters. Social services and social welfare were emphasised as philanthropic attitudes. Although there were some studies which blame state policies for the "peasantation of the city", the experiences of migrants were ignored (Erman, 2001).

With the continuing growth of internal migration due to several reasons including the conflict in the south-eastern part of Turkey and internal migration due to factors that pushed people into immediate responses such as violence and insecurity in the 1990s, social problems in urban areas and the experiences, problems and coping behaviours of these people began to be studied. Studies about the life experiences of poor people in urban areas are mostly dated at the end of the 1990s and these studies are pioneering studies which try to identify diversity and differences between urban poor. The economic conditions of urban migrants and their poverty became major subjects in this period.

Erder (1995, 1996) focused on survival strategies based on ethnic and religious networks in her studies. Erder pointed out that poor people in urban areas are generally excluded from social networks due to reasons such as the opinion that their contribution to an existing network will be limited or negative. The main reason for this selective process is the changing economic structure which became more vulnerable for all levels of society. Those people who were subject to the thought that their contribution to existing networks would be limited were mainly new Kurdish migrants, who had no relations to their villages of origin, who had disabilities, elderly or unskilled people (Erman, 2001). People who have a relationship with local networks easily overcome poverty by finding a job, building a house or renting their blocks to other involved people who have been excluded from those relationship networks. Housing and land problems and the use of land as a tool for coping and

integration by urban migrants were taken as a central part of Erder's study while the importance of labour attachment as a source of overcoming poverty and income were ignored (Sengul and Ersoy, 2003).

Another study which also put land and housing issues at its centre and ignored other aspects of poverty and coping behaviours was Isik and Pinarcioglu's (2011- first published in 2001) study. "Poverty in Turn" was used by the authors in order to define the strategy used by former migrants to transfer their poverty to second or third generation migrants. This strategy involves illegal land occupation by migrants particularly in the periphery of Istanbul and then building an apartment or house to rent to new comers who could not find any land on which to build an illegal house. Of course, this strategy relied on good relationships with local politicians and loopholes of laws. Thus, poverty was transferred from one group to another until the second group would transfer their poverty to later comers. Isik and Pinarcioglu (2008) examine this process as a safety net mechanism especially in neo-liberal economic conditions where the state has little capacity for it. However, they ignored other traditional coping and solidarity behaviours which have a deeper background in Turkish society (Senses, 2001). Besides, the authors applied their own poverty approach instead of obtaining migrants' own perceptions about their living standards and poverty (Senses, 2001). Hence, although the study shows the importance of using land and housing as a coping behaviour in Istanbul, it ignores the importance of people's own perceptions and understanding about their conditions and they mostly focus on one side of coping behaviours and hierarchical relationships with politicians instead of a more comprehensive view of the sources and tools of poor migrants for overcoming poverty.

2.3.2 Studies Affiliated with International Organisations

With the effect of economic crises and earthquakes, studies about the different aspects of poor people's experiences began to be written and the multi-dimensionality view of the poverty problem arose which is reflected in those studies. Continuing relationships with the EU, WB and IMF also triggered the use of more multi-dimensional approaches to social and economic issues from

both political and academic wings. The WB, for example, extended its view of poverty from material deprivation alone to include low achievements in education and health and also “vulnerability and exposure to risk-voicelessness and powerlessness” in a 2000 report (WB, 2000: 15).

Ayata and Ayata (2003) examined the transformation of poverty and coping behaviours and the life and perceptions of people who live in deprivation just after the 2001 economic crisis. They compared two poor groups: one of benefit-dependent individuals and the other of people who earn a low but regular income. The comparison includes providing basic needs and consumptions. It can be seen in their study that even if just one member of a family had a regular/irregular occupation then a better living standard was experienced in comparison to those families absolutely no sources of income or, according to their definition, the “benefit dependent” group (Ayata and Ayata: 2003). This study helps one to understand poor people’s coping behaviours and responses to shocks and crises. Nevertheless, their main concern was the economic and distributional aspects of the target groups’ experiences.

The socio-economic transformation of Turkey, the consequences of this development particularly in urban areas and the multi-dimensional experiences of poor people in urban areas were initially discussed by Bugra and Keyder (2003). Bugra and Keyder’s study added a new concept to Turkish literature; “New Poverty” which emerged as a consequence of the transformation in socio-economic structures and change in the traditional welfare provision. The new forms of poverty experienced particularly in Istanbul were discussed and the role of the Turkish social security system was evaluated based on interviews with poor people, officers responsible for the implementation of social assistance programmes and NGO representatives as a part of report to the United Nations Development Programme. Some authors asserted that transformation caused the loss of traditional solidarity mechanisms such as family and relative solidarity which helped to keep poor people included in society where the social welfare provision was absent. They also suggested that poverty had gained a new characteristic which involved both permanent, deepening facets and that multi-dimensional faces of exclusion were apparent. According to Bugra and Keyder (2003:21) people who are affected by new

poverty are “subject to the risks of social exclusion, marginalisation and increasing difficulty of integration in terms of economic relations”. The experiences of poor people related to economic deprivation were discussed in the study along with outsource based coping mechanisms such as solidarity mechanisms, help from NGOs, and formal assistance schemes in Turkey. They offer direct social policies through social assistance in order to increase poor people’s income and, hence, combat poverty. However as it is stated in the study they accepted that “new poverty” was a step to social exclusion occurring and they discuss the economic conditions of poor people in Istanbul. They also elaborated on social assistance schemes, different ways of this scheme is implemented and the perceptions of poor people in regard to social assistance system as a whole.

The most important study about the experiences of poor people in urban areas was conducted by Adaman and Keyder (2006) which was conducted as a part of European Commission’s Joint Inclusion Memorandum (EC-JIM). This study was conducted in 6 Turkish cities: Ankara, Izmir, Adana, Diyarbakir, Gaziantep and Istanbul and also includes three articles about the different aspects of exclusion; its geographical location, forced migration and child labour. That study is based on interviews with officials, academicians and NGO representatives, focus group studies with poor people and a survey. They see poverty based exclusion as the dominant factor of exclusion in Turkey although it has cultural and political dimensions. They evaluated the reasons for exclusion among participants and mostly focused on the economic conditions of participants including their coping behaviours of generating additional income sources. They asserted that being young, low-educated, Kurdish, newly migrated, disabled, unemployed for more than seven months, uninsured and assetless creates the greatest feeling of exclusion.

2.3.3 Voices of Poor Urbanites

As it seen above, poor urbanites and their experiences were discussed as a consequence but not as a factor for their attitudes and behaviours towards the state. However, these people are actively involved in various struggles, mainly, in order to cope with social and economic difficulties in their lives. Necmi

Erdogan tries to reveal different dimensions of poverty in his study (2007) which has two parts: In the first part of the study which involves ten sub-parts by different writers, poverty and dimensions related to varied issues such as women, housing, religion, and ethnicity were discussed in order to reveal the dynamics of poverty in Turkey. In the second part there are 34 interviews conducted in several Turkish cities. These people were already poor before the 2001 crisis and their deprivation would continue after the crisis according to Erdogan. From a different point of view, they did not have any hope to overcome poverty. Therefore, poverty became a permanent phenomenon for those people. Although Erdogan discussed poor people's experiences and problems which affect every part of their lives, he tried to connect their experiences and their personal features such as gender, ethnicity etc. There are, also, some studies which were interested in their coping behaviours.

Another study was conducted by Sengul and Ersoy (2003) and includes the comparison of 4 different studies focused on the urban poor in 4 cities: Ankara, Sanliurfa, Zonguldak and Diyarbakir. According to those studies the main household coping behaviours are reducing consumption, finding additional jobs (if possible), female and child participation in the labour force, and selling assets and goods. As an additional coping behaviour the use of informal networks and relationships is one of the important ones according to the study. Studies detected that solidarity networks among relatives and friends are still effective although it was anticipated that these networks would weak into the future (Sengul and Ersoy, 2003).

Among others, Eroglu's study (2011) becomes prominent related to response models of poor urbanites. This study was conducted in squatter house neighbourhoods in Ankara due to their tendency to have a greater incidence of poverty. The author adopted the "household responses to poverty" approach in defining the strategies used by the urban poor in order to overcome their poverty instead of survival, coping or livelihood strategies. Household responses to poverty are based on four divisions: income generation, income allocation, consumption and investment. By this way, different resources apart from income are included –such as social capital, public resources and cultural capital etc. Further, this study enhances the understanding particularly intra-household relations relevant to their poverty and deprivation. Household

generally is accepted as a unit in which it is assumed that every member experiences same or similar deprivation. However, “secondary poverty” is included in the response model through income allocation division in Eroglu’s “household responses to poverty” model. By this way from wider structure – state policies, neighbourhood setting- to the every member of a household, all steps are considered; thus this model eases to analyse the responses of urban poor especially in meeting their necessities. Wider structure approach also considers the effects of wider policies and relationships. This approach might help to understand and analyse the macro factors that affect poor people’s attitudes and actions towards the rest of society and state institutions. Further, maybe the most important point due to its relevance to this study, Eroglu’s study also puts the importance of values, norms and beliefs, including religion. These are effective, according to Eroglu (2011 and 2013) in both determining the social networks households involve and their approach to economic involvement. As indicated in that study, these conditions have great importance households’ responses to poverty.

Apart from these, there is almost an absent area related to poor urban people’s attitudes towards social movements. As it seen, poor people’s experiences and their struggles in order to overcome their deprivation have been subjected; however there is not a sufficient study that evaluates the factors that affect their attitudes and actions towards the rest of society and state institutions. Instead studies about social movements in Turkey mostly about the general features and literature about social movements (see Turkdogan, 1997). Besides, social movements in Turkey have been mostly discussed relevant to their specific aims such as Islamism, Feminism, Alevi movement etc. As Bayat (2000a and 2000b) discussed particularly for Middle East countries including Turkey, Islamism is also discussed whether or not it is a new social movement (Simsek, 2007). Nevertheless, these movements display a more general feature than the movements that mainly aim to improve poor urban people’s living standards and diminish their deprivation. Therefore, there is a need a study which reveals the factors that affect poor urban migrants’ attitudes and approaches.

2.4 Study's Role

The discussion highlighted the importance of a comprehensive view to the experiences and settings of urban poor in Turkey which have direct effect on their attitudes and actions. As it discussed above poverty now has a multi-dimensional characteristic which encompasses all dimensions of people who experience poverty and deprivation. Further, urban poor have distinct features than their rural counterparts and they experience acute forms of poverty and deprivation in urban neighbourhoods. As Mingione (1996) shows urban poor have a much higher cost of living than the average, the lack of opportunities for self-provision and self-help, and the negative impact of greater social instability and isolation. Therefore these conditions might affect urban poor's previous relationships and generate new forms of relationships and attitudes. As indicated above, urban poor can generate several forms of response models in order to change their experiences and improve their living conditions. Forming and/or participating social movements is one the most prominent forms of response types among urban poor.

It is obvious that not every situation of deprivation might cause a movement and an aggressive response towards society and state. Urban poor people might engage in social movements as a result of the effect of some reasons. McAdam, Mcc-Carth and Zald (1988) reveal macro and micro factors that help to understand how people form and/or participate in social movements. These macro and micro conditions form people's decisions to form and/or participate in social movements. In order to understand the mobilisation process of individuals both macro and micro conditions should be evaluated. However, under similar circumstances some people might choose to participate in social movements but some others might not choose. Therefore, particularly micro conditions would help to ease to understand and analyse why some segments of groups of people do not choose to participate in social movements. It should be handled that whether their personal features cause this process or repressive apparatus of the state and mechanisms of social control prevent their participation.

As discussed above, authors such as McCarthy, McAdam and Zald, Klandermans, and Melucci's approaches reveal the importance of distinct

factors on the process of both forming and participating in social movements. However, Bayat (2005: 4) sees these approaches too “Westocentric” in which societies are “highly differentiated, technologically advance and politically open”. Therefore, their approaches undermine the ability to understand adequately for the dynamics of social activism in contemporary Muslim societies. Due to the inadequate micro-structural conditions in the environment of urban poor people’s neighbourhoods, personal conditions, opinions and beliefs emerge as prominent. As this study aims to reveal the factors that affect urban poor migrants attitudes and approaches towards the society, state, social order and social movements, the approaches that revealed above will help to analyse the respondents’ experiences and attitudes. However, as Bayat indicated, social dynamics in Turkey also have distinct features than Western societies and this study reveals that these factors mostly efficient in urban poor migrant respondents’ attitudes and actions. Social organisations have distinct features in Middle Eastern countries as well. As Bayat (2000a and 2000b) stresses even NGOs played different roles in Middle Eastern countries than their western counterparts. Rather than democratic and independent organisations, NGOs in these countries diminish the mobilisational feature of urban activism and at the same time they create a new type of clientelism. As it indicated in the related chapter, clientelism that affect all part of governmental implementations in Turkey for a long time, NGOs rules and implementations are seen as clientelist approaches as well. Besides, literature chapter reveals that networks might serve as source for social movement recruitment process. However, social networks in contemporary Muslim countries tend to be a more solidarity organisations and rarely lead a political movement. While these kind of organisations are common in Latin American countries, “The prevalence of authoritarian and inefficient states, the legacy of populism, and the strength of family and kinship ties render primary solidarities more pertinent than secondary associations and social movements” (Bayat, 2000:5).

Further, as showed above, whilst literature is vast on the relationships between poverty and inequality and their effects on people and how people respond to their unfavourable circumstances in an economic context; very little attention has been given to the relational consequences of these people’s experiences.

Besides, poverty now encompasses different aspects of life rather than just its economic aspects and these particularly relational results of poverty and deprivation have almost been ignored; and very little are known about the opinions and feelings of poor urban migrants that underpin their attitudes and approaches towards society and the state. Current literature does not cover why some segments of poor urban migrants do not have collective aggressive responses to their conditions even in economic crisis periods in Turkey.

Chapter 3: Methodology

The primary focus of this study emerged from the need to understand why some segments of urban poor in Turkey do not participate in social movement to protest their living conditions and experiences but still committed to state and society, and the factors that affect their attitudes towards society and state. In order to explore the reasons and factors which keep these urban poor committed to the state, an exploratory field study was implemented. In order to enhance the understanding and knowledge about the relevant factors, three aspects of the subject were considered. These different aspects consist of urban poor migrants; NGOs which are dealing with migration, poverty and other social issues; and officials who are responsible for social assistance, social cohesion, and generating policies in order to prevent social problems. Therefore, a tripod fieldwork was implemented to gather data to analyse and discuss.

As Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias (2008: 13) state, any social scientific knowledge should be based on a methodological system in which rules, definitions and procedures about gathering knowledge are stated. Based on these ideas, at the beginning of the chapter, general research design and methodology will be introduced, and then the research process is presented in four steps: The interview section includes general information about research area, sample selection and general information about the interviews; general information of three NGOs which were used to identify and contact the poor, description of recruitment and interview processes, opinions of and the responses to problems; and lastly the documents, statistics, and support information. These sections were designed to address different aspects of the main research question. Interviews with the poor addressed the factors that affect their status as well as their attitudes towards society and state. Interviews with NGO representatives and officials addressed their own observations and experiences about social and economic transformation, the factors that keep urban poor people committed, the role of social assistance programs and the implications of social policies on social cohesion and unity.

3.1 Research Design and Method

The urban poor's feelings and opinions about their relationships with family and kinship members; the larger society; local and administrative bodies of government; and the social assistance system including state agencies and NGOs were examined in this study along with NGO representatives' and officials' opinions, experiences and policies. These different experiences and opinions created comprehensive perspectives about objectives. Factors related to how these bodies affect the actions of the urban poor were explored and analysed based on these sources as well as with secondary data such as official reports, statistics and publications.

This kind of study requires participants' feelings, experiences and opinions to well understand their circumstances and approaches towards state and society. In order to gather these kinds of data, interviews were used as part of a qualitative study approach. The nature of data requires a qualitative approach, since the method offers a deeper and richer understanding of people's lives and behaviour as well as the meanings of their behaviour and attitudes (Sullivan, 2001), because it captures their subjective perceptions. Of course, it is difficult to acquire and understand all the underlying reasons of any behaviour or attitude of people. But their subjective feelings, opinions, and experiences as offered from their points of view can be gathered by using specific methods based on qualitative approach. As a research design method, qualitative method is useful to elicit and acquire the participants' own words.

Poverty and social movement are social phenomena and have the potential to affect whole society. Hence these issues should be considered in reference to the whole society.

There are two other important groups that affect the meaning of struggle within poverty and its effects in Turkey: NGOs, which are mainly concerned with social issues such as poverty, deprivation, and migration; and the state, which has responsibilities for their citizens, has tools and agents that can be used in order to affect people's actions. This kind of data gathering is based on two stages: interviews with the representatives of the identified groups, and

the examination of documents and statistical reports produced by several sources including these groups. This approach served to clarify the meaning of core concepts by exploring the different aspects of phenomenon.

By exploring different perspectives this study gained a better, more substantive picture of the problem and a richer, more complete array of symbols and concepts (Berg and Lune, 2012). This study involved triangulation which is defined as gathering data through different sources of information to explore the same phenomenon (Arksey and Knight, 1999; Berg and Lune, 2012). The participants in this study consist of poor migrants, three representatives of three distinct NGOs, and three government officials from three agencies responsible for social issues. Additionally, documents, statistics and other texts produced by several organisations are also used for exploration and analysis. This approach offered some advantages in creating a more comprehensive and in-depth understanding of the issues examined in study. The approach addressed different aspects of the issue; enhanced interpretability and discussion of findings; provided a clearer understanding of research questions; and added strength to the findings of the study (Arksey and Knight, 1999; Wellington and Szczerbinski, 2007). Hence, different perspectives on the same issue were collected and these perspectives addressed different aspects, such as the subjective point of view from urban poor migrants, the perspectives of policy makers and implementers, and three independent points of view from NGOs. Further, while all three groups expressed their experiences, additionally NGOs representatives and officials added their own perspectives and displayed policies regarding social issues and the responses of their organisations.

Qualitative interviewing is defined as a “conversation with a purpose” by Webb and Webb (1932), and the kind of interview should be based on the researcher’s approach and the context and objectives of study (Wellington and Szczerbinski, 2007: 81). There is a common distinction in interviews based on flexibility in questioning and answering processes: Structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews⁵. Semi-structured interviews give a degree of flexibility as compared with structured models for researcher questioning and

⁵ Collins (1998: 1, 3) sees a distinction as misleading and states that “even the most ‘unstructured’ interview is actually structured at a number of levels”.

for respondent answering processes. On the other hand, of the semi-structured interview also helps interviewer control the conversation and keep it within the framework of study. Flexibility or structure of interview refers to the freedom in asking and answering processes of the researcher and participants involved. The main advantages of semi-structured interviews include flexibility in questioning and answering processes; ability to probe in order to obtain more accurate and detailed information from participants; opportunities to explain detailed and complex questions to participants, especially for those who are inadequately educated or have literacy issues to elicit further information (Sullivan, 2001; Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 2008). In order to achieve the aims of this study and because of the necessity to investigate poor people's own perceptions, experiences and opinions; the best person to ask about his or her feelings, experiences and opinions is the individuals themselves (Collins, 1998). In order to include the other aspects of the study, the opinions and experiences of NGO representatives were investigated. Further, three officials from three government bodies were included as study participants to obtain an additional point of view. Additionally as Bechhofer and Paterson offer (2000: 59) regarding creating a strong adequacy, there are several secondary data such as demographic data, migration statistics and other statistics about poverty and income published by the Turkish Statistical Institute (TUIK), budget and social assistance statistics provided by the SYDV, and other relevant statistics about Turkey published by the WB and the EU. These documents were used in order to provide context information to study and reinforce in-depth understanding.

There are several documentary sources such as by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), WB, EU and UN which produce worldwide documents and statistics about many poverty-related issues. Their documents, reports and statistical studies about Turkey and her social and economic structures related to this study's objective were included. Additionally, statistics, reports and surveys about poverty, social exclusion, migration, and satisfaction status produced by Turkish national statistical sources such as the TUIK and State Planning Organisation (DPT) are also included into study. As a part of this study, the social assistance scheme in

Turkey and its development process over the years are discussed through the lens of reports and statistics about the system such as tools, policies, budget statistics, and beneficiaries. With the help of these sources, this development and change can be better understood and explained in a more comprehensive manner (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 2008). These open access reports and statistics add another aspect to the study and reinforce the understanding of concepts.

3.2 Research Process

3.2.1 Interview with Urban Poor Migrants

3.2.1.1 Research Area

The description of settings in which the study is conducted adds another aspect to the understanding of participant feelings and behaviours. As Berg and Lune state (2012), participants arrange themselves in their settings and the ways in which these participants structure their environment and experiences through words, social roles, symbols and give meaning to their daily lives. Relationships, attitudes and behaviours are affected by living areas and changing conditions in living areas.

Istanbul was selected for implementing the fieldwork due to several reasons. Almost all big cities have a degree of internal migration, particularly from village to the cities, but Istanbul displayed a different characteristic which could not be found in other cities. Istanbul is a global city that contains people from everywhere and the place in where every kind of risks and opportunities are found. Further Istanbul has been the centre for all kinds of social movements. Due to its centrality for economic and social areas in Turkey, any social movements in Turkey have easily affected all over the country and triggered actions in other cities in Turkey as happened in Gezi movement⁶. “Istanbul appears as a laboratory in which different types of social change manifest themselves in extreme forms” (Bugra and Keyder, 2003:6). Istanbul is

⁶ Gezi Movement began in 28 May 2013 in order to protest government’s implementations and lasted for almost two months. This movement began in Istanbul and then demonstrations occurred almost in 90 cities in Turkey during 2013 summer.

the largest city in Turkey with an official population of 14 million, which correspond to 18, 3% of total population of Turkey; the city has always been one of the most active migration cities in Turkey (Keyder, 2005).

“A place where the streets are paved with gold” is the belief among people in Turkey for Istanbul. This belief and opportunities attracted people for many years. TUIK statistics indicated that migration waves after the 1950s targeted many cities but particularly Istanbul. As was stated previously, migration from rural to urban areas was supported by governments in order to create industrialisation especially. The migration process continued during the 1970s and 1980s. This process is examined in the next chapter through a discussion of Turkey’s urbanisation process and the effects and kinds of migration.

Table 1: Numbers and Rates of Migrants in Istanbul

	Net Migration*	Net Migration Rate**
1975-1980	288653	73,4
1980-1985	297598	60,5
1985-1990	656677	107,6
1995-2000	407448	46,1
2007-2008	26.675	2,1
2008-2009	39.481	3,06
2009-2010	102583	7,77
2010-2011	121782	8,98
2011-2012	30461	2,2
2012-2013	66321	4,7

* The difference between in-migration and out-migration

** The number of net migration per thousand persons who are able to migrate. Source:TUIK

Istanbul has been an attraction centre for those who cannot find ways to overcome living struggles in their own cities or villages. Migration to Istanbul had started in 1950s and continued into the 2000s. Although there is minimal

detailed information from the TUIK for the first part of the 2000s, Table 1 indicates that the migration rate increased in 2009 and 2010.

There was a global economic crisis during the years in when the migration rate increased that affected the Turkish economy as well. This displays that Istanbul is still seen as an opportunity centre by people in Turkey as it is indicated in Bugra and Keyder (2003) and Keyder (2005). Some migrants join clusters who try to integrate into the city in an effort to overcome poverty and other social issues. Poverty is more visible in squatter house neighbourhoods (Eroglu, 2013; Adaman and Keyder, 2006) that can be commonly seen in Istanbul and many new migrants live in these areas.

The study settings also reflect transformation in the social and economic structures of Istanbul and Turkey. Participants live in different neighbourhoods in Istanbul. 30 participants in this study live in two groups of neighbourhoods: 18 participants live in squatter houses neighbourhoods while 12 others live in flats in apartment building basements. As will be seen in Chapter IV participants live in apartment blocks represent the group to whom poverty was transferred by the former migrants through renting their flats –poverty in turn process-. The flats are located in areas which were previously squatter housing areas that were then legally transformed into apartment buildings. Squatter houses are often built on public lands without legal permit and have generally basic amenities such as water, electricity and drainage; such neighbourhoods are often located the outskirts of cities (Adaman and Keyder, 2006). Eighteen participants live in neighbourhoods within the Basaksehir, Avcilar, Sultanbeyli and Umraniye districts. Twelve participants live in apartment building basement flats located in Fatih, Avcilar, Basaksehir, Esenyurt, Zeytinburnu, Sultanbeyli and Umraniye; and most of them are in the neighbourhood outskirts. These apartments belonged to early migrants, and participants are the tenants of these flats according to their expressions.

3.2.1.2 Sample Selection and Recruitment Processes

As the researcher seeks to understand the experiences and feelings of participants from their perspectives, it is important to select the sample from which the most can be learned (Merriam, 2002) as in purposive sample. Regarding the aims of this study, defining and contacting urban poor migrants

was vital. Hence, a three level approach was adopted. NGOs were chosen due to their areas of concern and potential for addressing needs of the targeted population. The researcher used expertise to access leaders within those NGOs to gather their experiences related to the study topic and to gain their cooperation in recruiting participants. These NGOs are leading associations about poverty, social exclusion and migration in Istanbul and Turkey.

In the second step of the recruitment process, the researcher requested that NGO representatives contact potential participants to ask for their participation in the study. A primary condition for recruitment was that participants should be the members of the populations mentioned above. NGO representatives provided potential participants with an information sheet and a consent form prepared by the researcher⁷. The forms included a confidentiality statement and the conditions of anonymity. Individuals included in the study signed the consent form. This kind of sampling is called as “Guided Sampling” (Wellington and Szczerbinski, 2007:66). By using guided sampling, this study used NGOs to access participants along with the researcher’s knowledge about the features of the targeted populations, methods of contact, and data gathering. As Berg and Lune (2012) stated, researchers use their expertise to select a group that represents the large population. Hence, the group of poor migrants was purposively targeted. One of the other reasons for choosing a guided sampling in this study was that members of the target population live in deprivation; it was necessary to recruit people from different backgrounds with different characteristics and from different cultures but who lived in similar conditions. This approach enhanced the opportunity to receive people’s experiences and attitudes from different sources. Because, as it is indicated in Chapter II, people’s personal experiences, living settings, identities and sense of belonging to a wider group affect their attitudes and approaches. By this way people with different backgrounds could take a part in this study.

In the third step of the sampling and recruitment process, the researcher contacted participants directly together with an NGO representative present.

⁷ For Consent Form 1 and Information Sheet see Appendices.

Participants were provided information about the study before the interview process, were reminded of their rights to postpone or cancel the interview, and were reminded of their right to withdraw consent at any point during the study. Another consent form, which was different than the one which had been sent via NGOs, was served to the participants to obtain their consent directly⁸. They were also reminded that all responses would be anonymous. This three-staged recruitment process enhanced the mutual confidence between researcher and participants, because there had been already a connection based on confidence and trust between NGOs and participants. Further, becoming a part of the study via NGOs made them feel more secure and confident. Obtaining their confidence was a crucial element for this kind of study that was based on eliciting participants' personal experiences, feelings and occasionally sensitive issues such as family, security and belonging to society. These issues were handled during interviews due in part to participant confidence in the referring NGOs. In some instances participants stated that they would not have agreed to participate in this kind of study if the NGOs had not been a contact.

This three levelled sampling and recruitment process enhanced population representation as well. As it is stated before, Istanbul has received migration influx from all over the country; and newcomers have often experienced different problems than those who came before them (Isik and Pinarcioglu, 2008; Bugra and Keyder, 2003). Participants were sought who represent new immigrant populations and people who could not integrate into existing networks of those who were fighting to escape from poverty. Respondents included members from different parts of the population such as those classified as poor and who have a connection with NGOs and are receiving assistance from them or who are receiving assistance from a state agency. There were also participants who have connection with at least one NGO but do not receive any assistance from either the NGO or state agency. Additionally, participants who had different experiences from each other, such as migrating from different parts of Turkey, were also represented in this study. In order to gather the distinct experiences of these individuals as compared to other migrants such as forced migrants, or people who migrated because of terror

⁸ For Consent Form 2 see Appendices.

problems in the south-eastern part of the country, participants were also recruited through contact with the Migrants' Association for Social Cooperation and Culture (Goc-Der) which is interested in these people groups. This group of participants hesitated to become involved in a study because of their unpleasant experiences; however their recruitment via Goc-Der provided a mutual confidence between researcher and respondents.

The design of the study allowed the researcher to generate a secure corroboration with the subjects of study. Using three different sources created a more comprehensive perspective and provided strength and accuracy. Further, the sources enabled the collection of detailed information about participants, their experiences and their settings. The sampling strategy and data collection method aided in the exploration of the issues relevant to the study.

3.2.1.3 Interviews

The main aim of this study was to identify the attitudes and behaviours of the urban poor towards state and to determine which factors might affect their attitudes. Hence, interviews with poor people were conducted and completed in the first instance. The interviews, therefore, first targeted information regarding the participants' migration, poverty, housing, integration and other experiences and stories, and economic conditions. As stated before, this study sought to explore why the some segments of urban poor are still committed and loyal to state and order; and the factors that affect their attitudes towards the society and state. Hence, the participants' attitudes and approaches towards the rest of the society and state institutions were need to be acquired. Of course these issues related to their experiences and sensitive. The study seeks to understand the factors the factors affect their attitudes and approaches but in order to acquire these issues through interviews relevant subjects were asked to participants. These questions are about their perceptions and experiences related to their living conditions, experiences, relationships with the rest of society and their relatives, their feelings about their conditions and their point of view to the state institutions and their implementations. The fieldwork also questioned the participants' participation

in social activities, and whether or not they are satisfied with social assistance schemes and tools.

A research guide⁹ was prepared for conducting interviews in which the main issues for the conversation were listed and a group of questions were also prepared to explore the study aims and probe into the study objectives. These questions were prepared in consideration of the potential participant unwillingness to talk about sensitive issues and possible participant illiteracy of respondents. Additional questions were also asked which depended on participant's specific situations and to reveal and probe into respondents' experiences and feelings. One person from the associated participating NGO was in attendance during each interview to minimize participant hesitation about the study and to create confidence between the researcher and themselves although participants had been informed through the NGOs before the interviews. The aim was to help participants feel more secure, confident and collaborative. Participants were also informed about their rights both in verbally and in written form prior to the interview. Specifically, participants were informed about privacy: their personal information, names and specific locations were changed; their names, specific locations or other information from which their identities could be inferred would be removed; and instead of their real names, pseudonyms or numbers were used. Data were collected over 50-55 minutes. All interviews were conducted in Turkish except one; the respondent only spoke Kurdish and her daughter translated the conversation from Kurdish to Turkish. Interviews were carried out in the homes of each participant except for three, which were carried out in local cafes. All interviews were audio taped, and transcribed in Turkish.

The multi-level recruitment process also helped to create and maintain rapport between the researcher and participants. Recruitment of participants via NGOs established the first step of rapport. Participants were comfortable with their NGOs before the researcher contacted them. Therefore, they sensed that cooperation with researcher would not cause harm. As a second step, the researcher attempted to develop direct rapport through a time of introduction, by clarifying study aims and explain why the participant was chosen and by

⁹ For Guide see Appendices.

giving personal information in order to gain their confidence. Rapport is defined in different ways, including “mutual empathy and confidence” (Pierce, 2008: 118), “the degree of understanding, trust and respect that develops between the interviewer and the interviewee” (Becker and Bryman, 2004: 272) and “positive feelings that develop between the interviewer and the subject” but “it should not be understood as meaning there are no boundaries between the interviewer and the subject” (Berg and Lune, 2012: 137). All definitions about rapport for interviewing refer to a trustworthy cooperation between the interviewer and participant based on mutual respect. Maintenance of this rapport was also crucial during the interviews and this was accomplished by conducting each interview in a relaxing environment, answering participant questions, and reminding them of their rights, including their ability to withdraw. The purpose of the study, to conduct the interviews according to the trajectory of study which means keeping the conversation in topics in interview guide, was strictly observed during the interviews.

As was mentioned previously, topics were determined in interview guides prior to the fieldwork. These topic areas were reinforced with several pre-determined questions regarding participant experiences. Every participant had a different story; supplementary questions were used to obtain an in-depth understanding of their experiences. Instead of asking direct questions about their attitudes towards the social movements and state institutions which would negatively affect their responses, these issues were questioned and acquired through indirect questions. There were five separate sets of pre-determined questions prepared for the first group of participants. The first set included general information questions such as age, sex, family members, literacy, social security, and migration history details. The other four sets related to poverty, participants’ experiences and attitudes towards the rest of society and state. Questions about income levels, income sources, employment, housing, nutrition, and feelings about poverty were included in the second set of questions in order to understand their economic deprivation and experiences. Participants’ integration in society and their connections to state agencies and other members of their family constituted an important part of questionnaire. Their experiences with social services of the state such as health, education,

assistance and job centre were targeted to understand service efficiency and participant satisfaction. Their levels of participation with social activities were examined during interviews with the purpose of determining pre-existing mechanisms for integrating into city life and whether these mechanisms still existed for the target group. Their political participation, membership status and their perception about their citizenship and equality within society were subjects during interviews through which the political experiences and attitudes was examined. Finally, participant feelings, opinions and experiences about poverty and whether they felt disaffected or were faced with other issues such as security problems among their family members and neighbourhood were questioned.

3.2.2 Interview with NGO Representatives

As a second part of fieldwork, representatives from three NGOs were interviewed. The NGOs included the Migrants' Association for Social Cooperation and Culture (Goc-Der), which investigates the reasons for migration and helps migrants with health, housing, education and other activities related to migration in Istanbul; and the Lighthouse (Deniz Feneri) and "Is anybody there?" ("Kimse Yok mu?") Associations, which are solidarity and social assistance organisations. Their representatives have worked on these issues for over 10 years and have observed and analysed social, economic, political and institutional developments. Their point of view gave another perspective related to the study objectives. Thus, this group was included in the study to access their field experiences, opinions, observations regarding how poverty, coping behaviours and welfare systems have changed, thoughts about role changes of private and state assistance organisations, their roles on poor people's attitudes and actions, and ideas about urban poor migrants and their relationships with the rest of society and the state.

Three NGOs were included in this study for several reasons. First of all, their databases provided a range of people from different areas of Istanbul to study. Second, the main subjects of this study- poverty, migration, solidarity and assistance- are interest areas for these NGOs. Third, poor people's responses to their circumstances and the effect of welfare models, migration and urban environment on their responses, attitudes and actions might easily be observe

and evaluated by people who are interested in urban poor people's everyday experiences. Therefore, representatives from NGOs which are interested in urban poor people's problems emerged as favourable participants who have knowledge relevant to this study's objectives. These NGOs were founded mainly as a result of the social and economic transformations mentioned before in Turkey. The Goc-Der investigates reasons for migration and helps migrants with health, housing, education and other activities related to migration and migrants in Istanbul. The organization is interested in forced migrations from the south-eastern part of Turkey. Goc-Der published several books and reports about the experiences and problems of forced migrants. Until recent years Goc-Der had a head-quarter in Istanbul and branches in several cities such as Mersin, Diyarbakir, and Izmir that had received forced migrants during the 1990s. It is stated during interviews that now these branches are independent but are also part of another umbrella platform called the "Migration Platform". The other two NGOs, Deniz Feneri and Kimse Yok mu, are solidarity and assistance organisations based on voluntary aid. Deniz Feneri began as a television programme during Ramadan in 1996 and then was registered in 1998 as an association. According to their website (www.denizfeneri.org.tr), Deniz Feneri has delivered cash and in-kind aid to 500.000 families in Turkey and globally. They have several branches and representative offices all over Turkey. Kimse Yok mu has a similar background and organisational structure. It was a television programme, which started just after the 1999 Marmara Earthquake, then became so popular and Kimse Yok mu was founded as an association in 2004. Representatives of these NGOs have been in these organisations since they were founded and they were best able to offer insight into the NGOs' policies, implementations and expectations for future as well as their own personal experiences and opinions.

As a district governor, the researcher has an advantage to contact with NGOs and recruit their representatives. Additionally, these NGOs support academic activities, particularly those that relate to the issues in which they are interested. Interviews with NGO representatives were conducted in line with a pre-determined interview guide that was prepared prior to the interviews to obtain their experiences, observations, policies and expectations.

Representatives had been informed with an information sheet about study objectives which then became the subject matter of the interviews. Representatives were questioned about their observations, experiences and ideas regarding the position of urban poor migrants in society; their relationships and attitudes toward society and state; the factors that kept some groups of urban poor loyal to the state and the NGOs' organisational structures; their policies and the types of relationships with people; their observations about transformation in society; and their future expectations for their organisations, the welfare model and society¹⁰.

Two interviews were carried out in offices located in NGO headquarters and one was conducted in a cafe due to the representative's strict schedule. Two interviews took approximately one hour while the other took two hours. They were all audio-taped and transcribed. Their position and experience in their organisations were main factors for their recruitment into the study. Further, their opinions reflected their organisations' policy and these ideas were already expressed in public by each individual. They were informed verbally and in writing about these issues before the interviews. They were also informed that their opinions and expressions would not be used for any other purposes, except for study in line with their consents.

3.2.3 Interviews with Government Officials

State responses and policies about these social issues were needed to offer another perspective. This comprehensive approach to the issues allowed for a thorough examination. Hence, three officials were included to elicit their views, observations and experiences of the urban poor, their position in the society, how and why some segments of the urban poor are still committed to the state and society along with state policies, responses and policies in creating social cohesion. Three officials from the different organisations were included in the study: the Ministry of Family and Social Policy; the general Directorate of Social Assistance and Solidarity; and the Under-secretariat of Public Order and Security.

¹⁰ For Consent Form, Information Sheet and Guide see Appendices.

There are three different government agencies that are responsible for policy generation and implementation about social policy, social assistance, poverty, solidarity, social cohesion and social unity. The General Directorate of Social Assistance were founded in 1986. As it will be seen in the Chapter IV various tools were implemented for creating more effective social assistance system by this agency over the last decade. Its organisational structure was reformatted and its budget share within the general budget was increased in this period. This transformation occurred in the last decade and participant was in a senior position in the agency during this period. This participant was chosen to offer insight regarding this transformation and its function within the present social assistance programme as well as the main motivation and perspectives of the agency.

An interview with the official from the Under-secretariat of Public Order and Security was also conducted. This agency is responsible for combating terrorism through a holistic and multi-dimensional approach and coordinating services by considering social values and dynamics. Under this framework, the Under-secretariat has a responsibility for generating policies that increase social cohesion and unity. Therefore, this participant was recruited in order to add into the study the agency's position, approach and policies related to social issues to create social cohesion and unity.

Finally, a senior officer from the Ministry of Family and Social Policies offered another aspect to the study. This interview focused on how the ministry constitutes its anti-poverty policy, its approach to social issues, and its current and planning policies and policies for future, policies for social cohesion, cooperation status with other NGOs and governmental bodies. All of three officials' interviews provide another perspective to study objectives.

Contacting and recruiting these specific participants were carried out with the help of the researcher's background. All three officials are the colleagues of the researcher. Hence, researcher had an advantage to contact them, which created the recruitment opportunity. An information sheet was given to participants prior to the interviews, which were conducted within the framework of the pre-designed research guide. The information sheet included

information about the subjects of the study, explanations about anonymity, confidentiality and risks, their right to withdrawal and other relevant information about the study. In addition to the information sheet, a consent form was also prepared and signed by participants to confirm their consent in advance of the interviews.

During the interviews, social and economic transformation in Turkey; migration processes; poverty and other issues originating from poverty; urban poor migrants and their positions in society; drivers that affect their attitudes and policies in order to increase and maintain social cohesion; Turkey's welfare policy and implementations; current and future responses of Turkey regarding poverty; citizenship and social rights; social policy implementations and policies for supporting social cohesion and unity were discussed. All interviews were carried out in the participants' offices and took approximately 30 minutes. They were all audio-taped and transcribed¹¹.

3.2.4 Documents and Statistics

In addition to the sources provided by study participants and data collected by researcher, there are also secondary data which were used as additional sources of support to reveal change, developments, policies and implementations related to the study. International and national data sources provide data and statistics relevant to study objectives. Especially OECD, EU and WB publications and statistics about Turkey and her social and economic transformation and condition are used along with Turkish national data sources such as TUIK, Grand National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM), DPT, and SYDV. These secondary data add additional depth to the examination of issues.

Documents used in this study are official open-access documents produced by the institutions mentioned above. As Merriam (2002) states, documents are one of the three main sources for conducting a qualitative study along with interviews and observation. These secondary sources are collected and produced by someone else but provide the required information for the purpose of this study. In order to reveal and evaluate Turkey's social and

¹¹ For Consent Form, Information Sheet and Guide see Appendices

economic transformation, governmental, semi-governmental and non-governmental reports and newspaper articles were used.

Poverty became an important social issue for politicians and the media after the 1990s; thus Development Reports, Political Party programmes and articles were also used in the evaluation of the subject. Migration and urbanisation are important parts of the study statistics, surveys and reports produced by governmental, non-governmental and international organisations were also included. Reports and statistics about poverty in Turkey produced by national and international organisations were reviewed. As a part of the development of social assistance programmes and welfare policies in Turkey, relevant documents and reports were included in the related parts of the study.

3.3 Analysis Process

Directed Content Analysis was used by the researcher during analysing process because this study was based on data derived directly from participants and these data were used in order to enhance the existing theories about factors that affect people's decision process. Content analysis allows researcher to understand social reality in a subjective but scientific manner (Zhang and Wildemuth, 2005). As this study mainly seeks to understand the factors that affect some segments of urban poor's attitudes and approaches, content analysis allows us to reach these goals. This is also consistent with the "to provide knowledge and understanding of the phenomenon under study" goal of content analysis (Downe-Wamboldt, 1992:314). It should be noted that poverty and factors that affect people's approach to social movements and their decision whether or not they participate in social movements have been kept in mind during both data collecting and analysing processes. Directed content analysis allows us to study in qualitative and deductive approaches (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005). Thus, particularly McAdam, McCarthy and Zald's study (1988) and their approaches to conditions that affect people's decision were used particularly in analysing process. Hence, this conceptual framework could help this study to focus the research question. Besides, the researcher's personal background and experience about poverty, social policies and social

assistance for over 10 years also helped in creating specific questions. Further, respondents' experiences and feelings have equal importance with their backgrounds and personal histories because of the study's approach. As a qualitative study, data obtained from respondents was best analysed by taking respondents' background and history into consideration.

NVivo 10 was used in order to code and analyse all data derived from the interviews. Kumar (2011) identifies four steps in analysis process, which is identified as five steps by Rubin and Rubin (2012); Kumar's steps eliminate the intention to generate a theory. Both models start with a transcription of all interviews and end with integration of data into a report. Therefore, after all interviews were completed, they were transcribed by the researcher as a first step of analysis. Following the transcription, all data were read word for word like a novel. The main aim of this process was to allow the researcher to become re-familiarised with the material to highlight the main ideas and capture key thoughts. Then main codes were used during a second read, which helped to categorise data. Concepts, themes, events, examples and experiences that reflect theories and concepts relevant to the study were marked and coded. This conceptualisation step helped to organise data into categories on the basis of the themes, concepts and events (Newman, 2007). All codes were entered into the NVivo programme based on these conceptualised themes and experiences. However, the Nvivo programme was used as a facilitator by which the researcher could discover all linked materials under one framework. Data were read several times and the researcher was able to produce new codes or change codes in each reading. Different codes were brought together under one initial code in order to collect linked ideas, thoughts and expressions which helped to organise and group codes into meaningful clusters. Sub-codes and their relationships under one initial code emerged in line with the objectives of the study as a result of multiple readings. A number of expressions and quotations were also chosen from these codes to be used in the analysis process. As a final step, all descriptions, ideas, and experiences from different interviewees were integrated in order to create a comprehensive view to the study objectives.

3.4 Study's Limitations

There are, also, limitations for this study because of being out of objectives, methods used for data gathering, sample size and analysing processes. As indicated before, this study aims to investigate the reasons and factors that affect poor people's attitudes and actions and keep some segments of urban poor away from participating social movements. This study does not investigate the social movements directly. The emerging process of social movements, the reasons of social movements, how social movements emerge, sustain and grow are not the questions and objectives subjected by this study. Instead, poverty and poor people's –particularly urban poor- experiences and their attitudes towards the rest of society and state institutions and the factors that keep them away from deciding to support and/or participate in a social movement are subjected by this study. Besides, urban poor people who participate in any social movements are also not included in this study. Although there are groups of poor people who participate in social movements in Turkey, these people are not considered to bring them as participant for this study. Due to the limits of this study, such as aims and objectives, this study prefers to aim the groups who do not participate in social movement. Further, as Sullivan (2001) puts, certain types of people might be excluded because their presence might confound the research findings. While this preference brings a limitation for this study in a way that putting out of objectives of these groups of people's attitudes and the factors that affect them, this also creates a chance for future studies. The reasons that affect their decisions to participate need another study which would bring another point of view to social movement issue.

While this study uses triangulation in order to enhance understanding the factors that affect urban poor's attitudes, this approach also causes some limitations for this study. As indicated before, urban poor who participate in social movements would enhance the understanding the factors that affect their perception about life and their everyday experiences. However, this issue is out of this study's objectives. Further triangulation has been criticised for “subscribing to a naive realism that implies that there can be a single definitive

account of the social world” (Bryman 2004:3). However, as indicated before, different points of view from different experiences and different positions that are beneficiaries, policy creators and policy implementers were chosen due to enhance the understanding the factors. Besides, it is also possible to evaluate that whether there would be a difference if other NGOs would be chosen for this study. These three NGOs, as indicated before, are the best known NGOs for poverty, migration, inequality and social assistance issues. Their databases provide a large source for this kind of study. Besides, their approach to academic studies is collaborative as well. Further, these three NGOs have different point of views to Turkey’s current social and political issues and problems. Their roles and ideas about poverty, migration and social movements display distinct features. For example while Deniz Feneri has more Islamic roots and ideas, Goc-Der has generally interest in Kurdish migrants and has more critical ideas about urban poor, migration, democracy and state implementations. Thus, broader evaluations and ideas would be possible through this kind of approach and these NGOs.

It is aimed to explore the research question in depth through purposive sampling as a non-probability sampling. Although this kind of sampling method is used for studying highly sensitive and difficult research study populations, Non-probability sampling causes some limitations as well (Sullivan, 2003; Lune and Lune, 2012). This technique limits the ability to generalise the findings beyond the level of the sample cases. However, as it indicated, this method enables the researcher to reach in-depth and detailed data. This kind of data is important for a qualitative study that depends on interview which has transferability rather than generalisability (Wellington and Szczerbinski, 2007). Sample sizes in this study were also determined to enable a deep analysis (Bryman, 2012). This kind of sampling method and size were chosen precisely because the study was aimed to explore and understand personal feelings of poor migrants in urban areas to determine transferability of solutions; hence the study required detailed descriptions of settings and determinants (Meriam, 2002). Therefore, while the size of sample emerges as a limitation for generalisation, the design and methods of this study enable to obtain detailed data and descriptions of settings, hence enhance the transferability.

As it indicated before, personal features of the researcher –occupational position- help to contact with the NGO representatives, and obtain their knowledge regarding to the objectives, this might cause a problem with the poor participants. Since district governors might be seen as the agent of state, participants could hesitate to participate in this study and/or reveal their sensitive opinions and feelings. Therefore, during interviews occupational position of the researcher did not revealed in order to prevent any hesitation. Further, there are women participants interviewed with during fieldwork. Although there were some hesitations during interviews with women, since the researcher is male, their continuing trust with the NGO eased to overcome this problem. One person from NGO was in attendance during interviews and this increased the rapport between the researcher and the participants including women as well.

As pointed above, there are some limitations for this study that emerge from the design and methods of this study and the personal features of the researcher. While these methods cause some limitations, they also allow the researcher to study the research topic in-depth.

3.5 Summary

This study investigated the reasons which keep some segments of urban poor migrants in Turkey committed to the state. In order to conduct this study, the researcher adopted a qualitative approach by which participant feelings and opinions that underpinned their attitudes and behaviours could be obtained. Semi-structured interview was chosen as the method for this study. Semi-structured interviews allow the researcher to probe into participants' feelings and ideas without framing through structured questions. Further, this method keeps the conversation within the trajectories of the study, which can be difficult to maintain through the unstructured interview method.

Triangulation was preferred and implemented in order to enhance the study's success. Triangulation method allows the researcher to study combined data from different points of view. Although there are distinct triangulation methods, this study adopted triangulation based on different sources. These

sources were urban poor migrants themselves, NGO representatives who are interested in subjects relevant to the study objectives, and three officials who are responsible for social assistance, social policy, order and cohesion. Experiences, opinions, feelings and ideas were gathered through semi-structured interviews conducted in Istanbul and Ankara. Istanbul was chosen as a study setting due to its population of people living with poverty and social exclusion in their acute forms. Further, Istanbul has been a centre for internal migration and social and economic transformation in Turkey. Interviews with 30 urban poor migrants were conducted in their homes in Istanbul. NGOs use Istanbul as a centre for their headquarters and to provide assistance facilities. Three NGOs were included in this study for two reasons. First of all, urban poor migrants were recruited from their records and through their organisations. NGOs first contacted potential participants to determine interest in this study. This was done to increase trust and confidence, and to help create and maintain rapport between participants and the researcher. Additionally, NGOs were included due to their role in the social policy area of region for more than 10 years. NGO representatives have also been involved with these issues for more than 10 years. Therefore, their ideas, opinions, observations and experiences added another perspective into this study.

Three officials from three state institutions were also included in this study. State institutions are responsible for producing policies and tools for poverty, social exclusion, solidarity, social cohesion and social order. Therefore, their approach and policies could reveal the state perspective as related to study objectives. Further, they also were given the opportunity to express their observations, ideas and experiences related to policy producing, social and economic transformation and factors that have role on shaping people's attitudes and behaviours. Therefore, they were recruited in order to add another perspective.

Additionally, documents, statistics and reports were also used to provide a comprehensive view to the study objectives. These sources were open-access documents and were produced by both national and international institutions. The final stage of research was the analysis process. Each semi-structured interview was transcribed word by word. Transcribing data is the first step of the analysis process. All data were read by the researcher and initial and sub-

codes were produced. NVivo 10 was used during the analysis process as a program which facilitated the categorisation of all data collected from the fieldwork.

Chapter 4: Turkey's Position

This chapter focuses on Turkey's position and experience regarding welfare provisions and the process of urbanisation. First part of this chapter will be about traditional and contemporary feature of Turkish welfare provision, and second part will discuss urbanisation and its effects on urban migrants. As part of this study which aims to explore factors and drivers which keep some segment of urban poor migrants committed to the state, this chapter will reveal the nature of the current welfare provision together with previous welfare provision tools and the transformation of these tools. Additionally, the urbanisation process which occurs mainly as a result of internal migration will be discussed. As a main focusing group, urban poor migrants' former coping behaviours and tools which affect distributional and relational aspects of their poverty and deprivation will be revealed. As it indicated in Literature Review chapter, state institutions and their implementations can affect and even shape people's attitudes and actions. As Melucci points out mobilisation does not occur in a vacuum (Melucci, 2003: 301). Instead it occurs in an environment in which several control agents and tools are used by state and state institutions in order to repress it. One of the most important tools used by state is the welfare provision through which poor people encounter and might be affected. Besides, as this study particularly chooses to study with urban poor people, urbanisation also directly affects their relationships, attitudes and actions. Therefore understanding the welfare tools and urbanisation process would increase the evaluation of factors that affect urban poor people's attitudes.

4.1 Welfare Provision in Turkey

Turkey's welfare regime and provision will be examined in this part. In order to evaluate the factors that affect urban poor's attitudes and actions in Turkey, the developments and conditions which might affect them need to be discussed and the factors which underpin their attitudes and approaches need to be created. Together with migration waves and the urbanisation process in Turkey, changes in traditional welfare strategies and the welfare policies of the state have led changes in poverty characteristics. In the post-1980s era, the transformation of social, economic and cultural structures in Turkey have

shaped welfare provisions and their implementation along with the effects of international organisations. In particular, during the period from 2002 onwards of government by the Justice and Development Party (JDP) a series of policies and tools have been introduced for people in need. Therefore, an evaluation of the welfare regime in Turkey and current policy tools and their implementation should be discussed in order to enhance the understanding of factors which both change the features of problems and affect the status of poor people in Turkey.

4.1.1 Welfare Regime Features

This part examines the main features of the Turkish welfare regime and the main tools which have been used to overcome poverty and affect poor people's attitudes. However, with the effects of the transformation experienced, Turkey's Welfare Regime was also in transformation. Welfare Regime is defined in terms of the roles of institutions such as state, family, labour market for social protection and the sustaining of the livelihood of individuals in a society (Bugra and Keyder, 2003: 13). Welfare states particularly prevailed in the industrialised countries after the end of World War II. Esping-Andersen (1990) identifies three welfare regimes which emerged in industrialised developed countries: conservative, liberal and social democratic¹². These regimes were based on a social rights and protection system which covers all citizens in the state. However, these right-based approaches are not applicable to all societies, even in Europe itself. Southern European countries were seen as a fourth distinct model apart from the three models (Bugra and Keyder, 2006). The common characteristics of Southern Welfare Regimes which differentiates them from industrialised welfare regimes are (Bugra and Keyder, 2003:13):

- A labour market structure in which employment is provided by small employers, self-employment, and unpaid family workers is very important;

¹² Jessop (1999) labelled these regimes as "Keynesian Welfare National States (KWNS)" in which Keynesian economic system, state intervention and economic system depending on full employment brought affluence to these countries and they could create a good working insurance and assistance scheme

- The large incidence of undocumented economic activity and unrecorded employment;
- A social security system with corporatist tendencies, constituting a fragmented system in which social rights are unequally distributed and universal health insurance is absent;
- The limited role of the state within the formal social security system; in contrast to this, the state playing a large role in the income opportunities of the individual through particularist mechanisms in which patronage relations play a large role;
- Almost complete absence of social policies aimed at combating poverty and exclusion (other than those linked to unemployment), related to this;
- The importance of family, local government, and religious or non-religious institutions in promoting the welfare of individual and helping individuals to deal with risk situations.

Spain, Italy, Greece and Portugal were counted in this group in which the most important feature is the family as the centre of solidarity. Turkey also has common features with these characteristics. Therefore, Turkey is examined in the Southern European Countries in regard to common features (Gough et al., 1997) such as the importance of family in social policy, fragmented social security system, inadequate social assistance scheme and the proportion of informal employment in economy. Although these are main common features shared by Turkey and Southern European Countries, there were several distinctive features as well. These are the lower social expenditure rate in budget, low levels of female participation in economic and political life, a lack of universal health coverage, and the longer importance and prevalence of peasant agriculture and employment compared to other Southern European Countries (Aybars and Tsarouhas, 2010:756 and Bugra, 2012:19). However, it should be noted that, as will be seen in the next part, the level of social expenditure has risen and the fragmented structure of security system was unified in the last decade.

The Turkish welfare regime was defined as "... an articulation of a relatively modernised institutional body together with strong family/kin networks which can be seen as an alternative means of social control and organisation"

(Kalaycioglu, 2006: 234). Aybars and Tsarouhas (2010) explain this dual approach of Turkey's welfare regime as a hybrid feature. The Turkish welfare state as a "hybrid model" displays characteristics "illustrating important features of both the Middle Eastern and Southern European welfare models"¹³ (ibid: 761). Populist social and economic policies for development and nation-building distinguish Turkey from other European countries, while the connection with the European Union (EU) and its effects on social policies are distinguishing factors from Middle Eastern counterparts (ibid: 750). The mix or hybrid character of Turkey arises over the process of westernisation. This process started in the 19th century –the period of the Ottoman Empire Period– and has been pursued during the Republican era as well. Especially after the 1990s, with the effect of acceleration of candidanship process for the EU, numerous changes have been implemented in legal and social policy areas. In particular, social security institutions were transformed in accordance with the EU process. Apart from the fact that these changes also were triggered by developments toward economic liberalisation and deregulation, changes in political environment and the rise of Islamic conservatism were involved with Islamic forms of charity (Bugra, 2012:18). These developments damaged traditional welfare strategies whose role was to provide social and economic security, and engage poor migrants in relation to the city and society through mostly informal channels.

Traditional Welfare Strategies pictured below were informal channels which were used by migrants in order to reach job markets and find a stable job, build a house and integrate to city and society. These informal channels were effective during developmentalist period, until 1980, and have since been damaged and eroded through social, economic and political factors (Bugra and Keyder, 2006:220). Table 2 displays the main legs of previously effective welfare regime which were used to struggle against poverty, integrate into the society, find a solution for housing and to enhance social cohesion. The sui generis feature of the urbanisation process of Turkey generated its own solution to fight against poverty and provide integration and cohesion (Bugra

¹³ Their main features are discussed in Bugra and Keyder (2003), Gough et al (2007), and Aybars and Tsarouhas (2010).

and Keyder, 2003). Traditional welfare strategies in Turkish society emerged in rural-urban migration and they were main coping behaviours for people who lived in deprivation. In this way, migrants could build their own informal housing with the help of neighbours and family members on a public land which they occupied. Their ties to the origins of the village continued; hence, in-kind aid from family members in their villages was still being received.

Table 2: Three Pillars of Traditional Welfare Regime of Urban Migrants

Family/Kinship Solidarity	Continuing Ties with Villages	Informal Urban Settlements
All of these three pillars emerged in Rural to Urban Migration		
Extended Families/Common Income Pool	Relatives in the Village	Informal Networks to Find a Land
Informal Safety Nets/Green Card	Land Ownership in the Villages	Illegal Settlement
Mutual Income Supports: in-kind/in-cash	Income Supports-mostly in-kind	Neighbourhoods-family, kinship, Townsman
Create a Network for Employment and Integration	Agricultural Work in Summers	Find a job through Networks
Buffer Zone-Economic and Cultural Meaning	Mutual Assistance	Become a Landlord through Pardon Laws

Source: Derived by the researcher from Bugra and Keyder 2003 and 2006; Ozturk, 2011; Bugra, 2012; Aybars and Tsarhouas, 2010.

Living in the same area with family members and/or kinship members could help migrants to find employment and shelter; hence integration to the city using informal housing, formal/informal employment and income persistence were becoming easier for early migrants. Urban migrants created their own housing solutions since an effective housing policy was absent. Further, those informal settlements were legalised by several pardon regulations of different governments; and migrants turned into landlords who rented their multi-storey apartments to new migrants (Isik and Pinarcioglu, 2011).

As stated above, the concept of the family is an important feature for the Turkish welfare regime as well as the Southern welfare regime. Family is not

just important in social assistance and protection; it was also important in the migration decision process from rural to urban societies which started after the 1950s. Migration decisions were being made within families. Kalaycioglu (2006) identifies family as not just a family but an extended family/kinship group. She puts family at the centre of coping behaviours and accepts it as a prominent mechanism for social and economic upward mobility. Family also played an important role in social security. Some people who do not work under social security could benefit from the health service by being a family member of someone who was formally employed (Bugra and Keyder, 2003).

However, the traditional welfare regime was demolished by neo-liberal policies adopted after 1980, including economic crisis, growing unemployment, change of labour market –growing demand for skilled labours particularly for service sector-, a change in the nature of rural-urban migration, earthquakes and growing control on land and informal works-street hawking. Especially during the 1990s push factors were prevailing in the migration decisions instead of pull factors particularly from the east and southern-east part of Turkey. These factors were threat of violence, forced migration and complete loss of livelihood rather than the economic attraction of the cities. This kind of migration restrains the maintenance of ties with villages (Ayata and Yukseker, 2005, and Bugra and Keyder, 2006). People migrated to cities could not find any plot to build a squatter house. While first migrant groups had opportunities to find unoccupied lands to settle down; second and third generations did not have as much of a chance as the first ones to find land to build a house. As a result of this process, people from same family/kin and/or villages were forced to settle down in far and different neighbourhoods due to economic reasons. Therefore, paying visits and solidarity among these people were weakened. Further, as it is indicated before, change in the nature of rural-urban migration also limited the assistance from people's villages. Hence, the type and features of poverty and deprivation experienced in particularly urban areas also changed (Keyder, 2005, Ozturk, 2011 and Bugra, 2012). New poverty has been used by these writers as a distinctive definition which reflects these changes in the existing welfare and coping behaviours of poor people that hitherto had been used as integration mechanisms. As stated above, those

mechanisms were main tools for poor people's integration to urban life. Thereby these mechanisms kept poor people's hope alive for upwards mobility and integration. Previously prevailing mechanisms were giving hope to those people and preventing them from protesting even during economic crisis. Nevertheless, those mechanisms mentioned above were eroded and hence state's role in the social assistance and solidarity area rose in the same period. Although it seems that there is a contradiction between the weakening of previously effective traditional welfare tools and more state intervention in social policy area, these policies might be evaluated as consistent with a global approach. Posner (2012) sees the WB's emphasis on the poverty, social exclusion and social capital as a model in creating a balance between market-led development and social and economic exclusion of the broad range of the population. Hence state intervention and targeted assistances to the disadvantaged groups are mainly used in order to include them into the market economy, improve their economic activity and enhance social cohesion by keeping them in social and civil society (Posner, 2012: 2). Therefore, the formal side of welfare provisions have also been noticed in the transformation which took place, particularly in the last decade in line with the WB's policy recommendations and tools called Social Risk Mitigation Project.

4.1.2 Welfare Provision

Until the last decade, formal social policy in Turkey basically involved state provision of free education at primary, secondary and tertiary levels, and a combined public health and pension system associated with employment status (Bugra and Keyder, 2006). The health and pension system consisted of three funds: Social Insurance Institution (SSK) for workers established in 1945, Retirement Chest (ES) for civil servants and military personnel was established in 1949, and Bag-Kur for self-employed was established in 1971. However, the scope of these funds was limited due to the high number of unregistered workers and the large agricultural sector. Fiscal constraints stemming from a high ratio of pension recipients, the need for a new balance between the state's role and market and the lack of universal health coverage for all citizens brought the reform debate onto the agenda (Bugra and Keyder, 2006). Of course there were effects felt by international organisations as well. The role of the state in social welfare policies such as health coverage and the fight

against poverty through public funding and transfers are consistent with the EU's and the WB's policies (Posner, 2012). As a first step of social security reform, the minimum retirement age and minimum contribution period were increased in 1999. A second step in the reform process was taken under the JDP governments after 2004. The second step consisted of four pillars: the establishment of universal health insurance, restructuring of social assistance and services, reform of pensions and foundation of institutional structure to harmonize other three pillars (Yakut-Cakar, 2007). The main aim of this reform was to broaden health cover to the whole population with a sustainable insurance and pension system. In the former practice, health benefits are attributed to employment status. For people who are out of employment status and poor, a mechanism, known as the Green Card, was established in 1992 in order to provide some degree of access to healthcare. However, with a new universal system, the aim was for every part of society to be gathered under one coverage system¹⁴. In order to unify the entire insurance scheme including the Green Card, Social Security Institution (SGK) was established in 2008. The new system has solved the fragmented character of social security system. Social exclusion also was recognised as a serious problem and systematic policies attempted to give direction to poor people for the first time in Turkish history by this approach (Bugra and Keyder, 2006: 225). According to Ozturk (2010), one of the main reasons for this directed social policy approach to the poverty problem was the incapacity of economic growth to solve poverty and unemployment after the economic crisis in 2002. Poverty and social exclusion could not be solved just depending on labour market solutions. On the contrary, they needed to be dealt with using directed state policies through public funding which is also consistent with the WB's approach. However, there was no systematic social assistance policy except for elderly and disabled people which was introduced in 1976 in order to deal with these problems.

The Social Assistance and Solidarity Fund (SYDV) was established in 1986 as a first social assistance programme which covered all poor people in country.

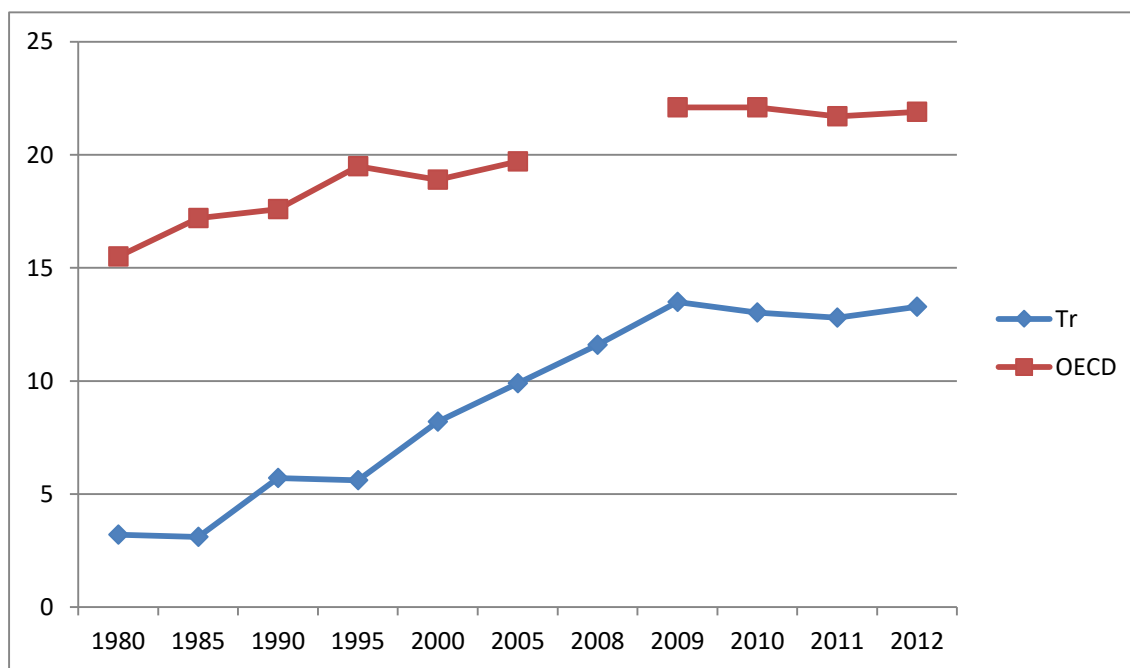
¹⁴ Under the new system, all beneficiaries have to pay their social security premiums except children and people who have less than one-third of minimum income level. This is determined by district governorships depending on a means-tested system.

This is the first institution and policy tool established in order to overcome the social consequences of neo-liberal policies and transformation. The importance of this institution increased through the end of 1990s as a result of the WB's social policy tools such as Conditional Cash Transfers (CCT). Especially with the JDP governments, budget discipline and controlled social spending, central significance of family in social solidarity and Islamic traditions of charity were remembered and introduced again through different forms and partnerships with municipalities and other civil charities (Bugra, 2012: 27). Although charities and religious foundations have always been involved with assistance and solidarity and have been a part of the social life in Turkey, the role of, in particular, municipalities and charity NGOs gained importance after 2000. Both municipalities and NGOs are very successful in providing the needy, especially in-kind assistance (Bugra, 2007). However, this approach is implemented combined with the increasing role of state action. During the JDP government periods, a series of tools have been introduced particularly for vulnerable groups. In order to increase the control and effectiveness of these policies a single Ministry was established. The Ministry of Family and Social Policies was established with a legislative decree in 2011 tasked with social assistance and aid system, coordination and controlling of policies for alleviating poverty as well as policies and tools for disables, women, family and children in need for protection. However, there are 4 main institutions responsible for social assistance and just 2 of them are under the auspices of this new ministry: General Directorate of Social Assistance (SYGM-previously SYDV) and General Directorate of Children Services. Other social assistance institutions, SGK and General Directorate of Foundations (GDF) are serving under the control of other ministries. Apart from that, other ministries, such as Education, also have social assistance tools. The main social policy tools are salaries for the elderly, disabled, nursing at home, and survivors; in addition, CCTs, coal assistance, housing, and free student books are provided. The proportion of social expenditure in GDP also reflects an increase in the kinds of assistance.

Figure 2 shows the share of social expenditure of Turkey in GDP from 1980 until 2012. According to TUIK statistics, total expenditure on social protection amounted to 188.000.000 Turkish Liras (TL) and 98.3% of this share was spent

on social benefit payments. The largest expenditure was old age function¹⁵. In the last five years, social protection expenditure increased by 32.2% compared to an increase of 15.5% in the GDP. This means that the rise of social expenditure is higher than the GDP rise. This also shows the commitment of government to social assistance and protection policy. The largest part of means-tested benefits was provided under the family/children function with 38% followed by disability with 34.8% and old age functions with 9.1% in 2012.

Figure 2: Social Expenditure as % of GDP in Turkey and OECD Total for 1980-2012



Source: OECD, Ministry of Social Policies and TUIK

Turkey has also shown an improvement in the fight against poverty, especially in absolute poverty. Table 3 shows poverty rates in Turkey after 2002. Turkey has achieved high economic growth after 2001 economic crisis. Absolute poverty in this period reduced with the positive effect of economic growth but these growth rates did not have a positive effect on relative poverty rates. Bugra and Keyder (2006) and Sonmez (2002) determine the unequal distribution of wealth as an underlying basis of poverty. Eventually, relative poverty emerging from distributional problems could not be reduced although

¹⁵ It should be noted that old age pensions are also included in this expenditure.

it has been shown to be a success in the alleviation of absolute poverty in Turkey. This also reflects Ferreira and Ravallion's (2008) finding that there are strong positive relationships between economic growth rates and poverty reduction, and no significant relationships between economic growth and changes in inequality. Growth can generate an economic source for more effective social policy tools and as Ferreira and Ravallion (2008) indicate that fast growing economies reduce absolute poverty much more rapidly and add that policies against inequality are also important for countries in order to sustain economic growth and social development. Turkey, also, generates more economic sources in order to fight against absolute poverty, but relative poverty could not be solved, due to inequality which is also shown in the Table below. Thus, relative poverty generated from distributional inequality still exists in Turkey and this condition emerges as a barrier which obstruct for achieving social peace. Although poor people may feel and experience better opportunities when compare themselves with their previous conditions, the gap between the high earners and the poor groups are still deepening.

Table 3: Poverty Rates after 2002 in Turkey

Methods	Rates										
	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007 ³	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Below \$2,15 (Income Per Capita Per Day)	3,04	2,39	2,49	1,55	1,41	0,52	0,47	0,22	0,21	0,14	0,06
Below \$4,3 (Income Per capita Per Day)	30,30	23,75	20,89	16,36	13,33	8,41	6,83	4,35	3,66	2,79	2,27
Relative ¹⁻²	14,74	15,51	14,18	16,16	14,50	14,70	15,06	15,12	-	-	-

Source: TUIK Poverty Study and World Bank Data

1. Based on the 50% of equalised median consumption expenditure of households; 2-Values are not calculated after 2009 due to the methodological revision by TUIK; 3-New population projections are used by TUIK since 2007.

Turkey could not find a solution for unemployment which is also crucial for income, production and recognition as Sen (1997) states. According to TUIK, while the unemployment rate was 10.3% in 2002, it is 9.7% in 2014. The increasing unemployment rate among disadvantaged groups such as women,

people with disabilities and unskilled people is a particularly serious challenge in Turkey along with the large share of unregistered employment (Glynos et al., 2008). Employment is not just a resource for regular income; it is also a bridge for participation in social activities which are important for social integration. Economic growth has not been able to solve relative poverty but it is important to create resources for implementing effective social policy tools, such as social assistance system, for the alleviation of poverty.

Although one of the main economic policies of the neo-liberal approach is to reduce social spending, it can be observed that states place more emphasis on welfare provision and social policy intervention which have become more important in countries without mature welfare states (Bugra, 2012:17).

Turkey's position also can be put into this context. Until recently, there was only one direct assistance scheme for only elderly people. However, in line with the growing support of international organisations combined with the approach of successive governments during the last decade, the amount and kind of social assistance scheme has increased. These developments were seen as the first steps to a "fresh welfare governance" (Bugra and Keyder, 2007). Nevertheless, as can be seen in Table 3, relative poverty is still high in Turkey. Besides, unemployment, particularly among the most vulnerable and disadvantaged groups, keep them away from production and engagement with society. According to Ozturk (2010), another consideration which undermines the welfare governance approach is that part of social support is taken back through taxation policy. This is because there is not a tax exemption policy for people who are in need in Turkey, and the proportion of consumption taxes among total tax is also high.

4.2 Urbanisation Process

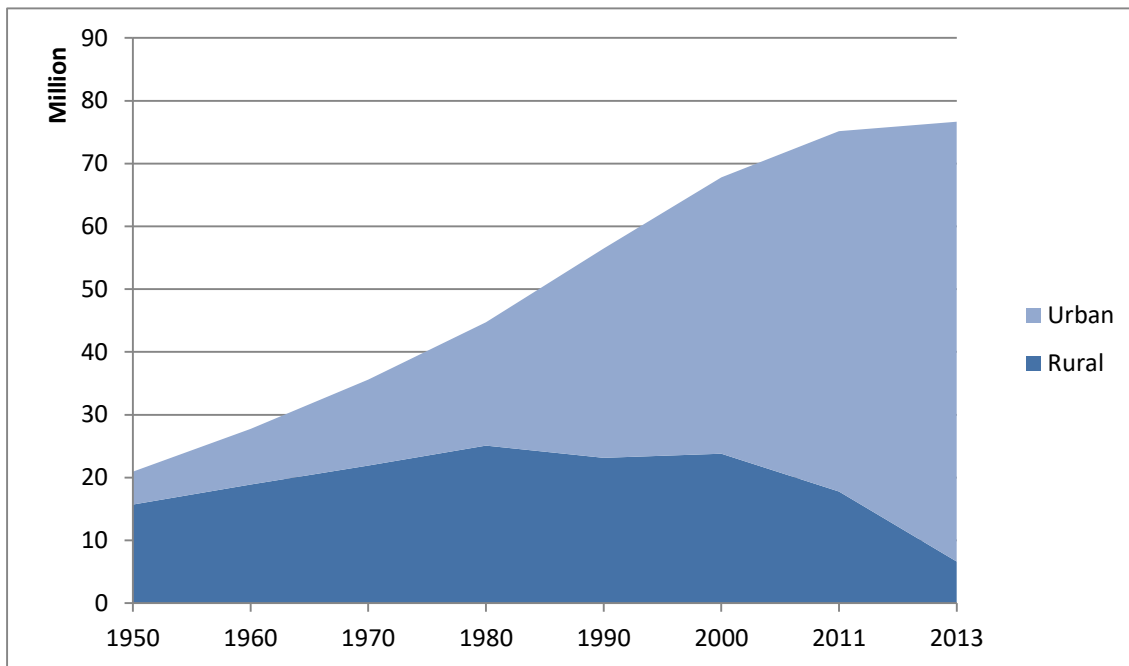
This part focuses on the urbanisation process experienced particularly after the 1950s and its effects on urban poor migrants. As was indicated in the previous part, Turkey's welfare model and urbanisation process have a strong relationship and mutual effect on themselves. Therefore, this part will reveal this relationship's urbanisation leg. In order to understand Turkey's social,

economic, and cultural experiences and urban poor migrants' position in society and before the state, the urbanisation process and its components should be revealed. As happened in Turkey, internal migration and informal settlements are used as informal distributive mechanisms in developing countries in where formal redistributive mechanisms are almost absent (Bugra, 1998, Mahmud and Duyar- Kienast, 2001). However, sui generis features of the urbanisation process in Turkey generated their own solutions to fight against poverty and provide integration and social cohesion. Turkey has been transformed since the 1950s as a result of its urbanisation process and its consequences. For that reason, this process and its effects on society should be discussed. First of all, the urbanisation process will be handled together with its main reasons, and then urbanisation and its effects on welfare provision and urban poor migrants will be revealed.

4.2.1 Urbanisation

When the Republic of Turkey was founded in 1923, the majority of people were living in rural areas. This tendency continued until the 1980s. However, the urbanisation process started in the 1950s mainly as a result of internal migration from rural to urban areas. Figure 3 shows the change of urban and rural population with regard to demographic changes from 1950 up to 2013.

Figure 3: Proportion of Urban-Rural Population in General Population after 1950



Source: TUIK

As is shown in Figure 3, while the total population was increasing, the growth of urban population also increased higher than the general population. The main reason for this difference is continuing internal migration. The direction of migration in Turkey has been from poor, mountainous and undeveloped eastern and south-eastern areas toward more developed, industrialised cities located in the western part of Turkey. This massive migratory flow from rural areas targeted mainly major metropolitan centres. There are several reasons underlying internal migration but they can be framed under two factors: push and pull factors (Tas and Lightfoot, 2007 and Adaman and Keyder, 2006). Push factors can be social, cultural, economic and political. However, the main factor was the mechanisation and modernisation of agriculture which was also supported by the Marshall Plan and resulted in a massive peasant migration from 1950 onwards. New agricultural techniques and tools such as tractors, and irrigation system reduced the need for human power. Related to this issue, a lack of new lands for farming and limited off-farm employment opportunities were push factors which caused internal migration. On the other hand, pull factors contain greater economic opportunities, due to the social and physical attractions of the cities, availability of social services such as health and

education and improved infrastructure. Further, improvements in transportation also played an important role in the increasing of mobility of people. Industrial and commercial areas emerged around big cities and these areas created a labour demand and thus attracted peasants in rural areas. Besides, the politics of the early Republic in Turkey regarded the city as a tool by which rural migrants were expected to assimilate and then would become a “true urbanites” (Erman, 2001b). Therefore, these elites also supported internal migration in order to transformed Turkey into a modern Western country. Additionally, governments also supported migration as they provided cheap and unorganised labour to the industrialisation process (Erman, 2001). As a result of these developments, most of the urban growth in Turkey is due to migration from rural areas since the 1950s (Tas and Lightfoot, 2007).

The migration process is also a distinct feature in Turkish life. As aforementioned, the family has a significant importance in Turkey’s social policy structure. Besides, family is not just important in social assistance and protection; it was also important in the migration decision process from rural to urban which started after 1950. Kalaycioglu (2006) puts family at the centre of a huge coping and mobility mechanism supported by safety nets such as formal and informal networks. In this model, family is an extended family/kin group and has three sub-groups; one lives in a village, another one lives in metropolitan cities in Turkey and a third one lives in developed countries abroad. Migration decisions were also being made within families. However, this should be understood as a chain mechanism. The type of migration started after 1950 was chain migration (Erder, 2002). Families from the same village and/or region clustered in the same neighbourhood, generally in the same squatter house neighbourhoods. Other than this relationship, people from the same identities, origins and sectarian backgrounds also tended to settle down in the same neighbourhoods. Thus, these families had the chance to integrate into the city through different mechanisms as it will be seen in the next part.

Migration from rural to urban areas accelerated in the 1980s due to neo-liberal economic policies. Neo-liberal policies and their implementations made agricultural production unsustainable. Reducing subsidies and the need for market-based production created a massive migration from rural to urban

areas (Keyder, 2005). The proportion of the rural population in total decreased from 56% in 1980 to 40% in 1990 as is displayed in Figure 3. The characteristics of migration changed after 1990 with the effect of the conflict in the south-eastern Turkey. The main feature of this new wave of migration was that there was not a will to migrate but people were forced to become migrants due to low intensity conflict. The number of these migrants ranged between 400, 000 and 3 million¹⁶ (Ayata and Yukseker, 2005). The continuing conflict in the South East brought insecurity to people living in that area and contributed to migration from rural to urban areas from the 1990s onwards. According to Keyder (2005:131), an important part of this migration flow ended at Istanbul.

In line with this process, migration from rural to urban areas is a major factor that transformed Turkish society (Erman, 2001b). Urbanisation and its consequences led to significant developments on social, cultural, economic and political structures. What happened in Turkish society was the result of changes in social, economic and political structures. Peasants who had been living in rural areas migrated to urban areas. This caused a massive transformation of rural and urban economies, living styles of peasants and thus Turkish society (Tas and Lightfoot, 2007). Hence, the consequences of rapid urbanisation which were mostly caused by internal migration should be revealed in order to understand their effects on social, economic and politic structures.

4.2.2 Urbanisation and Squatter Housing (Gecekondu)

It was indicated in the first part of this chapter that internal migration from rural towards urban areas created its own solution mechanism due to the lack

¹⁶ These numbers were given by Ayata and Yukseker depending on two different sources. The first source is a Parliamentary investigation (TBMM) report (1998) about internal displacement and based on "State of Emergency Governorship" and gives the total number 378 335 ; the second source is a report about forced migration and it was prepared for Goc-Der (Association for Migration); the total number of forced migrants stated in this report is nearly 3 million. The number stated in the TBMM's report did not contain the forced migrants from outside the "State of Emergency" territorial. According to TESEV's report (2005) the TBMM's report is deficient because it includes only forced migration from rural settlements (village and hamlets) but not from the town and city centres. However, TESEV's report sees the NGOs' estimations about the number of forced migration as not supported by specific data and these numbers indicate the extent of the population affected by the armed clashes and security problems in the region.

of a welfare and housing policy in Turkey. Therefore, migrants developed their own strategies in order to settle down and integrate into the city. These mechanisms helped migrants in several distinct ways and they are all connected to each other. Every mechanism is linked to other ones for providing full support to migrants in cities and extended families in villages of origin. Traditional Turkish welfare provision and its three pillared model helped people struggling with deprivation to integrate into the cities. These three pillars were family/kinship solidarity, the possibility of informal urban settlements and continuing ties with immigrants' villages as is discussed above. This model was the result of internal migration. The importance of extended family/kin solidarity and decision mechanisms was discussed previously. Therefore, the last part of this mechanism and its importance in Turkish social and political structures should be revealed separately.

Rapid urbanisation based on commonly internal migration caused its own characteristics and solutions for shelter and integration. Due to a lack of housing policy, migrants created their own solutions for housing: Squatter Housing (Gecekondu). The original meaning of squatter house (which means 'built in overnight' in Turkish) refers to temporary housing built in the city's periphery and on state lands illegally occupied that serves as the poor shelter for most rural-to-urban migrants (Erman and Eken, 2004). Generally, they were built by the individual himself and his relatives using simple materials. These houses were generally poorly-built, because they were mainly assumed as places which enabled their inhabitants to survive and integrate into the city (Mahmud and Duyar-Kienast, 2001). Gecekondu was functioning as a main tool for the immigrants to integrate in the city. Once they settled, finding a regular income and reaching better social services were becoming much easier thanks to the help of family/kinship networks.

As the United Nations (2003a) reported in its study, the growth of squatter and informal housing has been a reality for almost all developing countries in the last six decades. As a developing country, Turkey also experienced this process. Squatter housing neighbourhoods have become a permanent feature of Turkish cities since 1950 (Oncu, 1988). The main reason which caused this rapid expanding of squatter houses and neighbourhoods was the lack of effective housing and social policy which would help to settle and integrate

migrants. Housing stocks in the cities had become inadequate for migrants in the environment where formal housing provision for low-income people had always remained since the foundation of Turkey (Bugra, 1998). Therefore, these people built their own houses on unoccupied lands mostly belonging to the public. However, Bugra (1998) indicated that these invasions were seen and recognised by governments as entitlements for those who lived in deprivation and had to migrate because of inadequate welfare policy. Lack of housing policy and stock was one part of this limited welfare policy. In all way¹⁷, migrants could not find a shelter for themselves and their demands for better living standards were not met by a formal welfare provision. Therefore, they created their own solutions in order to overcome their problems due to lack of formal policies for these problems. They maintained relations with their relatives in order to reach job opportunities and shelter through informal networks. As it can be seen in Isik and Pinarcioglu's research (2011), these first generation immigrants were successful at finding a house, regular income and integrate into society. This process was also supported by governments to create a labour source for industrial production which generally settled around the big cities¹⁸.

Nevertheless, while early migrants had opportunities to find unoccupied lands to settle down, second and third generations did not have as much of a chance as the first ones to find land to build a house (Isik and Pinarcioglu, 2008). Therefore they became tenants of squatter houses and apartment flats. Early squatter houses were legalised via several pardon laws because of populist approaches of governments. Governments adopted policies which made it easy to develop squatter houses into multi-storey apartments (Tas and Lightfoot, 2007). Second and third generation migrants became the tenants of these houses and/or flats. In this way, early migrants could transfer their poverty and deprivation to second and third generation migrants. Isik and Pinarcioglu

¹⁷ Karpas (1976) sees the desire to have one's own property as one of the main reasons for building a squatter house. People who migrated into city had experienced deprivation in their villages, and memories about this hardship were increasing their desire to have their own properties according to Karpas.

¹⁸ According to Oncu (1988) and Bugra (1998), electoral strategies and aims were another factor underlying this support and tolerance. In this way, governments aimed to receive those people's votes which also helped to keep people's hopes for upward mobility alive.

(2011) define this process as “Poverty in Turn”. When squatter houses were considered along with other two legs of traditional welfare mechanisms, they served not just as a shelter. Instead, they provided a social security and solidarity mechanisms for their inhabitants. Further, they helped to keep society together and keep social order maintained. These informal houses as a redistributive practice have become an important aspect of social policy and served to help avoid social unrest and legitimised the existing social order (Bugra, 1998).

However, previously it is shown that neo-liberal economic policies, economic crisis and earthquakes damaged these traditional mechanisms. Additionally, migration flow from the south-eastern part added another dimension to this problem, because these migrants did not have any preparation for migration. Besides, these people lost every contact with their village of origin by migrating because they migrated as a whole village. For those reasons, the two main legs of the traditional mechanism were affected negatively: family/kinship solidarity and continuing ties with the villages. The third leg of the traditional welfare provision was also deteriorated for several reasons. First of all, second and third generation migrants could not find unoccupied lands to build a house on it. Second, strict rules and procedures began to be implemented to control illegal squatter houses. And finally, there was a high demand for urban land to build offices, shopping malls and residential areas which increased the commercialisation of these lands. Thus, these new pressures have limited an important opportunity which was previously effective (Oncu, 1988, Bugra and Keyder, 2006). Therefore, an important part of the traditional welfare provision which helped urban poor migrants to settle down and integrate into city and kept their hopes for upward mobility alive was no longer available. According to Erman and Eken (2004), when people see that their ways and mechanisms for upward mobility are closed, they tend to challenge the state’s legitimacy and its rule of law. Additionally, changes in the characteristics of migration, migrants and welfare strategies affected the environment of social and economic relations and structures in the city and new comers were faced with new kinds of poverty and related problems. The split between rich and poor has widened according to some writers and this has intensified discontent particularly among rural migrants (Keyder, 2005;

Akkaya, 2001; Erman, 2001 and Erder, 2002) such as seen in some Latin America countries (Isik and Pinarcioglu, 2008).

Changes in the perception of urban migrants and urban squatter neighbourhoods also reflect their position among society and tension sources. According to Erman (2001) migrants were labelled as mainly “Others” which refers to define people who migrated to the city for a better livelihood and, although they failed to become a real urbanite, they are harmless and they continue their lifestyle in the city. Although this perception makes them different from the rest of urban society, they were not assumed to be a threat to the society and state. However, after the mid-1990s, the term “Varoslu” (people residing in the Varos) was generally used with negative connotations (Erman, 2001 and Erman and Eken, 2004). This term defines urban poor migrants as “Threatening Other” and contains both economic dimension (poor) and socio-economic dimension (the rebellious, the outlaw) (Erman, 2001). “They are seen as a threat to Republic...They are attacking the city, its values, its political institutions, and more importantly, the very core of its ideology (a secular and democratic society built on consensus and unity) and its social order” (Erman, 2001: 996). This perception was seen as a reason which increased tension between urban poor migrants and the rest of society and state. However, some segments of urban poor’s attitude has been committed to the rest of society and not participated in any social movements to protest their unpleasant living conditions. Therefore, an exploratory research is needed in order to understand and reveal why some segments of urban poor migrants appear still committed and loyal to the state and social order. Factors and drivers inherent in urban poor in Turkey that affect their attitudes and approaches should be explored.

4.3 Summary

This part focuses both on the feature of welfare provision and the urbanisation process experienced from 1950 onwards in Turkey. Turkey’s welfare regime has similarities with welfare regimes in Southern Europe. The importance of family in social policy, fragmented social security system, inadequate social

assistance scheme and the proportion of informal employment in the economy are the main common features shared by both Turkey and Southern European Countries such as Italy, Greece and Spain. However, lower social expenditure rate in budget and low levels of female participation in social, economic and political life are the main distinctive features of Turkey compared to Southern European Countries. Turkey also has shared features with Middle Eastern countries such as populist social and economic policies for development and nation-building. Therefore, Turkey displays a hybrid welfare state. Turkey's westernisation has caused a modernisation in its social policy tools. Economic and social transformation also triggered this development by damaging traditional welfare mechanism. This mechanism consists of three parts: the possibility of informal urban settlements, continuing ties with villages and family/kin solidarity. These tools were developed by urban migrants in the environment where there was lack of effective social state policies. Further, they were main tools which kept urban poor migrants' hope for future alive and kept them engaged with society. Nevertheless, these tools were damaged by social, economic, cultural and political transformations in the period from 2000 onwards.

The three-fold traditional welfare regime was the mechanism which helped people to mobilise upwards, gave hope to them to overcome poverty and kept them engaged with society. However, this scheme has been eroded in the post-1980 era due to several reasons such as neo-liberal economic policies, continuing migration, and economic crisis. As a response to the changing face of poverty and social problems which have multi-dimensional and dynamic features, new social policy tools are adopted in Turkey in line with the international organisations' policies and as a part of candidatureship process with the EU. Particularly in the last decade, Turkey has succeeded in terms of economic growth and made substantial progress in Human Development (UNDP, 2013:1). Although anti-poverty policies and tool in Turkey have also achieved the minimization of absolute poverty rates, social assistance system still needs to be improved to become more effective. As the EU (2011: 80) pointed out, progress in social inclusion and social cohesion, in particular, is limited and even among employed people there are high poverty rates which continue to be a cause for concern.

Turkey has also experienced a quick urbanisation process in the last 5 decades as has happened in other developing countries. However, Turkey could not produce its own welfare mechanisms in the environment where there were no effective social policies and tools which help people to migrate to urban areas. Turkey's population reached almost 80 million in 2013 and only 7 % of general population are living in rural areas compared to 75 % in 1950. Internal migration is one of the main reasons which has caused this development. This has caused a massive migration flow from the eastern and south-eastern parts of the country toward western cities. Although there are several pull and push factors which have triggered and reinforced internal migration, economic deprivation experienced in rural areas and economic opportunities in urban areas have mainly attracted people to migrate. Neo-liberal policies implemented after 1980 and conflict in the South East are other main factors which have reinforced the migration process and also changed the type of traditional welfare mechanisms.

One of the three legs of this traditional mechanism was the possibility of informal housing. Urban migrants developed their own solutions to settle down in cities due to a lack of state housing and welfare policies: Squatter Housing. Squatter housing literally means "built in overnight" on unoccupied land mostly belonging to the public. Governments also tolerated these houses mostly because of populist policies. These houses then were legalised through several pardon laws in a reciprocal relationship in order to have these people's votes. In this way, first comers could find a chance to transform their houses into apartment blocks and then rent these house to new comers, hence transferred their poverty. Together with the other legs of traditional welfare provision, family/kinship solidarity and continuing ties with villages, urban migrants kept their hopes for upward mobility alive. However, new comers could not find a chance to build a house on public land due to several reasons such as limited unoccupied land, strict rules and controls and commodification of land. Together with the erosion of other two traditional mechanisms, urban poor migrants have lost their hopes for upward mobility. Furthermore, they were seen as a threat for both society and the state itself as a result of change in the perception about urban poor migrants. Urbanisation through continuous

internal migration created their own solutions for urban poor migrants' integration into city and their engagement with the rest of society. However, changes in these solutions as the result of social, economic and politic transformations damaged these solutions which were seen as problems for social cohesion and social order.

Turkey is challenged by the socio-economic consequences of urbanization, unemployment and multi-dimensional deprivations. Even though there have been improvements in social policy tools in Turkey as the EU indicated, in an environment where traditional welfare provisions eroded, state intervention is still limited to protect citizens and provide social cohesion. Although Turkey's starting point was closer to Middle Eastern countries, factors including westernisation, relationships with the international organisations and the candidateship process with the EU have turned Turkey into a more European feature. However, poverty and social exclusion is still a problem, particularly in Turkey. In urban areas, in particular, deprivations and disadvantages are being experienced in their acute forms as Mingione (1996) states. However, some segments of poor people in Turkey still behave as a part of society and obey the social order in spite of their acute experiences. In line with their experiences, the reasons and factors which keep them committed and loyal to the state and social order need to be explained. In this way, formal and informal factors affecting their status in society and their attitudes towards state and society will be revealed.

Chapter 5: Urban Poor Participants and Relational Deprivation

This chapter reveals participants' main features which provide knowledge about them and relational perspectives of their poverty and deprivation. In here, relational deprivation is used in order to imply the relationship between their deprivation and their approaches towards the rest of the society and state institutions indicated by (Hvinden, 2004). Empirical findings were mainly obtained through the interviews with 30 poor migrants conducted in Istanbul. In order to understand the consequences of poverty and exclusion and to analyse the factors which affect targeted group's attitudes; urban poor migrants' relational perspectives which include their attitudes and approaches to society and state, their response styles and their assumptions about their position in society should be obtained and discussed. Through this method, the way migrants respond to their experiences will be understood and the factors that affect their attitudes and keep them committed state will be well analysed. However, general information about the participants of this study will be presented before observing and analysing their responses. As a researcher who seeks to understand participants' attitudes and approaches from their perspectives, learning the features of the participants is important in order to reach the study objectives¹⁹. The detailed explanation the participants and the settings they live enhance the transferability of this study as indicate in Chapter III. Then, attitudes and responses of urban poor migrants will be analysed in this chapter.

5.1 Who are Urban Poor Participants?

Main features of participants reflect the consequences of social and economic transformation experienced in Turkey in the last three decades. As it is revealed in the Methodology chapter, the first group of participants –deprived migrants- was chosen due to their features and recruited and through NGOs.

¹⁹ More detailed information about sample selection, research area and interview processes could be found in the Methodology chapter.

All of the respondents migrated to Istanbul from different parts of Turkey. These families migrated due to several reasons such as economic deprivation, lack of employment, lack of security and a hope to get an opportunity in a city where they thought that they could find a chance to integrate and solve the problems they experienced. Although there were several reasons, economic deprivation emerging from the lack of employment is prominent over all other reasons. According to the interviews carried out, the main reason at the final stage of the migration decision was economic deprivation and lack of employment opportunity. Some of the families migrated from the Eastern part while some of them; the South Eastern and Middle Anatolian parts of Turkey. They are also from either small villages or small cities and they reflect different ethnic groups from different parts of Turkey. Most of them (21) are originally from small villages while the rest of them from either a town or a city. A general and common issue for all respondents is that they have all lost their connections with their village/town of origin. They don't have ties with their relatives in their hometown/village and they do not receive any assistance from there, which was previously significant in the livelihood of migrants in Turkey. This connection once worked in two ways: the first was from villages to cities as in-kind assistance and the second was from cities to villages as cash assistance, and these connections have been lost. This is mainly because of the spreading of economic difficulties and the majority of village people have migrated to cities. Table 4 shows the main features of participants.

14 interviewees were women who were either single mothers (8) or their husbands were not at home when interviews were carried out, while 4 of the rest were conducted with both men and wives and 12 interviews were carried out with only men as respondents. By this technique, different kinds of problems respondents experience arising from poverty and social exclusion could be obtained.

As it is discussed before people migrate to cities due to several reasons. It was aimed in the fieldwork that reasons effective for migration processes should be found in this study. Therefore there are different patterns of migration processes among participants. There are people migrated to Istanbul in a decision chain process as Kalaycioglu (2006) demonstrates and discussed in

Chapter IV. People migrated to Istanbul due to security reasons also can be found among participants. Forced migrants also became the participants of this study. By this way, more comprehensive perspectives were also aimed among participants as well.

Table 4: Respondents' Features

Respondent	Gender	Village of Origin	Region	Type of Village	Previous Occupation	Ethnicity
1	F	Sungurlu-Corum	Middle Anatolian	Medium (town)	Farmer (husband)	Turkish
2	F	Kangal-Sivas	Middle Anatolian	Small(village)	Shepherd (husband)	Turkish
3	F	Sungurlu-Corum	Middle Anatolian	Medium (town)	Farmer (Father)	Turkish
4	M	Sungurlu-Corum	Middle Anatolian	Medium (town)	Never worked (disabled)	Turkish
5	F	Elazig	Eastern Anatolian	Large (city)	Building worker (husband)	Kurdish
6	M	Sivas	Middle Anatolian	Large (city)	Building worker	Turkish
7	F	Refahiye-Erzincan	Eastern Anatolian	Small (village)	Farmer	Turkish
8	F	Sivrice-Elazig	Eastern Anatolian	Medium (town)	Farmer	Kurdish
9	F	Suruc- Urfa	South-eastern Anatolian	Small (village)	Kebab Shop Worker	Kurdish
10	F	Mus	Eastern Anatolian	Small (village)	Farmer	Kurdish
11	F	Guroymak-Bitlis	Eastern Anatolian	Small (village)	Building Worker	Kurdish
12	M	Village of Sivas	Eastern Anatolian	Small (village)	Building Worker	Turkish
13	M	Pinarbasi-Kastamonu	Northern Anatolian-Black Sea Region	Small (village)	Shepherd	Turkish
14	M	Karayazi-Erzurum	Eastern Anatolian	Small (village)	Farmer-Stockbreeding	Kurdish
15	F	Village of Siirt	South-eastern Anatolian	Small (village)	Farmer-Stockbreeding	Kurdish
16	F	Sirvan-Siirt	South-eastern Anatolian	Small (village)	Farmer-stockbreeding	Kurdish
17	F	Sirvan-Siirt	South-eastern Anatolian	Small (village)	Farmer	Kurdish
18	M	Van	Eastern Anatolian	Large (city)	Carrier-Building Worker	Kurdish
19	M	Hizan-Bitlis	Eastern Anatolian	Medium (town)	Shepherd-Building Worker	Kurdish
20	M	Tutak-Agri	Eastern Anatolian	Small (village)	Building Worker	Kurdish
21	M	Hizan- Bitlis	Eastern	Small (village)	Building	Kurdish

			Anatolian		Worker	
22	M	Dogubeyazit-Agri	Eastern Anatolian	Small (village)	Building Worker	Kurdish
23	F	Siirt	South-Eastern Anatolian	Small (village)	Farmer- Imam	Kurdish
24	M	Sulakyurt-Kirikkale	Middle Anatolian	Small (village)	Worker-private security	Turkish
25	F	Sirvan- Siirt	South-Eastern Anatolian	Small (village)	Building Worker	Kurdish
26	M	Hafik- Sivas	Middle Anatolian	Small (village)	Stockbreeding	Alawite
27	M	Sirvan- Siirt	South-Eastern Anatolian	Small (village)	Farmer	Kurdish
28	M	Dogubeyazit-Agri	Eastern Anatolian	Small (village)	Building Worker	Kurdish
29	M	Kozluk-Batman	South-Eastern Anatolian	Small (village)	Farmer	Kurdish
30	M	Bismil-Diyarbakir	South-Eastern Anatolian	Medium (town)	Dolmus Trading	Kurdish

The origin of participants is also important in order to understand their status and response styles. Therefore, participants from different origins were also added to this study. By this method, respondents' personal assumptions about their experiences and origin could be obtained through interview processes. Ethnicities and/or religions of respondents were recorded during interviews in order to reveal whether they had experienced or felt any discrimination in society and/or from state institutions. They were questioned about how they defined themselves and what their experiences were. As it is stated in table, 9 respondents defined themselves as Turkish, 20 as Kurdish and 1 as Alawite. None of the Turkish participants expressed any unpleasant treatment from officers; nevertheless both the Kurdish respondents and the Alawite respondent indicated that they had experienced unpleasant treatment from neighbours, state officers and other people. However all Kurdish and Alawite respondents stated that these experiences have fallen over the last ten years. They now can express themselves in their language and they have better relationships with the other parts of society.

There are two types of neighbourhoods that participants dwell in: Most participants live in squatter houses which are located in squatter-house neighbourhoods while 12 of them live in flats which mostly placed in apartments' basements. Generally those apartments are also located in areas which were squatter houses areas once and were then transformed into apartment buildings and legalised. However, none of them were the owners of their homes except two interviewees, whose houses had been bought by their families. 18 participants live in these neighbourhoods from Basaksehir, Avcilar, Sultanbeyli and Umraniye districts of Istanbul. 12 participants live in flats which in the basements of the type of apartments mentioned. These apartments are located in Fatih, Avcilar, Basaksehir, Esenyurt, Zeytinburnu, Sultanbeyli and Umraniye and most of them are placed in the outskirts of Istanbul.

5.2 Urban Poor and Their Settings

Participants were chosen due to their economic conditions. In line with this study's objectives and design, urban poor migrants were deliberately chosen. This approach meant that participants live in poverty and deprivation, but their relationships with the rest of the society and state and their attitudes towards actions and movements are shaped by their experiences. Urban Poor participants' economic, social and political conditions and habits were explored during interviews. However, this study is significantly interested in factors and drivers that affect their attitudes to their circumstances. Therefore, as indicated in the Literature chapter, people's attitudes and actions might be affected by the settings they live in and they experience. Hence, relational perspective of urban poor migrants' deprivation and poverty will be discussed before analysing relevant factors and drivers. Relational perspective refers to social relationships between poor people and the rest of society beyond economic aspects of the urban poor's poverty (Hvinden, 1995). Especially in order to explore drivers that affect their attitudes and approaches to society and state, it's worth analysing how they evaluate their position in society and before the state. The way used to reveal these issues must depend on participants' perspectives about their experiences.

5.2.1 Participants and Society

This subsection is about poor migrants' social lives, relationships with friends, relatives and neighbours and their participation in social activities. Although there is a distributional aspect to the urban poor migrants' experiences, this study deals with their relational problems in line with study's objectives.

Therefore, the urban poor migrants' relationships with and attitudes towards the society and the state will be analysed as a part of this chapter. As Bhalla and Lapeyre (1997) note that the relational aspect of poverty refers to relations among individuals as well as those to the state and other citizens.

Nevertheless, this part will focus only on relationships between poor migrants and the rest of society while participants' relationships with the state will be discussed in the next part. Relationships between people can vary from direct to indirect interactions. However, as it is indicated in Chapter II, poverty restricts, primarily, the participation activities of people who live in deprivation. Therefore, respondents' participation activities will be analysed in this chapter in order to enhance understanding about relational perspectives of their deprivation.

5.2.1.1 Participation in City Life

Cities offer enormous opportunities and attractions along with problems. However, coexisting with these opportunities and attractions are also related to the conditions of people living in cities. Transportation from one point to another point consumes both time and money in mega cities like Istanbul. Hence, in order to understand the participation capacity of poor migrants who generally live in the peripheries of the city, their experiences related to participation in and enjoying city life were obtained from the interviews. The most striking point of respondents' experiences is that they never travel in the city except for obligations such as health and assistance applications. None of them²⁰ uses the inner city travelling system for touristic facilities and/or to benefit from the city's attractions.

²⁰ Only several quotations were added as a part of this study in order to reflect common experiences and approaches.

Of course I use buses or minibuses in the city, but if I don't have to do anything, I don't go anywhere. I don't go, because of lack of money I can't go. I either go to the municipality or to hospital... I don't have any social activity because I always at home. You can find me always at my home. If I am not at the hospital, I am at home. You should have money if you want to go to somewhere. You have to trust yourself, you would go somewhere with your money. I also want to go to somewhere (8th).

We don't go anywhere, except neighbourhood. I went, once, to the Ayasofya (Hagia Sophia), everybody got into there. I tried to enter, someone stopped me....He said that entrance fee was 20 TL. I turned back, did not enter. When he wants me 20 TL entrance fee, I did not enter (28th).

Another significant facility that comes with city life is dining out with family members. No one among respondents has ever gone out for dinner alone or with family members. However, instead of dining out with relatives, they choose to use that money in order to pay for their basic needs.

If I buy something (simit-bagel) from outside to eat, I know that I won't buy my bread tomorrow. Although I have diabetes and I have to eat often, I could not buy (8th).

We don't have any kind of luxury like that thing. It might be normal for most of the people, but we don't have something like that (30th).

Living in a city comes with the opportunities and leisure along with hardships in urban life. However, poor migrants are far from benefiting from these opportunities and attractions in the city. Their spatial distances means they would need to use inner city travelling systems in order to reach these city facilities including tourist attractions. Poor migrants' limited budget obstructs their dining out possibilities which are a part of city life. Instead of travelling to other parts of the city or dining out they prefer to be able to afford their basic needs. This preference is an important insight into coping mechanisms. Putting boundaries around their non-obligatory expenses appears to be a coping behaviour. This strategy shows itself in other parts of life preferences as well.

5.2.1.2 Participation in Traditional Activities

Social Activities such as weddings, eids (religious festivals) and funerals are organisations which bring acquaintances, relatives and family members together. They also reinforce bonds and connections between peoples. However, poor migrants generally cannot participate in any social activities due mainly to economic deprivation. There are two main common points among respondents' reasons for not attending any social activities which are initially based on economic deprivations. First of all, as it is stated above, high transportation expenses keep them away from participating in any social activities. As a second common feature which prevents them from participating especially in weddings and birth ceremonies are traditional ceremonies in Turkey at which giving a present to host families such as money or golden coins is expected.

We can't go to our relatives for Eid or wedding celebrations. We received so many invitations from our friends and relatives; nevertheless, we couldn't go because of the tradition to give money. It has to be given some money at the weddings, if I have, I give 20-50 TL, but when we don't have, we feel ashamed. For example, when we received an invitation, they ask us why we didn't go. We don't have money; if you give me I can come. My friends tell me that no one will come to my son's wedding (because of the reciprocity) (19th).

I never go to any wedding or other celebrations because of poverty. If I give 20-30 TL I feel ashamed... we are Kurdish, it's really important to give golden coin, or money as a present (23th).

Apart from weddings and funerals, poor migrants are also in too much hardship to go out for fun even at the nearest places such as parks, commons, coffee houses and leisure areas etc. As it is pointed out earlier, due to inadequate economic conditions for affording transportation in the city, they don't go and visit attraction areas in the city. However, interviews also revealed that migrants are almost stuck in their houses because of their incapacity to afford even basic needs in common areas except some mandatory reasons such as hospital, and district governorships.

I have never gone to anywhere (just for fun). I just go to the district governorship. Apart from that I never go travelling (3rd).

I didn't take out my children to the park last year. When we go they want everything. They see the others and they say they don't have anything. Although there is a park close to here, we didn't go even once last year. They want ice-cream, snack or other things. That's why I didn't take out my children even for once last year. We stay at home all day (9th).

We (as a couple) don't go anywhere...we don't have money; I thought that instead of spending 10 TL for travelling, I pay my water bill. My husband also doesn't go to coffee houses (11th).

The expressions and experiences of participants show that they do not take part in society. They do not attend any social activity such as weddings, eids etc. due to their inadequate income. Interviewees stated that they cannot attend any wedding ceremonies, due to the tradition of giving a present or little golden coin in Turkish society for those who are getting married. Income and family budget affects the chance to take part in social activities that have significant place in socialising. The coping behaviour they choose is to not attend any ceremonies and celebrations. This also reflects their preferences to adapt social norms and protect themselves from any reactive behaviour against their conditions. Further, they prefer to decrease their areas in which they are active and decrease their connections with their relatives and friends who live in far neighbourhoods of city.

5.2.1.3 Relationships with Relatives and Neighbours

Relationships with relatives, friends and neighbours occupy a significant place especially for urban migrants. These groups are important in migration, settling down, joining the work force and hence adaptation to city life. However, it is mostly stated that relationships and paying visits to particularly family members and relatives who live distant areas of the city have reached a minimum. The main reason underlying this decrease is spatial distances and relatively high expenses for public transportation.

Some of my relatives live in other neighbourhoods. We can't pay visits regularly. We call each other sometimes, that's all (10th).

If we call each other, we can hear their voices. We are not able to go. I swear that 5 of my relatives had passed away, I suffered a lot, I still want to cry. I could not go. I couldn't go to Van, because of my poverty (19th).

I can go to my relatives who live in the other side of city once in a year. God forbid, if there is an illness; this would be an exception. Otherwise it's almost impossible to pay visits to other side of city due to economic inabilities (21st).

As a second reason, according to the participants their economic situation keeps others away from them. This relates to their feeling that others are excluding them since they are in need of help and their economic conditions are worse than others.

We are paying visits with no one. In the past, if you have money you can buy whatever you want. Nowadays, if you don't have money you even don't greet the other people. Others thought that what I can do with this poor man (22nd).

I paid visits to my relatives. But when I went them, it seems as if I want something. Unfortunately no one pays visit to me (27th).

Another significant point comes to the forefront according to respondents' statements; they feel ashamed of the bad and unhealthy conditions of their houses. Therefore, they don't want to receive any guests to their homes, and they also don't visit their relatives in order to prevent in-turn visiting.

My relatives came to Istanbul for a wedding, they wanted to pay a visit to us...I didn't call them to come here... I didn't want them to see my house in that way... I didn't call them because of bad conditions of my house. I didn't accept them to come here, don't tell me, I am ashamed (9th).

However, while relationships with relatives and friends who live in other neighbourhoods have been decreasing mainly due to incapacity to afford transportation expenses, relationships with neighbours have been increasing. As stated before, coping behaviours change the characteristics of relationships as well. If a relative lives in a close neighbourhood, the relationship can be maintained; nevertheless relatives who live in faraway neighbourhoods cannot be paid visits due to economic decisions. Instead, people who live in the same

or close neighbourhoods experience increased relationships and solidarity regardless of their origin. It is clearly indicated that relationships and solidarity among neighbours are better than before and neighbours compensate for decreased solidarity between family members and relatives.

We meet with our friends in this neighbourhood every Friday. Solidarity is also good between us. They love me (10th).

We pay visits each other every week with our friends, relatives and neighbours in this neighbourhood (11th).

I am satisfied with my neighbours. There is not any relative around here. Only neighbours visit me (23rd).

We visit each other in this neighbourhood. If some have illness we pay visits. Neighbours pay visits (30th).

As it is seen in participant's expressions, areas that poor migrants' spend time in have become limited to just around their neighbourhoods. Because of their incapacity to afford even basic needs of themselves or their family members, they refuse to join in with social life and they adopt a life centred around their neighbourhoods, unless they have to join or go to do some work. Coping behaviours and incapacity to afford transportation expenses shape the features of relationships. Urban poor migrants prefer to live in and around their neighbourhoods and thus bonds between relatives and family members have weakened while relationships and solidarity among neighbours have increased.

5.2.1.4 Summary

This part reveals the relational perspectives of participants' experiences. However, only their relationships with the rest of society were discussed. Participants could not enjoy any city attractions and facilities due to their economic constraints. Instead they prefer to be able to afford their daily basic needs. This approach reveals that participants apply coping mechanisms and limit their own or their family members' "luxury" demands in order to meet basic needs. This is also applicable to their participation in social activities such as eids, weddings. As they know that these activities are important to increase their relationships with their friends and relatives and these activities

have weight in tradition in society, they prefer to not attend any of these activities due to tradition of giving money and/or golden coin to hosts. The limitation to personal needs and/or desires (through restricted transportation) instead of encroachment to other neighbourhoods is the main difference between a coping strategy and “Quiet Encroachment” as Bayat (2000a) notes. These preferences reveal that urban, poor migrants learn to apply coping behaviours instead of an encroachment into society and other state areas. Hence, participants of this study reveal that some segments of the urban poor in Turkey prefer to change their lives and relationship styles instead of showing their dissatisfaction with their deprivation and everyday experience. As has been pointed out, the economic conditions of poor migrants determine relationships with their relatives, friends and neighbours. Decreases in the number of visits paid and in the relationship capacity of poor migrants with relatives who live in far areas has also weakened bonds between relatives and friends. Problems arising over their economic deprivations prevent them from contacting and maintaining relationships with those relatives and friends. Instead, relationships and solidarity among neighbours have increased while solidarity among intra-family members and relatives has decreased.

5.2.2 Participants and State

As a response to their unfavourable economic conditions; poor people, particularly the urban poor, can give an aggressive response to state institutions as it is discussed in Chapter II. In order to explore participants’ attitudes and approaches to the state, they were also questioned about what their approaches to state facilities are. Therefore, respondents’ voting habits and ideas about politics and their perceptions relevant to citizenship and equal rights will be discussed to reveal their approaches and attitudes to state institution.

5.2.2.1 Approach to Political Mechanisms

There is a clear consensus about voting among respondents. All respondents stated that they voted in the last elections, and it was observed that voting is accepted as one of their main civic duties. Respondents used their votes in all

three levels of elections; neighbourhood headmen, municipality and government elections. Although the name of the political party which they voted for was not disclosed during the interviews, respondents mostly did not hesitate to show and declare their voting preferences. However, when the subject came to whether they were satisfied with their votes and preferences after elections, there are some differences among participants. Almost all participants indicated that they are satisfied with their choices except local politics and headmen. Only 4 respondents expressed that they were not satisfied with the politics which they supported. The main reason given by those participants is that the negligence of parties after election process in creating solutions for their problems.

There are points which I am satisfied and the points that I am not satisfied. I am angry at the politicians. No one came, knocked my door and asked me how I am (6th).

I am not pleased with them. What have they given me? I support none of them (party) (9th).

Let me tell you something, if your father sits on that position, even he would forget you in two days. Even if your father would be in a good position, he would not think your circumstances (13th).

I have done with them. They have given me nothing. They all say that they would do anything but we have nothing. We got nothing out of them (20th).

As these statements put forward, satisfaction status depends on benefits received by or through politics and/or a party. Especially, groups who are satisfied with their votes generally are those that perceive their conditions to be better than before or the groups who support policies of a party.

I have some gaining. I have my green card, thanks to Allah, I deserved my salary (widow salary) (8th).

I am pleased with them. This man, Recep Tayyip Erdogan (prime minister), everybody says and we also hear that he is ruling very well and we vote for him (18th).

I am satisfied with my voting but I am not satisfied with the system (election). I give my vote blindfolded, without any hesitation (30th).

It is also clearly expressed that satisfaction with politics and government policy increased recently due to the expansion of benefits they receive which also reflects appreciation towards government policies and services.

I am satisfied with my votes. I am going to vote for them again. As long as I live I am going to vote for them (7th).

I appreciate them. When I check the government, they are trying to serve us even in these conditions. They are struggling for us. I never vote for who does not work even if he is my father (24th).

It is better now than the past. It was really bad previously, now it is better but there are so many procedures (27th).

I did not receive any service until recently but it is better now. I never regret because of my voting preferences (28th).

Participants strictly recognise the voting mechanism as their right and they regularly vote at local and general elections. However, although voting habits are so common among respondents, satisfaction status as with their votes and preferences is related to their economic and social conditions. If they receive better assistance and income sources, satisfaction status also increased among respondents who have no formal or informal connections with any party. In line with this approach, they recognise the improvements experienced in the last decade and hence they appreciate government policies and state institutions. Participants see political mechanisms as a kind of coping behaviour by which they can increase their income and living strategies. For that reason, appreciation for government policies and implementations are still efficient in keeping them committed to the state.

5.2.2.2 Citizenship and Equity

Participants' approach to and ideas about equity and citizenship are the most problematic issues in their approach to the state. Citizenship is an important

sign and concept in order to create and enhance bonds between people and the state. In line with Marshall's (1950) citizenship approach which involves three important areas of civil rights, political and socio-economic- the lack of or denial of these rights might cause the diffusion of poverty especially in urban areas and a weakening of social bonds which might affect the whole society (Mingione, 1996). Therefore participants' approach to citizenship and equity constitutes an important sign which refers to the sense of belonging to the society and state. Hence, in order to analyse the approach of poor migrants to the society and state it is required to obtain their perception about citizenship and their understanding of equality. Although participants accept equality among all people, it was commonly noted that they don't receive equally what they deserve.

I can't be equal to anyone. Everybody has peace and happiness. I am imprisoned to loneliness (1st).

I don't feel equal to others because they can express themselves. However, I even can't express myself like them (5th).

I don't receive what I deserve. Nobody behaves equally to us. Everybody helps to their own acquaintances, even political parties (9th).

There is no equity. I don't believe that I am receiving what I deserve. If you have friends at municipalities and district governorships you can receive everything (12th).

There is no equity. Equity is impossible. Why not, because people who have money is the Sultan, people who don't have money is prisoner, slave (20th).

However, not all respondents see themselves as unequal to other people due to their deprivation and poverty. Especially, participants who have recently begun to receive salaries see themselves in a better way and they feel equal to other people. This approach also reflects their opinion that they would feel better and equal if they receive extra income sources and aid from state social assistance organisations.

I feel equal to everybody. I am happy with services I receive. Whenever I go to institutions, they always help me and I receive everything (3rd).

We feel equal. State gives me all my rights. It gives almost 80-90% of what I deserve (4th).

I feel equal to everybody. State gives me everything I need. May Allah protect state, it gives me my salary. There is no problem, we receive what I deserve (18th).

I feel equal. My child got an operation and state gave machines to him which helps him to survive. It gives him a salary. May Allah bless state; I feel equal and citizen (23rd).

This approach is also applicable to their citizenship understanding. Especially demands about social rights and more income sources were expressed by participants as the factors which increase their feeling of belonging to the state and society.

If I would receive a salary I would know that I am citizenship of this state with full rights. I would go to market, I would do shopping. There must be a salary in order to feel myself as a citizen (5th).

If I would receive a salary, I would feel that I am a citizen of this state (8th).

State would listen to all poor. They can search and then give aid to those who are in need. They can make everybody equal (19th).

State would place me at a job or give a regular assistance until I find a job. If I would have a job I would not want any aid from the state (24th).

Participants' approach to citizenship and equity concepts is also related to their economic conditions. Their main demands are about direct or indirect income sources in order to increase their living standards. As a consequence of this approach, people who began to receive salaries and/or regular assistance from state institutions feel more equal to other people and like full citizens. Therefore, participants' approach to state institutions and citizenship are shaped by increases in social services particularly in social.

5.2.2.3 Summary

Apart from participants' approach to society and their participation status in social activities, respondents' approaches and attitudes towards state institutions and mechanisms were discussed. By this technique, the aim is to understand their ideas and opinions as they get involved in political mechanisms. Poor urban migrant's political activities and their involvement processes are also related to their deprivation. They all voted at the last elections, as they see this mechanism as a right and duty. However, if they don't satisfy with the aid they receive they feel angry at the politicians and rulers. Their appreciation to parties they voted for increases in accordance with an increase of services they receive which shows a parallel approach to their citizenship and understanding of equity.

5.3 Concluding Remarks

In order to explore the feelings and attitudes of one group of people towards other parts of society and state, features of participants emerge as significant issue. This is because, their personal features, experiences, personal histories and the way they look at their experiences affect their attitudes and the best way to discover them must depend on their own opinions. Besides, people's experiences and settings in which they live have direct effect on their attitudes and actions. Therefore, this chapter aims to reveal participants' features and their relations with society and state. 30 poor urban migrants who live in Istanbul were selected through "Guided Sampling" Process as indicated in Methodology Chapter in order to explore the main factors that affect their attitudes negatively towards social movements and keep them committed to the state and order. These participants were chosen to have different characteristics apart from on one issue: they must be migrants in a city who live in poverty and deprivation. Because as was discussed before, poverty is experienced in extreme ways in urban areas and these acute problems can turn into disenfranchisement of these groups and collective actions against state in urban areas easily. However, some segments of poor urban migrants in Turkey appear committed to the state instead of being involved in any social movements. Even during economic crisis periods they preferred to stay committed to the state. Although the previous traditional solidarity tools have

been eroded in the last two decades as indicated in Chapter IV which helped migrants to settle down, find jobs and ease their adaptation to life in the city; these people still behave in social order framework. Hence, it is further needed to explore and understand the factors which affect their attitudes and approach towards the rest of society and the state.

Understanding these factors requires an understanding of how they perceive their relationships with the rest of society and the state. Therefore, their evaluation about their position in the society they live in and before state institutions help to explore and analyse factors and drivers. It is clearly obtained that economic conditions and preferences shape poor urban migrants' behaviours and attitudes. Participants of this study reveal that some segments of the urban poor in Turkey prefer to change their lives and relationship styles instead of showing their dissatisfaction with their deprivation and everyday experience. Implementing coping behaviours involves decreasing personal demands and avoiding participating in social activities by participants. Economic conditions and deprivation change their life styles and relationships as well. Relationships with extended family members and relatives who live in far neighbourhoods were substituted for relationships with neighbours and friends from same neighbourhood. Limited capacity to afford transportation expenses shaped the model and framework of relationships. Transformations of traditional relationships are also driven by limited social activities. Participants apply coping behaviours based on limitation of personal demands and they do not attend any social activities such as eids and weddings. This preference of respondents reveals that although they live in deprivation they prefer to stay engaged with society even if they change their relationship models.

Participants also remain committed to the state and society's rules instead of generating reactive responses to their unfavourable circumstances. Although their efforts are directed to surviving in their economic deprivation, they still obey society's legal framework. They evaluate current order according to aids and solidarity funds directly they receive. Without analysing whether or not their general conditions have improved as urban poor migrants, their personal improvement together with aid channels, they prefer to evaluate political

system and political tools as ways to reach social aids. This approach can clearly be seen through their satisfaction status with politics as well. As long as they feel their living standards increase, their appreciation and satisfaction status towards politics might change positively. This is also true with voting satisfaction although voting is accepted as a civil duty and right by all participants. Participants' citizenship understanding also reflects their economic demands. It is strictly related to better economic rights and salaries by which they can survive.

As it is seen in this chapter, participants choose adaptation models instead of revealing any oppositional character towards the current social order. They change their relationship models and they prefer to create new coping behaviours as a response to their circumstances. Besides their approach to political system also emerge as a coping behaviour which would be used as a tool to enhance social aids by participants. Participants' living settings and their approach to rest of the society and political mechanisms reveal that participants' evaluation process and their understanding relevant to particularly political tools seems problematic. As it is indicated in Chapter II, isolated and uneducated people might not easily form and/or participate in social movements. Because of this reason, awareness of poor people might increase demands of these groups in order to reach better social rights and living standards. However, this group, in this study, reveals that without any better evaluation process this group prefer to change their demands, and instead of increasing their voices they prefer to exit from movement processes and to stay in social order framework. However, which factors are driving this preference? Why are these poor urban migrants still engaged with society and committed to the state while urban areas are more suitable to disenfranchisement of poor urban groups and their social movements? The next two chapters will reveal and analyse these factors.

Chapter 6: The Main Drivers of the Responses of Urban Poor Migrants

This chapter focuses on the analysis of main factors which affect poor urban migrants' attitudes and approaches to the rest of society and state and keep them loyal to the social order. As it is discussed in the previous chapter, although they have economic difficulties and experience multi-dimensional deprivation, some segments of poor urban migrants appear still engage with society and committed to the state. Even in economic crisis periods these people in Turkey kept themselves in social order and were not totally disenfranchised. There are several factors that prevent their participation and keep them committed to social order. Hence, this chapter will analyse these factors depending on participants' self-expressions. Factors line up in accord with their importance on respondents' attitudes and actions.

6.1 Personal Factors

These factors are shaped by the society in which people live as well as their experiences. Mainly three personal factors are derived from interviewees' expressions; religion, clientelist relationships and comparison with personal history. It is observed that these are the most important factors that affect their attitudes towards society and state and responses to their circumstances.

6.1.1 Religion

Religion appeared as the most important factor influencing respondents' attitudes, behaviours, experiences and understandings about their circumstances during interviews. Religion is important in both determining the social networks households involve and their approach to economic involvement (Eroglu, 2011 and 2013) and the urban poor's approach and attitudes towards society and state. Further, as Bayat (2005) puts out religion has great impact on shaping people's attitudes in Muslim countries. It is obtained that respondents assesses their circumstances mostly depending on religious references. First of all according to their perception everything is

given by the will of Allah through different sources-networks, philanthropists, neighbours and relatives.

We wanted to go to local farmers market. I even didn't have 10 TL, believe me. My children were crying for fruits. I was desperate and hopeless, but I was telling to myself that Allah is great. Just after, I was called by Lighthouse. I thought that they would bring some food stuff. They came and bring some food but there was another young man with them. He brought chicken, mandarin and everything, may Allah be pleased with him. I cried so much that day (4th).

I eat what Allah gives us. We eat what Allah brings to our doors, and then praise Allah (7th).

Praising Allah for their daily needs and aid they receive are common points for all participants. Further, they also always praise him for their current circumstances when they compare them with their previous circumstances or with other poor people;

I praise my today when I look at my old days. I was starved, I was forced to leave my house, my landlord poured cold water onto my head, he let sewer rats get into my house. I experienced everything. I even ate mouldy breads, I am not hungry anymore. Now I am praising my current situation. There are other people live in worse conditions than me; at least Lighthouse gives me assistance (1st).

Alternatively they give praise for their circumstances even when they compare themselves with better-offs;

Other people bought these things or those things, they don't bother me. May Allah give more to everyone. I praise always praise him. I want nothing more (7th).

Thank Allah, even we live in deprivation, our heart is full of goodness, praise to Allah. There are people who are rich, have lands, and have everything but do not praise Allah (21st).

The main reason underlying this praising when they compare themselves with better-offs instead of questioning their circumstances appeared to be belief on

faith and destiny. Respondents mostly see this life as an examination, and questioning the life and their circumstances seems to be questioning their destiny for them.

Allah gave them (rich people) but didn't give us. Everything comes from Allah. Allah gave peace them in that way, but gave peace us this way, what can we say. Everybody is living his/her own test; everybody will see what he/she will deserve. This is a transitory life, what if you live peacefully in this life. You cannot take anything (2nd).

I am satisfied with both poverty and affluence. I don't want anybody's goods. I am never questioning why he/she has those but I don't. I have full belief in Allah (8th).

I am never angry to anyone. They live their lives and I live mine. This is my destiny (9th).

Of course we want to have a regular job and salary. But there is not. What can we do?... I feel nothing, thank Allah. This is our fate (24th).

I feel sorry and I cry for my destiny. I feel sad not for me for my children (25th).

Belief in fate prevents questioning of their circumstances even if they live in deprivation and bad conditions. Besides, any rebellious behaviour also seems as an action and idea against their fate which means breaking one of Islam's main laws.

I praise Allah even when I feel sorry due to I can't buy anything to my children. There is nothing you can do...why should I rebel? Allah gives everything and Allah can take everything. Allah gave me everything. If I rebel Allah would not give me anything (1st).

What can I do? Am I supposed to rebel? If I rebel, this offends Allah's feelings. Allah sees me. Allah sent you here. If Allah doesn't direct you, you cannot come here. First, I praise Allah. Allah governs everything. That's why, Allah will know when my suffer will end (13th).

I am not satisfied with assistance, but I praise Allah. I don't rebel but I am not satisfied (15th).

Because of this understanding and belief, they only complain to Allah and pray for their future expectations. Instead of displaying their discontent through protests, they pray and trust Allah in order to reach better than their current living conditions. Allah is the only one for them whom can be trusted and demanded for better.

I don't feel anything bad. Allah is my shelter. Whenever I feel bored, I open Kur'an even I can't read Arabic (1st).

Sometimes I complain to Allah. I complain about my conditions. I tell that my Allah, why did you do this to me? What did I do to you? I complain about my destiny (5th).

There is no one I can trust. I need so many things but I only can tell to Allah (15th).

We don't want anything. May Allah not let us deprive of faith, Kur'an and health (19th).

Of course we sometimes complain about rich people's affluent life while there are poor live in deprivation. However, we are only complaining by ourselves (20th).

No one can feel alone when there is Allah. I always pray Allah, I am friend with Allah (26th).

Religion is the most important factor on respondents' everyday life and behaviours. Faith in Islam encompasses almost all dimensions of their lives. As a part of Islam, Allah is perceived as the source of everything. Therefore every circumstance they live in, every situation they experience, and every assistance they receive is sourced by Allah's will according to participants. Hence, participants praise Allah for everything in every circumstance. This perception is a part of faith in destiny in Islam. According to Islam, every person lives his/her destiny which is determined by Allah before he/she was born. These beliefs together with praising Allah for everything they experience and receive keep them away from forming and/or participating in any social movements.

Displaying their demands through protesting their conditions perceived as defiance to their destiny and even their faith.

6.1.2 Clientelist Implementations

One of the general features of Turkish policy is its populist implementations. As Sayari (2011: 90) puts it, after the emergency of multi-party system, during the post-Second World War period, political clientelism and its significance increased dramatically. It would be said that political clientelism and patronage has been the major features of Turkish politics (Sayari, 2011). Political clientelism became an important part of the political race through sometimes over housing policy, sometimes employment policy and mostly social aid implementations. It is indicated before that several pardon laws accelerated the occupation of public plots by internal migrants in urban areas in Turkey. However, this process ended up due to strict control because of earthquakes, Europeanisation process and the exhaustion of public plots. While this process prevented an effective housing policy it also maintain public's support for governments by creating patron-client relationship. As Eroglu pointed out (2011:225) governments used Gecekondu policies in the early 1980s with a clientelist intention to win over votes and to suppress social unrest. On the other hand, Kemahlioglu (2012) states that, parties tended to use employment policies after 1980s instead of shifting away from clientelism based politics and continued to rely on jobs to adopt people's support. Political parties used particularly public jobs in order to gain people's support. However, since main tools of neo-liberal policies such as privatisation reduced the role of public sector jobs. Therefore, political parties adopt other tools in order to compensate the loss of public jobs tools. Significantly, social aids, transfers, coal assistance and food baskets are used as valued tools in order to exchange people's support. As Aytac revealed (2014) particularly CCT Program is subject to patronage politics in Turkey. CCTs have significant effect on ruling party on elections because they easily attract poor beneficiaries for gaining their support (Kim and Yoo, 2015).are important in affecting people's attitudes towards state and politics.

It is revealed that, although clientelist approaches and implementations are also subject for developed countries, particularly developing countries

experience clientelist implementations. Bayat (2000a) also states that this kind of patron-client relationship prevails for most Middle-East countries. As a hybrid country between Middle East and Turkey, governments used patron-client relationship for gaining public support. Apparently, after the exhaustion of public plots which compensated the absence of housing policy for years, the improvements in social policy tools have been used as tools in a patron-client mechanism in Turkey. Respondents' expressions also reveal this kind of relationship between government and urban poor migrants. By providing their daily necessities, governments obtain poor people's support, commitment to social order and social peace. The producing process of policy tools and the interpretation of these tools by all three sources reveal the patron-client relationship between governments and urban poor migrants.

Clientelist implementations create benefit dependent groups through which political parties gain political support that keep them at their ruling position. Beneficiaries perceived social aids and transfers as the great goodness of the state. Thus, transfers and social aids might be used as the source for social control and paternalistic understanding of state. As stated in Chapter II, Bourdieu (1999: 33) points out that state exists in two forms: in objective reality, in the form a set of institutions such as rules, agencies, offices, etc., and also in people's minds. Apart from the agents that are used by state in order to control society, the perception of state in society as a powerful state might constraint people's decisions and actions with or without conscious. In line with this approach, paternal state approach is inherited from the Ottoman Empire by the Turkish state and nation. Policies in both social and economic structures were assessed as a paternalistic approach of the state. Economic growth since the foundation of Turkey also is assessed as state generated through paternalistic authoritarianism (Manning, 2007). Therefore, perception of the state in the society is paternalistic and until today, the concept of state as the father of the nation has more than a symbolic meaning in Turkey (Aybars and Tsarohouras, 2010). Clientelistic implementations have also reinforced this understanding among the society. Respondents' collective approach to the state and their state perception also reflect this idea. For that reason, social assistance is not seen as a social right by respondents.

Participants' expressions released that they accept that there are so many poor people like them waiting for assistance from state. However, state has limited capacity and budget to support all poor families. Therefore, assistance is seen as the goodness of the state/government for her children. Hence there is not a demand for the receiving of a right; but there is an application to benefit from the "great goodness" of the "paternal state".

May Allah be pleased with state, may Allah protect state. Without state what can we do?..even if these assistance are not enough for me what can I do? What if they would not give me? (2nd).

We are living under favour of state. May Allah be pleased with her (19th).

Although I don't receive too much, may Allah be pleased with the state. State is like a father now (26th).

The patron-client relationship between state and participants and the paternalistic state perception keep them committed to society and state policies. Although there are dissatisfactions of some state policies among respondents, these are seen as normal deficiencies instead of a lack of equal citizenship rights. All respondents indicated that they know that they have equal citizenships; the problem arises when the subject is on the sense of equality and citizenship. Equal citizenships and bonds with the rest of society and state are important in social cohesion and unity. The interviewees' opinions and feelings show that there are steps to be taken to make these people feel like equal citizens. Although they know that they have an equal citizenship with the rest of the society, it was stated that they do not feel like equal citizens with respect to the others who are living in better conditions. However, the interviewees who are receiving a kind of regular assistance (elderly, disabled or homecare salary) stated that they felt better, more precious, more bonded to society and a real citizen of the state after they started to receive regular assistance.

After I started to receive nursing salary I feel better. May Allah be pleased with the government (2nd).

We are appreciated especially for over two years (after disabled salary increased), thanks to Allah (4th).

I feel a citizen of this state. My child had an operation, state gave a supply machine for him, gives him a salary. I feel more citizen, may Allah be pleased with them (23rd).

As it is seen above both the most deprived who can't receive aid regularly and the better offs who have either nursing or disabled salaries do not view these services as a citizenship right. Instead of that, these are accepted as of the great goodness of the paternal state and government. Therefore, clientelistic linkages between Turkish Politics and poor people and paternal state perception among poor urban migrants keep them committed to the state and social order.

6.1.3 Comparison with Personal History

People make comparisons with themselves at different points in time. This is an important process in feeling satisfied or dissatisfied depending on people's personal experiences. If people feel satisfied with their current situation comparing with their personal histories and experiences, they may not react negatively to even more unpleasant circumstances they face. This issue is clearer if there is a clear hope for future. For that reason, respondents' expressions related to their satisfaction status with their current situation were also subjects of the interviews. First of all, it was asked that whether or not they are planning to return back to their villages/cities. This reveals their approaches and feelings towards their circumstances and environments.

Only 5 (the 9th, 13th, 20th, 26th and 30th) respondents indicated that they would return back to their villages if they had good income sources and assets. However, this wish is also related to their unsatisfied economic conditions in their village of origin which caused their migration to Istanbul.

I want to turn my village if I would receive a salary, disabled or retirement salary. I would turn back. I even don't take my jacket. I live better in the village. I don't need even any friends; I would talk with birds and cats. Village is a heaven for me (13th).

I would prefer to live in Agri, if I would have an income in there. Friendship is better, humanity is better, its better when you greet someone or want something, its better in every aspect. Nevertheless when want something even from your neighbour; they don't share with you even stale bread (20th).

I thought several times to turn back but what I would do there. I would turn back, if I know that I would earn even a quarter of my current income. What would I do if I turn back? (30th).

Even respondents who want to return back their villages/cities accept that they have better income sources and job opportunities now when they compare with their villages/cities. Their wish seems to more relate to a kind of nostalgia and environment which they remember from their own histories. However, particularly income and job opportunities prevent their demands for returning back. The importance of economic opportunities and income sources in urban areas were also indicated by respondents who don't want to return back.

I never think to turn back. At least we can find a job even if that is irregular. You can find there even this kind a job (22nd).

What would I do if I turn back? At least you have an opportunity here. You think that you have a hope; you would find a job, a regular job, here. You know that there is a worse environment there (24th).

Hopes for opportunities and better times in the city are other factors which keep them staying in the city. These various opportunities keep poor urban migrants' hope for the future alive for themselves and for their families. Although every kind of opportunity affects respondents positively, one opportunity among all sometimes becomes prominent in line with participant's personal history and circumstance. Sometimes sense of freedom comes forward particularly for lone mothers;

Here is better than my hometown. Everybody rumours about a lonely woman even if she is honest and honourable. You can't cross one street for two times. Everybody starts a rumour (1st).

I don't think to turn back. I feel more comfortable here. I went to Corum last year, everybody kept asking me where I was going. No one asks me anything here (3rd).

I never turn back; because, I feel more comfortable here (11th).

Sometimes better education and health opportunities become prominent among all reasons;

I can't go back. There are no job opportunities there. Besides, our children need medical treatment (6th).

I prefer here to live for the goodness of my children even if I would have a regular income. I mean because of opportunities, they would get better education. For example, they can read Arabic with the help of my neighbours. If state can support us, I have 6 children; I want at least 3 of them to be educated (21st).

I don't think to go back. There is at least a boulevard I can go. I can't find it in hometown. I always receive medical treatment here, how can I go back? (27th)

As it is indicated respondents mostly stated that they have better opportunities in Istanbul. Thus, they are happier in Istanbul and they don't want to turn back to their hometowns. In line with this issue it is also demanded whether they have better living standards and conditions when they compare their current situation with their history. As it is stated, this comparison constitutes another part of relative deprivation and satisfaction together with happiness in the city. These two factors can prevent them from unfavourable actions towards society and state institutions due to their deprivation. Informal assistance mechanisms also stressed by participants together with better service and infrastructure opportunities in urban areas.

When we compare, we have better standards here...there were regular electricity and water cut out. All water pipes were frozen after October... even my husband can't work here, there is more aid here. It is better here (12th).

Here is better. There wasn't any solidarity at hometown. Even neighbours didn't give any aid. Everybody couldn't find even a piece of bread. Here is better. If you go to someone and tell him/her that you are hungry, he/she would give you some food (18th).

I want to stay here even if I would have a regular income. Why would I go back? There is everything. We live better here. We were poorer in hometown. We were receiving food assistance once in a year. Our relatives were also live in poverty. We are more comfortable here (19th).

We don't think go back, never. There are more people who show concern for our condition, and give aid. There is no one there (25th).

All participants live in poverty and deprivation and they have been living in these conditions for all their lifetimes. They migrate to Istanbul due to a lack of job and income opportunities in their hometown. In order to understand participants' relative deprivation situations which can cause disenfranchisement and reactive responses towards society and state, their personal comparison between the current situations with their past conditions was asked about. Beyond these, people make calculations of costs and benefits as the results of their attitudes and actions. When respondents make comparison with their personal history, they evaluate that their current circumstances are better than their previous experiences although they still live in deprivation. Thus, respondents choose to live in urban areas and prefer to stay committed to social order. They accept that they reach their "relatively" better living conditions and opportunities through urban areas and current social order. Any other attitude and its results are unpredictable for them and this situation seems for them as an oppositional attitude towards social order. Therefore, comparisons affect their attitudes and actions and keep them committed to social order.

6.2 Organisational Factors

Organisational factors correspond in this part mainly to informal networks that keep respondents engaged with society. As indicated in Chapter II, ecological concentration emerges as a macro organisational condition together with the level of prior organisation and the absence of cross-cutting solidarities which all refer to the internal structure of the population. Nevertheless, networks affective among respondents are mostly informal networks and mostly these are solidarity channels that help them to stay engaged with society. Further, this kind of networks arises as problem solving networks that are mostly used

in a clientelist approach (Hagene, 2015). As a micro organisational condition, membership of organisations increases the possibility to participate in social movements. However, these organisational factors emerge as informal networks that keep respondents committed to social order and are not fertile for social movement recruitment process. It is clear that, they reflect the types of support through which participants are kept in the society. Apparently, these factors cannot be seen and/or analysed without exploring beliefs and ideas underlying them in that society. Therefore, organisational factors in this study are explored and analysed based on respondents' experiences and expressions. These factors are efficient socially not just among respondents but among all society. These multilateral factors emerge and continue with mutual relationships.

In this part informal types of support particularly will be analysed. In order to understand the effectiveness of this type of support, all participants were questioned about whether or not they receive any type of support through informal networks. However, instead of asking directly, this information was obtained by its engagement with the other subjects talked about. Respondents were asked whether or not they involve themselves with any informal networks and/or receive any assistance/help from any informal networks during their life trajectories. Especially during and after the migration process, questions were asked about housing issues, income and consumption facilities, and job seeking procedures and social assistance and solidarity issues in order to gather information about their involvement with informal networks. These networks are mainly based on neighbourhood, relatives, region, ethnicity, religion and townsmen.

6.2.1 Migration and Integration Support

All respondents were chosen specifically for being migrants. They migrated to Istanbul within the last three decades, and as it is discussed above Turkey has witnessed enormous changes in the last three decades. In line with these changes, features of migrants and the environment they encountered in Istanbul both changed. Although previous opportunities in Istanbul and traditional active networks which helped migrants to reach housing and job

opportunities have been eroded in the last three decades, there are still active informal networks among people which helped them to integrate into the city. It was talked about; whether or not participants had received any assistance from any informal networks when they first migrated to city. All respondents indicated that they received assistance from either their townsmen or relatives when they first arrived in Istanbul.

When we first came here my brother-in-law's daughter helped us to find a house. We looked for a house together (2nd).

When we came here, we settled at our people's house (from our village), and they found a house for us in the same neighbourhood (3rd).

My family migrated first in Mecidiyekoy-Kusbasi neighbourhood. All of our people were living there, that's why we chose to migrate there...they helped us to find a house (15th).

We chose here (Umraniye) to migrate because my brother was living here. He helped me to find a house to rent and live. How can I come here without my brother's help (30th).

Existence of a network helped respondents in two ways. First, it encouraged them to migrate and helped them to integrate in the city. They all chose neighbourhoods where their relatives, village men and/or friends lived. By this way they believe that they would receive assistance and help when they needed it. This was a facilitating factor for them to migrate. Further, when they migrated to Istanbul, their informal networks helped them to find a house to live in, other networks to join and even jobs to do. All respondents (or their husbands) also received help to find a job when they first migrated to city which is important for integration into the city.

There were our people, I came to them. I migrated here because they told me there were jobs. There was a room at the construction and I was staying there. I was finding jobs through their help (6th).

I was finding construction works through my father's friends. My father was coming in the 1970s as a construction worker during summers, when I first came here they helped me to find jobs (24th).

As seen above these informal networks were effective when respondents migrated to Istanbul. However, it is suggested that –by Bugra and Keyder (2006)-, developments witnessed in Turkey in the last three decades, caused erosion in the effectiveness of these networks. Although this approach was also accepted by respondents, networks especially depended on relatives, it was generally indicated that other networks characterised by neighbourhood and religion are effective among poor urban migrants. Hence, these networks are especially important among respondents in order to conduct and meet their daily routines and needs.

6.2.2 Housing Support

Respondents have been living in Istanbul for years; however, they still receive assistance from informal networks for moving into another house. Although costs of rented houses are the most important factor in deciding to rent a house, neighbourhood still plays a role in this process. Neighbourhoods where townsmen live are preferred by migrants.

This is my 4th or 5th house in Istanbul. There was a man from our village, he helped me to find this house. I was always assisted by our village men (11th).

After I divorced I found this house. There was a neighbour from my village, he helped me. I found this house through him (15th).

As stated in the first part 7 participants live in their own houses or relatives' houses. These houses mostly were mostly bought from their relatives and given them without any payment.

This house belongs to my brother. He gave me this house. I don't pay anything to him (4th).

My house belongs to my brother, if he says stay then we stay, if he says move out then we will move out...he doesn't demand any rent, if he demands we could not pay in any case (26th).

I live in Umraniye, my brother helped me and I could buy that flat through mortgage (30th).

Paying rent is one of the most problematic issues among respondents, especially for those whose income level is the lowest. However, formal or informal assistance facilities can help them to pay their rents.

This house is a rented house. I clean an apartments' stairs and may Allah be pleased with them they pay my rent (1st).

I've been living in this flat for over 20 years. I am a tenant and the rent is 390 TL. May Allah be pleased with the Deniz Feneri (Lighthouse), they pay my rent (8th).

Apart from these circumstances, there are also examples of incapacity to pay rent where landlords let them live without any rent payment requirements due to mostly philanthropic and regional beliefs.

The rent was 150 TL. But my landlord has not wanted me to pay rent anymore... I haven't paying rent for over 2-2,5 years (3rd),

There were animals-sheep and cows- of landlord; he gave us here for keeping these animals ... the barn was the next building but there is not animals anymore... he doesn't demand any rent... he give us this house for the good of his (deceased) father (5th).

...I had an accident, I could not pay my rent but my landlord did not put me out and he gave me this place without any rent... I don't pay any rent, Allah is up there, I do not tell lie, I don't pay any rent (13th).

This house belongs to my brother in law. We could pay the rent before, but now we cannot, he doesn't demand any rent anymore (17th).

Participants' current housing costs and even rents and bills are afforded by networks. Besides, maintenance of their houses can be achieved by assistance of neighbours and/or relatives.

My nephew painted these walls when he came to visit (1st).

I painted this house's walls on my own. Paints were given by someone else, and I painted all the walls and ceilings (3rd).

My friend painted all walls last year. Thanks to him, he painted just for good. He painted together with my daughter; my daughter helped him (10th).

If it is analysed together with the housing costs and bills, informal networks' importance appears for housing needs of poor urban migrants. Although some of them can afford their bills and housing costs, without assistance they cannot meet their housing needs. Hence, an informal network system still meets their housing costs in the area where formal assistance systems were absent or inadequate. These informal networks are also important for job seeking processes and finding jobs.

6.2.3 Job Seeking Support

Access to employment market creates an opportunity to overcome negative conditions for people who live in deprivation. However, especially in societies where formal or informal employment chances are limited for those who are unqualified and with limited skills, staying out of the labour market prevents them from alleviating their poverty and participating in social life. Bhalla and Lapeyre (1997) indicate that access to labour markets entitles individuals to a recognised economic status and awards which are part of citizenship rights. As Amartya Sen (1975) identifies employment has three main effects on people's life trajectories: income, production and recognition. Therefore, joining the workforce has multi-aspect meanings for everybody.

Both formal and informal job opportunities decreased in the last three decades in Turkey in line with its neo-liberal economic policies and growing competition and specialisation in the market. However, the informal labour market is still important in Turkey's economic structure and this feature creates an opportunity and hope for those who are uneducated and unskilled such as the poor urban migrant participants of this study.

In restricted labour market in which competition rules prevail and in the period in which more controls and rules are in operation for building construction and hawking that were used by poor migrants for employment, accessing existing areas suitable for their skills and qualifications is also limited. Therefore, questions about poor migrants' ways and methods in reaching jobs were

asked. There are two ways of accessing labour markets: formally and informally. The formal institution for job seeking in Turkey is Is-Kur (Turkish Employment Agency), and informal ways are based on personal relationships and networks such as friends, townsmen, relatives and neighbours. According to the statements of participants, only 7 household heads applied to Is-Kur, however none of them has ever worked through an Is-Kur application. Nevertheless, all respondents indicated that they can find jobs through informal networks. Especially in the job seeking areas, informal networks are more salient than and preferred to formal ones. There are three main reasons for them which prevent them from applying to and choosing formal networks:

First of all, jobs offered to participants are generally far away from their neighbourhoods and the salary does not compensate expenses such as transportation and bills:

I applied Iskur in Kadikoy. They offered me two or three jobs. I went and talked to one employer, he said that he would give minimum salary level, 700 TL for one month. I thought that I pay 350 TL for rent, plus electric and water bills. So what do I have, nothing. If my transportation expenses would be paid, I would stay and work. They offered works in Kadikoy, Uskudar. I would work as long as they keep my rights (24th).

As a second problem in job seeking through formal agencies is opportunities offered to the poor are not appropriate to their personal circumstances. People with illnesses were offered jobs in unhealthy conditions which are banned by their doctors or single mums with children were offered full time work which is not suitable for their circumstances.

I applied to Iskur. They sent me to a construction as a worker. My doctor banned me to work in the dusty and unhealthy areas due to my illness in my throat, therefore I could not work (14th).

The final problem related to formal work amongst respondents is related to their health insurance status and benefits. According to Green Card and benefit procedures, a person who has a green card and chooses to work formally, he and his family lose their green cards, free health insurance and benefits. This prevents them from working formally whilst insured.

I applied Iskur 4 years ago, but there is nothing. Recently it snowed; they offered me a park cleaning work for 3 months. I thought that if I work for three months, I would lose my three months disabled/care of need salary. I didn't want try then (18th).

These common issues also prevent poor people from applying to formal agencies in order to access labour markets. While respondent 26 expressed the first problem that discourages from applying to a formal agency, the 27th respondent does not apply to formal employment agencies due to the second problem.

Informal job seeking procedures are more preferable among poor migrants compared with formal methods in order to avoid the problems expressed above. The higher opportunity and chance in informal jobs is another leading factor for those people as well. These informal job seeking procedures mostly rely on informal networks based on relationships with friends, relatives and neighbours. Although these networks have weakened, according to their expressions, in the recent period, these networks are still the main source for accessing to labour market. All of respondents stated that they could find their jobs through their relatives, friends and neighbours. Besides, all jobs they have ever worked were also found through these informal networks. These jobs can vary from housekeeping to construction work.

I go to stair cleaning at the apartments. I found those works through my friends (9th).

There are my friends; I have always found my jobs through them. I washed plates or did other things, I have always done my best (20th).

(My husband is) seeking construction works through his friends (25th).

If there is a job opportunity we, friends, relatives, neighbours, call each other and give information (28th).

Only 2 respondents work as insured workers among 30. Even these participants stated that they found their insured works through their friends:

(My husband) found this work through his friend... he took my husband to that factory... at the beginning employer did not want him to work, but his friends insisted and convinced the employer (17th).

I have found my jobs through my friends (30th).

Although it is stated that classic informal networks based on family members, kinship members and relatives have weakened in recent years, it is explored that new informal networks are replacing these networks. In particular, religious and political networks have arisen in the last two decades²¹. 12 respondents stated that they are members of a political party. The striking point among reasons of getting a membership of a political party is to create a network in order to make it easier to reach additional income sources such as assistance and jobs according to statements of participants.

I became a member of a party several years ago. However, I never received any assistance. They give aid to their active supporters (9th).

I have a membership to Ak Party but I don't have any membership to any other organisation...I have friends from the party, they came to our house, I asked them (for a job), if they tell me anywhere I go to there... A sister from the party came here before the elections and gave us assistance (18th).

I have a membership to Ak Party. I rarely attend to any activities...I have a townsman from Ak Parti who is also the consultant of mayor, if there is a job he calls me (21st).

I have a membership to Ak Party, but I don't attend any activities...I went to Umraniye branch last year. I told my problems, I gave my petition for assistance, job, but there is nothing... I told that I want a job, put me at a job (27th).

As an important tool, employment has multi-faceted implications on human life. However, accessing labour markets is the first step of the employment process. Although informal jobs are scarce for unskilled and uneducated people in contemporary developing countries, informal job opportunities are

²¹ Especially religious based social assistance and solidarity NGOs emerged and flourished at the end 1990s as formal networks.

still an important job source for urban poor migrants. Personal features of poor migrants –non-profession, unskilled, uneducated- emerge as barrier for them which prevent them from accessing the labour market and reaching even informal jobs. In order to overcome these barriers, although there are two methods -formal and informal- for job seeking urban poor migrants prefer to use informal methods. Formal accessing methods are not used for three reasons; unsuitability of jobs offered by the agency due to spatial and economic problems, non-compatibility between works and personal features and legal problems which cause a fear of losing their rights. Therefore, informal job seeking methods are being used among poor migrants by which they can reach more appropriate works in line with their spatial, economic and legal status. These methods have been used for accessing labour markets although they have weakened. However, new informal network relationships are emerging and being used by urban poor migrants to overcome their deprivation. Political party memberships and relationships are seen as another solution by them although this is a formal relationship between them, it is used in informal ways to reach job and assistance opportunities. Thus, relationships based on informal networks still prevail among respondents in order to reach job opportunities and these networks increase their hopes of getting a job.

6.2.4 Social Assistance and Solidarity Support

Social assistance and solidarity in informal networks are important relief sources for participants. As it is discussed in Chapter IV, the existing literature –i.e. Bugra and Keyder, 2006; Ozturk, 2011- suggested that these informal networks have weakened and lost their effects on the society especially in the last three decades. However, this study detected that still there are informal networks –neighbourhood, religion- in society that differ from the previous ones –family/kinship and relatives-. These informal networks encompass all aspects of respondents' lives. Their migration process started with encouragement from informal relationships, then these networks help them to integrate into the city by assisting them for housing, job seeking, joining the

workforce, supplying income and meeting their daily needs including food, medicine, clothing and school expenses.

However, social and economic developments transformed the characteristics of informal networks as well. Urban life seems more attractive for those people due to its capacity to reach both formal and informal networks. In particular, the higher chance to join these networks is one of the reasons keeping them in urban life and that helps them to engage with society. Informal networks based on neighbourhoods, friends and religious sects are prominent informal networks in current society.

Benefactors give me alms and charity²² at Ramadans. This is because there are too many benefactors... My neighbours bought this stove. It was really cold and I couldn't buy any stove, someone came here and saw our circumstances and then they bought this stove (3rd).

Without help of my neighbours I would have died. Some brings 3 TL, some brings 5 TL, and some gives me 10TL. I can cope with favour of my neighbours (7th).

There is a private soup-kitchen at this neighbourhood, they give our food regularly. All my dinner meals come from them. My neighbours were giving me food and stale bread previously but after I start to receive meal assistance, they won't give me anymore (11th).

My neighbours aid us. They give socks, dresses, shoes to my children (23rd).

This aid meets respondents' any kind of needs not just their daily needs. As it is stated before, their housing costs such as bills and maintenance expenses are met by benefactors, as well as their children's school expenses.

School service is affording by school management...my children's school uniform were bought by my neighbours for 2 years (3rd).

I have never bought my children's school uniforms. My neighbours always gave me their uniforms (9th).

²² Sadaqa and Fitre: Special forms of Islamic charity.

Informal networks are still active and salient in providing social assistance and solidarity although there have been some changes in the features of these networks. All respondents indicated that they receive cash or in-kind help, commonly both of them, which is assistance from several informal networks. These networks encompass all life trajectories of participants and their help brings relief for them.

6.2.5 Summary

Informal network connections have weight on all kinds of relationships of respondents. Although their support might change in the life trajectories of participants, informal networks are still present at the society. They receive support at the beginning and end of the migration process, and this support continues during settling down and integration processes through informal networks and they can afford their daily needs through these networks' assistance. According to respondents' expressions, there are changes in the source of networks. Previously the most efficient intra-family networks now have lost their influence while networks based on neighbourhood, friendships; religion and party membership are gaining importance in society. Rapid and continuing migration from rural to urban, change of family structures from extended to nuclear and economic factors have caused this change. Being a part of these networks help respondents to conduct their daily lives. These networks are all solidarity and aid networks although they depend on distinct roots such as neighbourhood, religion etc. Thus these networks are prevailing among respondents; these are not fertile grounds for social movements through which people might be motivated to participate.

6.3 Welfare Provisions

Welfare State Expansion, as indicated in Chapter II, emerges as a macro political condition. However, McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1988) points out this condition as the factor that causes people to form and/or participate in social movements. Nevertheless, welfare state implementations perceived by

the respondents as positive implementations, thus, they arise as factors that keep respondents committed to social order.

6.3.1 Health and Social Insurance

Access to health services is one of the important social service facilities which people use. Health status and satisfaction with health services have a two-sided effect on people's life: First, people's health affects their daily lives and accessing health services and/or satisfaction with health services affects people's opinions and attitudes to the state. Therefore, the quality of health services provided by the state is a milestone for improving the commitment status of poor urban migrants to state.

This approach is expressed by all respondents. There is not even one expression among respondents that they experienced any bad or inadequate health service at hospitals because of their health condition, impoverishment and/or other possible reasons such as gender/ ethnic origin. It was questioned that whether or not the participants had experienced any bad/unpleasant attitudes from health staff at a hospital and/or from a GP. No one has had an unpleasant experience.

No, I have never experienced, Allah knows everything. Doctors and other staff know their responsibilities (1st).

No, I have never experienced something like this. They behave equally to everyone (3rd).

Thank Goodness, I am very happy with health services. The Services of the state are very good now (28th).

However, one respondent (28) stated that the quality of health service and treatment of doctors changed in accordance with patients' clothing and speech. This personal distinct opinion is probably related to very personal experiences because there were respondents which had worse housing and clothing conditions than this respondent but even they did not express such a bad experience and treatment. The most striking point is that all participants agree that the quality of health services increased in the last decade.

Participants generally appreciate comprehensive health insurance²³, increasing in the quality of health services and treatment at hospitals.

Among all respondents there is only one (26th) who does not have a health insurance scheme. Although he is eligible to have a comprehensive free health insurance - green card- he stated that he never applied to the state for free health insurance.

I have never applied. The state, already, is poor, it is begging from the USA, do we also beg from the state?...Maybe this is a right for everyone but we don't like this right. If I need health control, I work in somewhere just for insurance and then I receive my treatment....generally I use basic medicines-aspirin etc-.

The main problem related to health services is to buy medicines. Every patient has to pay a proportion of receipts. However, participants who have chronic diseases and/or disabilities can get their medicines totally free of charge. This tool also gives a relief for people with diseases and disabilities.

Green Card compensates our children's medicine bills. We have never paid any medicine (6th).

I have a medical report for my illness. All medicines are free for me. I don't pay anything my medicines (7th).

I have a medical report due to my illness. I don't pay those medicines because of that report (12th).

However, the most problematic issue among respondents related to health services is paying medicine bills. Respondents mostly gather their medicines by depending on debt to local pharmacies or they do not use medicines until they have any money to afford them. They can buy their medicines when they receive any cash social assistance.

I do not buy my medicines, generally I don't. For example, I don't use my blood pressure medicine for 2 months; I have just bought it (13th).

²³ Formerly Green Card. Information about the features of Green card and the new comprehensive health system can be found at Chapter IV.

I have debts to local pharmacy, when I receive any cash, will pay it (20th).

Health services and treatments experienced and expressed by respondents showed that in line with the increase in the quality of health services and the implementation of a comprehensive health insurance scheme, satisfaction with and appreciation of services also increased. Even in the most deprived families, no unpleasant experiences arising from their impoverishment were reported. Newly introduced comprehensive health insurance also increases their appreciation. The data suggests that equal treatment at hospitals by health staff and better quality at health institutions keep them committed to both society and state. Better perceptions of health services increase their hopes for the future and beliefs in the state and society. Two distinct experiences reveal that these differences are based on personal approaches to services.

6.3.2 Social Assistance and Salaries

Social assistance occupies an important place both in the policies of states for combating poverty and also in poor people's coping behaviours. Social assistance received by people in need could be derived from the state, NGOs or individuals. However, in this part, social assistance is evaluated as cash or in-kind assistance including salaries for the disabled and home caring from state organisations. The roles of NGOs and municipalities will be discussed separately whose influence and effectiveness also have increased in the last two decades. Although respondents were contacted through three NGOs, this does not mean that all these respondents are permanent assistance receivers of these NGOs. They were asked whether or not they have received or are receiving any cash or in-kind assistance from the state or NGO organisations. In this part, their experiences about reaching these organisations and satisfaction with their responses are explored. Thus, social assistance schemes conducted by state institutions and the role of this service as a factor in influencing participants' attitudes and approaches to the state will be discussed in this part.

Initially, some main themes of dissatisfaction with current social assistance schemes are expressed by participants. The first thing, system still requires personal application of poor people in order to receive social aid. There is still not an effective search and detection system implemented by state institutions.

Participants, especially the disabled and ill, complained that they have to search and reach social assistance institutions.

I can't reach the state, if I could, they would give (assistance) (7th).

If I go and apply, they come and check...otherwise municipality or district governorship don't come and check your circumstances. Nothing comes to you without you try and push (10th).

The second point is the inadequate amount of assistance. It is generally stated that the amount and style of assistance are not sufficient in meeting their needs.

Honestly, it's not enough. I collect bills for 3 months, and then I give my petition. If I give my petition and apply, thanks god, I receive assistance. Then, I pay my bills. Sometimes there is nothing left even for buying a bus ticket (25th).

Finally the most important point expressed by participants is the regularity of assistance. It is stressed that even a limited social assistance –below the minimum wage- based on a regular schedule would be helpful for their daily needs.

Food assistance is enough for me. I don't want any money, just bread and food are enough for me, if I receive it regularly. If you give me money, I will spend it for food. I don't smoke; don't drink (alcohol), nothing. If money comes, its fine for me, I buy my gas tube (for cooking), pay my bills (13th).

However, even though there are some points of dissatisfaction, respondents appreciate social assistance particularly when they receive aids. Participants appreciate developments and implementations in social assistance schemes. Especially participants, who have salaries due to their circumstances expressed that they have regular salaries which they didn't have previously and their salaries have increased recently which helps them to cope with their deprivation.

I have been receiving a nursing salary for two months –nursing two disabled kids... previously, coping was harder (2nd).

We are really appreciating social assistance, especially for the last two years (since assistance-salary increased), we have had disabled salaries for 20 years but recent increases gave us a relief. Besides, we have just started to receive nursing salaries with the new code (4th).

I have 1000 TL disabled salary every three month. We also have just applied for my wife. If she will have it too, 700-800 TL will come (18th).

Improvements in social assistance schemes also lead to an increase in their hopes and beliefs. They stated that increases in social assistance have made them more confident in line with the kind and regularity of assistance. Additionally, increases in the kinds and amounts of social assistance tools have raised satisfaction and confidence among interviewees. Newly introduced social assistance tool, cash for those who take care of elder people and/or disabled individuals in their homes, salaries for widows, elderly people and the disabled have created an appreciation among interviewees. Developments in Turkish social assistance tools both in quantity and in quality have created a positive effect among respondents who can be defined as benefit dependants.

I feel more secure since I have been given a salary. Now it's better. Without it you can't pay your rent, your bills, and you can't buy anything. Now I always pray for government (2nd).

I am happy with the services of district governorship. Everybody asks me how I cope; I always say that with the help of district governorship (3rd).

We are happy with the assistance services. We always say that may Allah be pleased with them as well (18th).

As it is stated before, regularity is the most important demand made by participants of social assistance. Regularity has been a feature of two kinds of social assistance; coal and school book assistance. These services are the most appreciated services by participants. Both coal and school book assistance have been implemented for over ten years and they have positive effects on poor people's budgets, hence their attitudes and approaches to the state. Especially regular coal assistance from district governorships, as a part of government assistance policy, makes them more secure for winters. Respondents use coal stoves during winter to heat their houses and coals are

given by district governorships as a part of a free coal assistance policy of the government. Almost every participant receives regular coal assistance from district governorships.

I never bought coal from the market. It's always given by the district governorship; I have no idea about coal prices (10th).

The district governorship gives our coal... they give every year, thank Goodness. I very much appreciate that assistance (11th).

I use a coal stove, coal is given by the district governorship. I always say, may be Allah pleased with them (25th).

Another regular social assistance which also influences respondents' approach and opinion toward the state is school book assistance. School pupils have been given free school books for over ten years in order to support family budgets and this policy also supports families in keeping children attending school. As a consequence of this policy, families had a relief in affording other expenses rather than supplying their children's school expenses. This reinforces their intention to get their children educated together with a conditional cash transfer policy to families with school pupils.

Of course it (free book policy) helps me. How can I buy school books for my 4 children (5th)?

Children's uniforms were given by their school, books were given by the state. It is very good for us; it was not like this previously (10th).

It is very good for us, may Allah be pleased with them. The state gives books, notebooks, milk. Previously, when my daughter was attending school, books were not given and it was really hard for us. We can't keep our children at school unless the state gives school books (19th).

I took my daughter from school in the past, since there was no support from the state...now, there are books, cash support given by the government, and thus I can keep my children at school (23rd).

6.3.3 Other Services

Common public services also influence people's approaches and attitudes towards public and state institutions. These services have multi-dimensional effects on people's lives. These services raise people's life and health quality, and they enhance the cohesion and connection in a society. These services can be infrastructure, roads and routes, transportation, parks and commons, and security. These services are also important for the participants of this study because poor urban migrants generally live in squatter houses and squatter house neighbourhoods in the outskirts of cities. In order to detect whether they are satisfied with the other services, their experiences related to these services were also subjected during interviews.

They were asked that whether they and their neighbourhoods have infrastructure²⁴. As it is stated before, 12 respondents live in the apartments while 18 live in squatter houses. All participants indicated that they have infrastructure services. Most of them have gas lines as well, although they don't use gas because they cannot afford the gas bills. However, the most striking point is all participants especially obey the subscription rules and pay their bills. No participant has any infrastructure illegally.

We never use any service illegally. I had lived with under candle light for 4-5 years, but I never used illegal electricity. Even though main cables were outside of our house, I didn't use them (12th).

We have all services. However, we don't use gas even though there is gas line as well. We use a coal stove instead of gas, because it's too expensive (14th).

We have electricity and water... we are legal subscriber to these services (29th).

This issue was an important way during interviews at detecting their approach to the state and its services. Because becoming a subscriber, even when they sometimes cannot afford the bills, the fact that they stay in the legal area help us to understand their engagement status and the reasons underlying this issue.

²⁴ Here infrastructure includes water, sewage, electricity and phone.

All participants have main roads, parks, and transportation facilities which are very important to participation and enhance society's connections and cohesion. Especially, in the last two decades public services in these neighbourhoods increased both qualitatively and quantitatively.

Transportation facility is good here... there is also a park close to us (6th).

This neighbourhood was previously a squatter house neighbourhood. We have everything now (school, road, transportation, and park) (9th).

Bus station, health centre is very close to here. There was nothing before, they all were built recently, even road. Only horse-drawn carriages and tractors can come down of this road 13-14 years ago. Because, there wasn't even a road here. They all were built in the last 15 years (28th).

One of the most important public services provided by state institutions is security. Security forces reflect the power and effectiveness of the state which is especially important to provide and continue social order. All participants live in police monitored areas in Istanbul²⁵. Although there are several complaints especially about robbery cases, participants indicated that they feel secure and they are happy with the regular controls of police forces.

There is a police centre close to here. Police always patrol this area (3rd).

Thank to Allah, we feel secure. I, sometimes go to work -house cleaning-, I leave my children at home. When they go outside, my neighbours look after them (9th).

There is a police centre here. We feel secure in here. Police patrol this neighbourhood, particularly at nights (14th).

Common public services are provided by local municipalities such as infrastructure and transportation and/or state institutions such as security and electricity. Quality of these services directly affects people's living standards.

²⁵ There are two main security forces which are responsible for public order: the Police and the Gendarmerie. The jurisdiction of police forces is generally city centres while Gendarmeries are responsible for public order outside of these areas, generally rural areas.

Although most participants live in squatter house neighbourhoods that are located in the outskirts of Istanbul, all participants have direct access to these services. A featuring point among respondents' attitudes which also reflects their approach to the state: they deny using these services in an illegal way. Despite the fact that they can hardly afford their bills, they use these services as legal subscribers. They suggest that, the quality of public services have improved particularly in last two decades which has increase participants' living standards, hence their appreciation. Law enforcement forces are also effective in these areas. Participants feel secure in their neighbourhood. On the other hand, security forces always represent state's capacity and power. As discussed in Chapter II, any decline in state capacity can trigger a conflict and collective action in developing countries. Therefore, efficient law enforcement also keeps urban poor migrants committed to the state.

6.3.4 Democratisation Process

Democratisation process together with economic growth is important in creating a suitable environment for the development of associative communities and more effective social policy implementations (Kiggundu, 2012; Piron and Curran, 2005). As a candidate country for the EU Turkey put some regulations into life which aimed to increase the freedom of expression for every part of society. Although there were regulations for distinct areas of life, it was especially aimed to end the conflict in the South-eastern part of Turkey for over 30 years and increase the cohesion in society. Particularly regulations lift the bans on the use of Kurdish are the most remarkable implementations at this period especially for Kurdish people. As it is aforementioned, migration waves from the South-eastern part of Turkey due to security problems accelerated in the 1990s and these waves are one of the reasons why the traditional welfare provision changed. 20 participants among all respondents defined themselves as Kurdish while 1 defined as Alawite and 9 as Turkish. In order to obtain their personal experiences related to their origin, they were asked whether or not they have experienced any discrimination in society and/or from state institutions. The Alawite and some Kurdish respondents answered that they had experienced discrimination and/or sometimes unpleasant treatment from neighbours, other people and state officers; while Turkish respondents expressed that they have never

experienced any discrimination. However, all Kurdish and Alawite respondents indicated that discrimination they experienced has fallen in the last ten years. They, now, can express themselves in their language and they have better relationships with the other parts of society.

When we first moved in Istanbul; our landlord was angry us due to our language. Because we were speaking Kurdish only, we could not speak Turkish; and he thought that we were swearing to him... now we are not experiencing any unpleasant behaviour (11th).

I sometimes experienced discrimination. You can't express yourself. There are some bad images for Kurds. They don't give Kurds job...There was pressure previously, now it's better. May Allah be pleased with our state and people. Everybody can do whatever he/she wants. Previously, a person spoke Kurdish can be accused to be a terrorist, actually it was wrong (20th).

My relatives were talking about discrimination they experienced 20, 30 or 40 years ago. They were mentioning that they could not find job when they spoke Kurdish. However, I have been living in Istanbul for 7-8 years; I have never experienced any discrimination...it has decreased now. After AK Party came into power everybody... we do not make any discrimination (21st).

We discussed with our landlord due to our language...there were problems in the past but now there aren't. Look, Kurdish can be spoken even at television. I was covering my head in this style (by showing), but my neighbours were irritated from my hijab. They did not greet me. Now it's better, no one is annoying us (23rd).

As these expressions indicated, recently implemented policies and regulations caused increasing in people's appreciation towards society and state institutions. While there are other factors that increase cohesion in society such as migration and technology, these regulations and the democratisation process also increased beliefs and appreciation of respondents, even respondents who were treated badly by some officers in the past.

I was beaten when I was in the military. My mother had an accident and I was on the line with her. She could not speak Turkish; therefore we were speaking

in Kurdish. One sergeant hit me behind, swear me and he said it's banned. I tried to explain but he didn't understand. Now it's better, of course these issues have finished (28th).

My neighbours were making fun of my language. I even discussed with them. There is no one like me who fights against Pkk²⁶...But it's decreased now. It's decreased with Prime Minister's process (Democratisation Process). If they continue, it will continue to decrease. Although I am an illiterate person, I see so many things. Pkk will end sooner if you continue this process...(Kurdish) television was banned in the past, now no one is caring (29th).

There is a bias for Diyarbakir people. Others saw us as terrorists, Armenians. Thanks to Allah I pray and rad Quran...When I moved in Istanbul, some hit my car. Police check my license and said that I am guilty, I asked why. He said I know why but I pretend not to know. This was discrimination... but it's better now. It's decreased. Both people and officers behave better... as much as they recognise us they trust us (30th).

Now it's better. There was discrimination previously, but now there is not...people recognise other people at least in their neighbourhoods. People from Kars, Sivas or from western cities live together in here (26th).

Formerly active bans on social and cultural characteristics and activities were lifted especially in the last decade. These steps increased the appreciation of people towards especially state institutions. On the other hand, discrimination due to language, clothing and/or religion also decreased in line with the democratisation process and effect of multi-cultural life in cities. Although migration changed the coping behaviours of poor urban migrants, it also helps to increase the tolerance among poor urban migrants. Social and cultural development and progress can enhance social cohesion and unity. Respondents' expressions show that the democratisation process and increased tolerance towards the minority groups increased their appreciation and help to keep poor urban migrants engaged with the society and state. Thus, urban poor migrants feel themselves as a part of the society and they feel that they can receive equal treatment regardless of their personal features.

²⁶ Terrorist organisation fights against Turkey in order to liberate South-eastern part of Turkey.

6.3.5 Role of Municipalities and NGOs

This part examines mainly social assistance services provided by municipalities and NGOs which also increased their roles in social areas particularly in the last two decades. Although there have been religious foundations (waqf²⁷) in Turkey since the Ottoman Empire period, modern charity and solidarity organisations were founded in the late 90s, especially after the 1994 economic crisis and 1999 earthquake. This period also witnessed an increase in municipal social assistance policies. Hence, both NGOs and municipalities have become an actor in social assistance areas in the last two decades. For that reason, the effects of these institutions' tools on respondents' attitudes need to be assessed.

Although some problems about applications to NGOs –such as the requirement of personal application- were expressed by participants, almost all participants who receive assistance from those organisations stated that they really appreciate these organisations' activities.

I am very pleased with Lighthouse's aid. I have never experienced trouble since Lighthouse helps me regularly. They are better than state institutions (1st).

I always receive assistance from Lighthouse. Whenever I call them, they give me clothes, foods, cash, everything. They bring what I need (3rd).

NGO (Is there anybody) gives us assistance, may Allah be pleased with them. They give us clothes, last two rents, our water and electricity bills as well (11th).

Municipalities also have social aid -in kind and cash-. Some municipalities have free markets in which people in need can buy whatever they need without any payment, some give out shopping cards while some give free bread to people in need. These tools also have positive effects on respondents' daily needs and budgets; hence they increase their appreciation and engagement status.

²⁷ An Islamic foundation founded for religious or charitable purposes.

We have a card given by the municipality. Every month 75 TL is being added on this card. There is a market for poor people. We can shop with this card there and we can buy whatever we need. I buy pasta, rice, oil etc... Our breads are also being given free by municipality (10th).

Free bread tickets were hand out by the metropolitan municipality. Five breads were free everyday with those tickets (20th).

Umraniye municipality has been giving food assistance (food package) in every 3 months since two years (27th).

As it is seen here, participants can receive cash or in-kind assistance from both NGOs and municipalities. All these formal networks can meet the urban poor's daily needs together with informal networks. Participants can meet their needs when their own incomes could not. By this way, they can still be engaged with society and NGOs and municipalities also have roles in this continuing engagement.

6.4 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has analysed the main factors which keep poor urban migrants committed to state and social order and prevent their participation in social movements. These factors can be listed under 3 main titles: Personal, Organisational and Welfare Implementations. These factors obtained directly through respondents' expressions and opinions, and these reflect the conditions that particularly effective on urban poor migrant respondents' attitudes and actions. As it discussed in Chapter II, macro and micro conditions might help us to reach the answer factors effective on people's decisions to participate or form social movements. However, as this study mainly seeks the factors that keep urban poor migrants in Turkey committed to social order, factors obtained through their expressions are lined up considering macro and micro conditions but in accordance with their importance on respondents' actions.

Personal factors emerge as the most important factors among others that are the most efficient factors on respondents. Due to the inadequate micro-structural conditions in the environment of urban poor people's

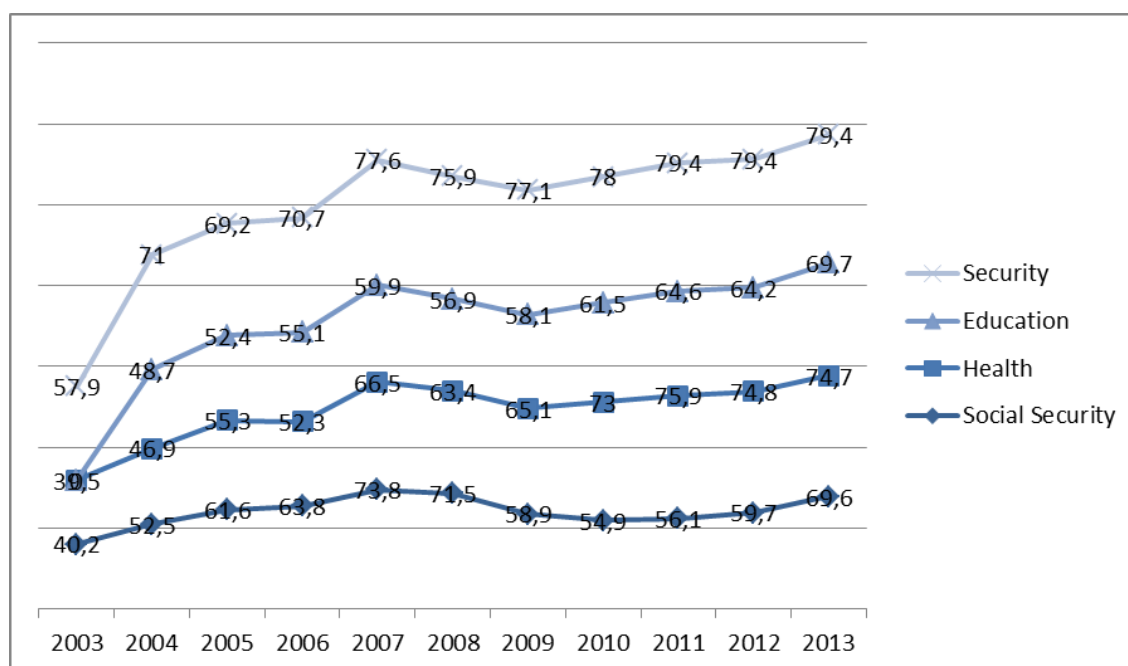
neighbourhoods, personal conditions, opinions and beliefs emerge as prominent. Therefore, personal factors emerge as the most important factors on respondents' evaluation and decision processes. Although it has been eroded, the paternal perception of the state in Turkey is still active. However, this understanding is interwoven with clientelistic implementations in Turkey. Ongoing clientelistic approach in modern Turkish politics for over 50 years reinforce the paternal state perception of needy people through which these groups' attitudes and approaches towards states and governments might be controlled. Especially participants, who are uneducated and unaware of the duties and role of the state, acknowledge the state and state services as the goodness of the "father" state. Their perception to obey the rules of the state that comes from the Ottoman period as a heritage from their ancestors brings to stay committed to social order and state for participants. Therefore they take a passive receiver role instead of an active demander model. In this approach, of course, religion occupies a significant place as well. Participants mostly assess their circumstances related to religious references and their belief in destiny. Participants' expressions explain their approach to their circumstances as submission to destiny. It was detected that participants accept that everything they receive and experience comes through Allah's will and knowledge. Therefore any negative reaction to even unfavourable conditions may harm their belief and confidence. Thus, participants prevent themselves from any protest movements about their conditions. It is learned that mostly they surrender to Allah's will in order to survive their deprived living conditions. Apparently, these conditions are also welcomed by participants when they compare them to their past conditions. Former living conditions of participants in their hometowns were worse than their current conditions, according to participants increasing service quality, social assistance scheme and solidarity mechanisms help them to maintain their hopes for future. They make calculations by comparing their previous and current circumstances and living conditions and perceived themselves as in better conditions in current order. This increases their commitment levels towards the state and keeps them in the social order framework.

As it is discussed in chapter IV, informal support mechanisms mostly based on family and relative solidarity have weakened as a result of social, economic, political and demographic factors. However, there are still effective informal networks for poor urban migrants that also differ from previous networks. They have just transformed and adapted to new conditions. These networks are especially salient in job seeking and social assistance issues. Particularly, neighbours' aid is more important than relatives and family members. Apart from that, informal networks based on religious sects and party memberships are salient amongst participants. Reciprocity was the main issue in the previously effective family solidarity. However, current social and economic circumstances of poor urban migrants prevent any reciprocity relationship between neighbours. Poor urban migrants are currently only in situation of being benefit and assistance receivers, not givers. Nevertheless, relationships based on reciprocity are still active in religious and party membership networks. It is being assumed that membership in a party and a religious sect increases their chances of receiving social assistance and/or of finding a job. Hence, newly transformed informal networks are compensating for previous informal networks based on family and relative solidarity while still relieving pressure on formal public institutions and increasing poor urban migrants' hopes and beliefs in society. However, as it indicated before, all these networks serve as solidarity channels and keep respondents as part of the current social order. Since these networks are not suitable for recruiting participants for social movements, as beneficiary of these networks, respondents prefer to stay as a part of these informal solidarity networks.

It is pointed out by respondents that, improvement in quality and effectiveness of social services provided by the state such as health, social assistance, social insurance and general services –roads, parks, infrastructure and transportation- also have great importance in increasing people's commitment to society and state. Apart from the newly introduced social assistance tools such as salaries for widows, disabled individuals and people who nurse their family members, previously implemented salaries and aid for the elderly and poor have been increased. It was clearly expressed by participants that health insurance and hospital services increase their appreciation. Poor urban migrants generally live and work in unsatisfactory and unhealthy environments and their health conditions are in danger due to these difficult environments.

Hence, accessing health services and receiving a good treatment without any payment is important for these people. Respondents' expressions reveal that participants appreciate health services mostly and they don't encounter any unwanted treatment due to their personal circumstances and deprivation. They can reach health services and these services have been improved particularly in the last decade. It is indicated that they don't wait in the queues in hospitals, they don't have to pay for ambulances and they receive treatment without any cost. Appreciation of state services and satisfaction with these services emerge in this study as formal factors which keep urban poor migrants committed to social order. The Turkish Statistical Agency's study also reveals that people's satisfaction status with state services have increased in the last decade. Figure 4 shows the appreciation and satisfaction status of people with services provided by state institutions. As it is seen in the figure, satisfaction status with services has increased in the last decade.

Figure 4: People's Satisfaction Status with Public Services in Turkey after 2002



Source: TUIK

In line with the improvement in quality and effectiveness of services, the democratisation process implemented by governments in the last decade also prevents disenfranchisement of distinct categories of people in society. Especially,

Kurdish and Alawite people appreciate these developments which lift the bans on the use of languages and prevent unpleasant behaviour from officials and rest of the society. Besides, limitations due to types of clothing, religious sects and languages were also removed and these regulations also increased people's commitment to state institutions.

These are the main factors that keep urban poor migrant respondents committed to social order. Mainly personal, organisational and welfare factors encompass all factors expressed by respondents. As it is seen above there are non-economic factors as well as economic factors. However, their perceptions about their situation in society and before state institutions affect their attitudes and approaches to society and state. Apparently, personal factors become prominent among all other factors which are distinguishing especially in urban poor migrants' settings in Turkey.

Chapter 7: Other Perspectives

The previous chapter revealed the main factors that affect poor urban migrants' attitudes and approaches towards society and state. These factors derived from the urban poor's own experiences and expressions that were collected from interviews. However, this study uses triangulation in order to provide a comprehensive view about the factors and drivers effective on the urban poor's attitudes. Therefore, this chapter will add other aspects derived from two groups: NGO representatives and government officials. These two groups will add a comprehensive aspect which enhances the capacity to understand and analyse drivers that keep poor urban migrants away from participating in social movements. The structure of this chapter will be in two main sub-chapters. First of all NGO representatives' ideas and expressions related to the study objectives will be revealed, and then officials' opinions will be discussed in the second sub-chapter.

7.1 NGO Representatives' Ideas

There are three NGOs that are included in this study: Goc-Der (Migrants' Association for Social Cooperation and Culture), Deniz Feneri (Lighthouse) and "Kimse Yok mu?" (Is anybody there?). These NGOs were incorporated in this study for two main reasons. First of all, urban poor migrants were contacted and included in this study through these NGOs. They both helped to contact poor people from their records and they helped to create mutual confidence and rapport between researcher and participants. Creating mutual confidence and rapport was crucial for this study because obtaining their personal and sometimes sensitive experiences and feelings related to family, and society are required by this study. These NGOs helped to create these bridges between participants and the researcher. Besides, these NGOs have been active for over 15 years in migration, poverty, solidarity and assistance areas. Their representatives, in this study, have also been involved in these issues as a part of these NGOs for over 10 years. Hence, their ideas and experiences related to the study objectives will help to create a more comprehensive view into this study which constitutes a second reason to recruit three NGO representatives in this study.

All three NGOs emerged and were founded as the result of social changes. Goc-Der was founded in order to provide social, psychological, economic and legal aid to especially Kurdish migrants who had to migrate to other cities from east and south-eastern parts of Turkey due to the conflict in the South East. Therefore, the main groups of interest to Goc-Der are Kurdish people in Istanbul who migrated particularly in 1990s because of the armed conflict. It aims to help those migrants in terms of economic, social and legal aid. Particularly cash and in-kind assistance are directed to those migrants mentioned above by Goc-Der.

Our organisation was founded by some lawyers, academicians and migrants at the end of the 1990s. They started to give shelter, food, health aid to those who had to migrate from east and south-eastern (of Turkey) to Istanbul due to intense war environment (Goc-Der).

Two other NGOs are mainly social assistance and solidarity associations and they both started as TV shows at the end of 1990s and then legalised as associations after the 1999 earthquakes. Both of them are the results of the economic crisis in 1990s and earthquakes in 1999.

“Kimse Yok mu” started as a TV show after 1999 earthquake. There was a need for an organisation which brings people in need and people who want to give aid together. Therefore, this show then turned into a legal association in 2002 (Kimse Yok mu).

We are the first who collect and give aid through a TV show... If something is always shown on TV, this creates awareness. If this is assistance and solidarity, this surely attracts attention. There are solidarity and assistance in our genes. They come from our roots and religion. If you show such an important issue at such an effective channel, effectiveness of that thing expands (Deniz Feneri).

These social and economic changes and their main target groups, therefore, affected their activities and ideas. While the Goc-der representative is interested in political and legal structures and processes, the other two NGOs

are mainly interested in cash and in-kind assistance facilities and organisations.

Our main applicants are people who want respect and acceptance of their main rights, Kurdish identity, religion and culture even if they are hungry, thirsty, unemployed and they can hardly cope. (Goc-Der).

7.1.1 The Role of NGOs

As it is stated in Chapter IV, particularly towards the end of the 1990s NGOs in social assistance and solidarity areas flourished in Turkey. According to participants' opinions while NGOs compensate for the lack of effective social assistance schemes, on the other hand they have facilitated solidarity and assistance feelings to be rooted in society. Therefore, all three NGOs representatives indicated that their –and all NGO's- roles have been making a positive impact on both poor people and society.

I assume that we have a positive impact on the idea of solidarity in Turkey. Several assistance and solidarity organisations indicated that they started their organisations were inspired from us... People, also, from everywhere came together and gave assistance to poor people in their cities inspired by our program and organisations as well (Deniz Feneri).

Especially after the earthquake, demands from people who are in necessity and philanthropic ideas rooted in our society were joined together through our organisations (Deniz Feneri).

This role was developed by depending on volunteers who were also interested in the target groups' problems. This was especially important for those who migrated to metropolitan cities, Istanbul, without help from any formal and/or informal organisations. NGO representatives see themselves as a source that helps to increase the chance of migrants' adaptation and orientation into the city and society.

Forced migrants are the most deprived people in Turkey metropolis today. Because they were farmers in their villages but they could do nothing in cities because they didn't have any profession. They lived in basements, and they could not participate in any social activities... There were problems such as pick

pocketing, robbery, begging, but their children hold on to life... We give those people cash, food, legal and psychological aid in order to increase their rehabilitation and participation (Goc-Der).

Although NGOs are playing an important role in the adaptation of poor migrants into city life, they mostly defined themselves as having a supplementary role. They indicated that they emerged in the environment in which there was no effective state action for people in need. Together with municipalities, their service gave a hope for people in deprivation and increased and shaped philanthropic ideas in society. However, they prefer a supplementary role to assistance schemes.

We have been servicing people when state service cannot afford to support poor people. If there was a social state there wasn't need any social assistance NGO at all (Kimse Yok mu).

Harmony between NGOs and state organisations gives positive impact to society. Families can take advantage of this harmony. Social cohesion and peace increase in this harmony...Our policies are temporary while state policies are long-termed (Deniz Feneri).

For that reason the state has an important role in providing social assistance and hence creating social cohesion in society according to NGO representatives. This brings forward the importance of the state institutions' role and effect on poor urban people's attitudes and approaches towards the state and the rest of society.

7.1.2 State's Role

All three NGOs stated that the state's effectiveness in social assistance increased especially after the 2000s. As discussed above, assistance institutions' share in the budget increased and also new social assistance tools were introduced in this period. While these developments are being appreciated by the urban poor participants, NGO representatives also praise these policies. They also recognise that these policies increase the

commitment of poor migrants to society and state while making a positive impact on social cohesion.

The state has improved almost all aspects of poor families' conditions in the recent period. For example, there is a salary for elders. Now, widows can receive it. There has been a salary for disabled; but now people who nurse someone at home also can receive a salary which is almost a minimum wage. Rules for these salaries are not strict. This is an important step. These also connect the family to society... Even the salary for unemployed is a real revolution. So many steps have been taken by the state (Deniz Feneri).

State services such as education, health and nutrition are important in creating social cohesion. If the state can provide these services they could prevent social explosion and problems. There are improvements in these services and facilities such as conditional cash transfers for mothers, students and babies (Kimse Yok mu).

These services are also related to improvements in social and political structures. It is expressed that as much as urban migrants adapt themselves to society, they learn how to increase their living standards and then be a part of society.

There have been improvements in the recent period. People learned their rights and how they demand these rights. They began to solve their problems. Their children got educated and then they requested their rights from social services. They began to receive health service, free books, and coal aid (Goc-Der).

State services increased in the last 10 years. All roads were built in the south-eastern part; there are no village without water and electricity lines. All schools are open now... these increased the hopes (Deniz Feneri).

The state's service capacity was really in bad condition particularly in the south-eastern part of Turkey in the past. However, there has been an improvement in last 8-10 years. These developments, of course, affect our services positively as well. We can start new projects in that area in a new environment (Kimse Yok mu).

These services are seen by representatives as tools that have two-sided effects on people's approaches and understanding. While improvement in social

services increase the appreciation and commitment of the urban poor, these improvements also reveal the effectiveness and power of the state. An effective and powerful state understanding among people keep them committed to state and society.

Aid from state institutions has increased particularly in the last decade. The state has behaved like a real state in this period. Especially poor families feel that (Deniz Feneri).

As indicated above economic growth achieved by Turkey in the recent period is also one of the major factors which increased cash and in-kind aid from both state institutions and NGOs. At the same time, economic growth and stability give people hope for the future and belief in state institutions according to participants:

People's economic conditions have increased after 2000. This also increased the social assistance capacity of the state (Kimse Yok mu).

When we visited a family, in the past, we saw people without even 1 lira. But now, families with school children can receive student CCT, and the disabled have disabled and nursing salary. These make those families happier and ease our job. There were so many families, now there fewer. State's capacity is also now higher than previously. This aid increases families' commitment and engagement (Deniz Feneri).

Together with economic growth; a democratisation process was also started and implemented in the last decade. As indicated and discussed above, while economic growth is feeding the effectiveness of the aid scheme, democratic improvements together with stability enhance the trust and commitment particularly of some groups of urban poor who had unpleasant experiences relevant to state implementations such as forced migration. The democratisation process was started in the last period for enhancing social cohesion in the society. These processes and policies are being appreciated by NGO representatives as well.

I hope this democratisation process will succeed. I hope we will be together in wealth...when a state official gives a satisfactory speech, our people appreciate

it... When war is over the state can spend money on education, health and the environment instead of weapons. Brotherhood and cohesion will increase (Goc-Der).

The state policies have enhanced social cohesion in society. Especially police forces developed policies in the south-east. NGOs also have policies and projects. Tours to historical places increase social unity. Tours and projects of municipalities have increased in the last 10-15 years as well. They all enhanced social cohesion and trust in the state. People realise that solidarity is still existent and that they are equal citizens in this country (Deniz Feneri).

Political stability in accordance with economic stability will enhance state capacity. These policies give people hope for the future. Although these policies begun to be implemented recently, we can clearly observe that they will help to increase social cohesion (Kimse Yok mu).

Municipalities also have had a significant and important role in the last two decades. Particularly in Istanbul, municipalities can provide distinct services to families in deprivation. There are direct assistance tools such as cash and in-kind aid and on the other hand social activities are being provided in urban poor neighbourhoods in order to increase social cohesion. It was shown previously that these activities help to keep people engaged in society in an environment where they can hardly participate in any activities.

There are free vocational courses provided by the state or municipalities. These are guaranteed courses after which every participant will be able to join the work force (Kimse Yok mu).

If you do not gather young people together, they will gather themselves in unpleasant environments... especially municipalities' activities in urban poor neighbourhoods have a positive impact on preventing social problems. If municipalities make offers better they can prevent these kinds of social problems (Deniz Feneri).

7.1.3 Other Factors

NGO representatives mostly stressed that both their roles and the capacity of the state's social policy increased in the last decade and these developments

keep poor people in the social order. However, there are other factors indicated by NGO representatives as well which prevent social movements due to poverty. One of these factors is informal solidarity mechanisms that are different from previous networks. These new solidarity networks are also expressed by NGO representatives that also confirm urban poor's expressions. As discussed above, urbanisation and socio-economic transformations decreased solidarity and assistance capacity in society.

Urbanisation comes with individualisation. Families interested in just their problems, ignore other families in their neighbourhood who live in deprivation. Therefore we need more effective NGOs in these neighbourhoods (Deniz Feneri).

However, although these solidarity mechanisms were transformed and changed, there are still informal solidarity networks alive in society which is also stressed by NGO representatives.

Although solidarity is better in rural areas and it was better in the past, there are still effective solidarity mechanisms in urban areas among people which meet urban poor's needs (Kimse Yok mu).

There are neighbourhoods composed of same villagers. They migrated here in the same period and together. They help each other. As much as they settle down in city families transformed into nuclear families from extended families. Although we can recognise individualisation among people which is a normal consequence of capitalism, there are still effective solidarity mechanisms, such as village-men solidarity mechanisms. As much as they increase their income sources, they give aid to their neighbours (Goc-Der).

As discussed before, religion and belief in destiny are important drivers for those who participated in this study. Their belief in destiny and understanding which accept that everything they experienced has happened as a result of their destiny prevent them from taking part in any protests and action as a response to their circumstances. Together with the paternal state assumption that is also related to people's beliefs, religion arises as one of the most important factor that keep poor migrants away from supporting and

participating in social movements. These findings are also stressed by NGO representatives during interviews.

Our standards of judgement come from our religion. Families compare themselves with poorer families and praise Allah for their conditions... of course demands and needs are endless. Nevertheless, reformation of desire, belief in destiny and being grateful for what you have prevent these demands. These are very common in our society...otherwise -their problems- can lead to bigger social problems and social explosions (Kimse Yok mu).

When we visit families, they always pray for our state, government and prime minister. They always praise Allah for what they receive (Deniz Feneri).

7.2 Government Officials' Ideas

Three officials were included in this study in order to add another perspective to the study. In order to elicit the state's approach to ongoing problems and prevent further problems in terms of social policy approach, people who are responsible to develop and implement these policies should be included. By this way, it was aimed to reach how state develops policies in order to enhance social cohesion, how state institutions see themselves and their policies in increasing the commitment of urban poor towards the state. Because, as it is indicated in Chapter II, state's power and effectiveness are the one of the main reasons that prevents social protest movements and enhance social cohesion in the society. Therefore, the state's approach to social policies in order to increase social cohesion and prevent poor migrants from participating in social movements should be discussed.

As mentioned in Chapter III, these institutions are responsible for poverty, social assistance, social cohesion, solidarity, social order and unity. These interviews were conducted in order to learn the officials' position about providing social policies for increasing social cohesion and poor urban migrants' commitment to the state.

7.2.1 State's Role

There are two areas derived from officials' expressions about newly introduced social policy tools and social cohesion. First of all newly introduced tools and policies have enhanced the social policy effectiveness of the state. Interviews with poor urban migrants and NGO representatives revealed that the state's effectiveness in the area of social policy positively affects their attitudes towards society and state. The increase in the state's capacity to provide better social services for people in deprivation was also stressed by officials.

Social policy in Turkey both has changed its approach to problems and has enhanced its effectiveness in the last decade. The range and kind of tools have increased while the resources for social policy tools have increased. The most important reason for this is socio-economic growth in Turkey. Per capita income has risen by over \$10.000, thus the share for deprived people also has increased. Absolute poverty is almost zero now. Of course the approach of the current government to social issues is the main motivator for these improvements (Ministry Representative).

Per capita income has risen from \$2000 to \$10000 in the last decade. Poor people are also taking advantage of this improvement. They receive their share. Of course governments also adopted social policy tools and they allocated greater resources for social policy every year (General Directorate Representative).

These improvements have been carried out in the last decade as it is stated above. However, what were the main aims when new policy tools were introduced and how were these tools designed? Participants expressed that as a candidate member for the EU, Turkey also aims to raise the living standards of its citizens and to provide better living conditions for everyone.

We wanted to a build a system which is more modern, less disturbing for poor people and not requires personal application process. Because we thought that we must reach them (General Directorate Representative).

Further, social policy is seen as a tool to enhance social cohesion and prevent social exclusion and disillusion by state officers.

Social policy leads a total growth in the prosperity of society. It's not just about economic growth. Fair and righteous distribution is also important for us. We are aiming not to leave anyone behind of and excluded from the society. If there is one, we want to include him/her into society. We see society as a big family (Ministry Representative).

As seen above, according to the government participants social policy schemes have been built for both increasing living standards of poor people and for sustaining social order. Government officials suggested that there are two main factors which help to build better social policy scheme: Support of successive governments and political stability. These factors have also increased the urban poor's hopes and beliefs. Newly introduced social assistance tools such as cash aid for widows, students, disabled individuals, and the elderly increased the income of these families. On the other hand, it is stated that deprived families particularly in urban areas have been targeted through other social policy tools such as vocational courses, training and education programmes in order to keep them in the social order.

We aimed to create equality of opportunity for everyone especially in education. People who need care at home are also targeted. We helped poor student directly. Their families say that without these aid their children cannot be educated... We aimed to find unemployed and deprived people a job together with Is-Kur –State Job Agency- (General Directorate Representative).

General Health Insurance is a major step in providing social welfare. Free education and free books are also important tools in this direction...we find jobs for poor people in order to increase their participation in social life and help them to learn money earning and spending. They work at a job but we pay their salaries. By this way they can engage in society. This is not work for public; this is work for community (Ministry Representative).

Participants indicated that one of the main reasons which increased the effectiveness of state social policy tools was to bring different social policy institutions and tools under one roof. Although the Ministry of Family and Social Policies was recently founded (2011), the General Directorate of Social

Assistances was framed as a main institution responsible for social assistance in the whole of Turkey after 2000. This approach increased the effectiveness of social assistance tools.

Social assistance programs have been improved. These programs are being implemented based on objective rules. New programs have been introduced and people are receiving them regularly. But, the most important thing is that all programs are being implemented under one roof and more fair (Ministry Representative).

There were different institutions responsible for social assistance. There were different rules of different institutions for the same situation. Therefore we aimed that all tools should be gathered under one roof, decided by one authority and their rules should be same or similar. We conducted all changes in line with this idea (General Directorate Representative).

Further, Under-Secretariat of Public Order and Security was also founded in 2010 in order to increase coordination between institutions that are responsible for social order and security.

All parts should be a part of a holistic approach: Social aid, service expenses, social risk mitigation tools, recognition of cultural rights, correlation between economic indicators such as production, employment. These issues increase social order.. We are aiming to increase coordination between these issues including social policies and aid in order to create effective fight against terrorism and enhance social cohesion and order. Although it's not been achieved totally, we are pursuing this aim (Under-Secretariat).

The democratisation process constitutes a third step for increasing social cohesion in the society. As discussed above the first and second group of participants indicated that the democratisation process and the lifting of bans on several issues increased people's belief in the state and the future. These appreciated steps taken by state institutions are also thought of as major policies that aimed to enhance social cohesion particularly by the Under-Secretariat of Public -Order and Security.

There have been improvements in democratic rights, some major steps were taken. Some important rights are recognised which were not recognised previously. These normal steps should have been taken before for democratisation and progression of Turkey. Turkey is advancing on this road; no one must feel as excluded and disenfranchised (Under-Secretariat).

These improvements believed to have a positive impact particularly on poor people and their beliefs and commitment to the state. As indicated before, increases in the quality of state services such as health, social assistance, education, insurance, and infrastructure in accord with economic growth and political stability and dedication to social services and the democratisation process has meant that urban poor migrants' attitudes and approaches towards society and state have been affected positively. Improvements in these services and their positive effects on people's attitudes and approaches, particularly towards state institutions, are also observed by officials.

There are positive effects of these improvements on people's condition- trust in state, participation in social life-. We always interested in these issues while we were planning and conducting our programs. Because we were spending public resources and we had to be sure whether they are effective or not (General Directorate Representative).

Although social assistance programs' history goes back to 1980s in our country, before that it's almost absent, only recent years there have been taken enormous steps which help to prevent social tension between different parts of the society and mitigate the risk about social conflicts. These programs are still being developed... all these social policies including economic and democratic programs create conditions for people into social cohesion and adaptation to society (Under-Secretariat).

Officials emphasised the state's role in enhancing social cohesion and keeping poor urban migrants committed to state and society. Because they are involved in the state's actions and programmes, their point of view is especially relevant for this study together with urban poor migrants' and NGO representatives' opinions. However, officials also indicated some other factors that are related to structures and traditions in society.

7.2.2 Society's Structure

Solidarity and a tradition of assistance among different parts of society have been previously considered. Although these informal networks have changed due to social and economic transformations, it has been shown that there are still informal networks in the society such as neighbourhood solidarity. These informal networks are also stressed as important drivers by officials that help to keep society together.

Our society is different than western societies. Although people live in deprivation they give aid to each-other. When they have limited financial capacity, they can share one roof with their parents. Even if they don't want to, they can bare to live together (General Directorate Representative).

Our traditional solidarity tools were more effective ten years ago... I don't think that erosion in family solidarity caused this kind of increasing in state effectiveness. Solidarity mechanisms are still active in our society (Ministry Representative).

Apart from that, mechanisms that originate from tradition and religion are also seen as significant sources that help to keep society together. It is suggested that, these traditional mechanisms are considered in the policy making process. Although the state has increased its capacity in the area of social policy and it plays an important role through its social policy tools in enhancing social cohesion, traditional forms of social solidarity still have a great capacity to bring society together.

We should consider that whether more state social aid kills solidarity feelings among people. We sometimes see that people ignore poor people, because they think that state already cares for these deprived groups. But on the other hand some people, especially waqfs²⁸ are still interested in these people (General Directorate Representative).

²⁸ Waqf: A Religious endowment in Islamic law, typically donating a building, a plot or cash for religious or charitable purposes.

It seems to me that social aid, in the West, arose over the idea that poor people should be given aid hence affluent people can live without any threat. It means mitigation of social risk. It's not a humanitarian approach. It was thought in Socialist countries as a mechanism to protect elite's prosperity and peace. Instead of increasing living standards of people, they were thought as tools to prevent problems. Of course, these policies have religious roots in the west. However, they are more obvious in our culture; they are more traditional and institutionalised. Zakat²⁹ and Fitr³⁰ are our religious tools. Further, anonymised bread and meal³¹ are our traditional tools (Ministry Representative).

These traditional mechanisms whether they are formal or informal are seen as important sources for maintaining society's characteristics. Further, defending social cohesion is seen as not to be dependent only on the state's own effectiveness. Government participants indicated that although traditional tools are not as efficient as in the past, they play enormous roles in keeping the urban poor committed to the social order whether it is originated from tradition or religion.

7.3 Concluding Remarks

This chapter reveals factors which affect poor urban migrants' attitudes and approaches towards state institutions and social order. Triangulation is accepted as a research design in order to reach the study objectives and explore these factors, as they are better understood by using the opinions and experiences of those involved with poor urban migrant's problems. Therefore two groups were included in this study, so that their opinions and experiences of different parts of the research objectives facilitate this process: NGO Representatives and State Officials.

All NGO representatives have been working in their NGOs for over 10 years and they have had chance to observe and analyse changes and developments in social, economic and cultural structures in Turkey. NGO representatives framed

²⁹ Zakat: obligatory alms-giving in Islam. It is based on income and wealth. It is 2.5% of a Muslim's total income, savings and wealth.

³⁰ Fitr: Charity given to the poor at the end of the fasting in the Islamic holy month of Ramadan.

³¹ Free bread and meals were given to poor people by producers paid by other people. However poor people don't know who paid them and payers don't know who receives these breads and meals.

that while NGOs were filling the deficiency of the social assistance scheme in Turkey, they helped to compensate for the erosion in traditional welfare mechanisms. Further, they reminded people of and kept solidarity channels alive in society that come from religion and tradition. Apart from that, their direct aid provided an important source of help for people in need. NGO aid to poor people, especially poor urban migrants in Istanbul, helps them to settle down and increase their adaptation into the city and society. By this way, poor migrants in Istanbul were kept engaged in society and their hopes for the future were kept alive.

The 2000s witnessed an improvement in the social assistance scheme in Turkey together with other parts of society and life. NGO representatives and officials see that economic growth and political stability led to these developments. It is also indicated that the quality of state services such as health, education, insurance and infrastructure increased. New social policy tools for different groups of people in need were introduced such as salaries for widows, disabled individuals, students and mothers. Besides, formerly implemented salary schemes for the elderly and CCT were improved and their salaries were also increased. In order to create a better social assistance scheme and to maintain this scheme, different organisations were brought under one roof and an institutionalisation process was achieved. Better social services and the success of the social assistance scheme particularly in the eradication of absolute poverty keep poor urban migrants' hopes alive and keep them committed to social order. Although they feel excluded in several areas of life, poor urban migrants have hopes that their future will be better than their past. However, as indicated by officials, these tools were, at the beginning, designed in order to both increase the commitments of poor people to the state and their living qualities. By this ways, maintaining social order and support of poor people's for social order were aimed to be provided.

There are also traditional and religious drivers which increase poor urban migrants' commitment. First of all there are still effective traditional assistance mechanisms in society. Previous intra-family solidarity in extended families has transformed into different kind of mechanisms: neighbourhood solidarity, friendship solidarity and solidarity among villagers. These traditional

mechanisms are still salient in society together with the religious assistance mechanisms. As König (1999) indicated, these mechanisms are mostly solidarity mechanisms and these are not fertile networks for social movement mobilisations. Thus, these mechanisms increase poor people's engagement and hopes for society instead of increasing their engagement to social movements. It is not just religious assistance tools; religion itself also appears as an important driver for people's attitudes and behaviours. Especially belief in destiny shapes people's attitudes, understanding and interpretation of their circumstances. Any protest about their condition seems for them as a challenge to their confidence and destiny. Therefore, religion also plays a great role in their attitudes and approaches towards society and state.

Chapter 8: Discussion and Conclusion

This research explores the main factors that keep poor urban migrants committed to the state in Turkey even though they experience relative deprivation which might cause frustration and grievances towards society and the state. Social, political, demographic and economic developments particularly in the last three decades have changed the nature of the urban poor's experiences. Previous traditional welfare mechanisms³² -Family/kinship Solidarity, Ties with home Villages and Informal Urban Settlements- have been eroded as a result of these changes since the beginning of the 2000s (Bugra and Keyder, 2003; Bugra and Keyder, 2006). They emerged in the context of rapid rural to urban migration. The mechanisms mentioned were the main coping behaviours and integration tools for migrants to reach better living standards and upward mobility. However, as a result of the erosion of these traditional mechanisms, second and third generation migrants' chances of integrating into cities and achieving greater upward mobility were weakened in the last two decades. Therefore, they experienced a different kind of deprivation and poverty, which is more exclusionary and multi-dimensional, than migrants of earlier times (Ozturk, 2011). This kind of poverty and deprivation became highly observable particularly in urban squatter housing neighbourhoods (Adaman and Keyder, 2006; Eroglu, 2013). However, even in an environment with weakened traditional coping mechanisms and despite the economic crises, some segments of urban poor migrants appeared to have stayed committed to the state and the social order. Given these problems, one would expect poor urban migrants to become frustrated with and angry at society and the state and hence to behave aggressively and start collective actions in order to improve their conditions; however, some segments of urban poor in Turkey keep committed to the state. Therefore, this study explores the factors that keep them committed to the state and loyal to social order by analysing relational perspectives of the urban poor's deprivation, which involve looking into their relationships with the rest of society and the state (Bhalla

³² For the details of these mechanisms see Chapter IV

and Lapeyre, 1997) rather than economic circumstances. Hence, in this chapter, the relational perspectives of poor urban migrants' deprivation are discussed first and an evaluation of the factors looked at will then follow.

8.1 The Urban Poor, Society and the State

8.1.1 The Urban Poor and Society

Participants' relationship with the society and the state were analysed separately in the first analysis chapter. This is part of looking at urban poor's deprivation and experiences through a relational perspective of their deprivation rather than just their economic disadvantages. Besides, people's living areas, their relationship styles with the other people and groups, in short settings in which people develop habits and experiences have direct effect on their attitudes and actions as indicated in Chapter II. While poor urban migrant participants of this study are already perceived as poor groups, their relationships would enhance the evaluation of factors that affect their attitudes. Hence, the urban poor's participation in city life and their relationships with the rest of society such as relatives, family members and neighbours were analysed as a first step. It was found that urban poor migrants could not participate in city social life due mainly to economic deprivation. Their economic conditions stop them travelling in the city and prevent them dining alone or with their family members. Participants cannot afford travel expenses not just to go their hometowns; they are not able to afford travel expenses even in Istanbul. Therefore, poor urban migrants do not have the economic ability to visit their relatives and family members who live in distant parts of Istanbul. These conditions weaken the bonds between relatives and family members. Another factor that erodes bonds between family members is limited participation in traditional and religious activities such as wedding ceremonies and eids. Participants rarely participate in these kinds of activities due to their economic constraints. At weddings, it is socially expected for guests to bring a present such as money and/or a golden coin. Besides, it is a tradition at eids (religious events) –Ramadan and the sacrifice- to wear new clothes, which is also a burden for poor urban migrants. Participants' economic

conditions also prevent them to participating in social activities that are significant for social integration, especially for women.

Social, economic, legal and demographic changes can affect neighbourhoods and their structures as well. Previously, people could settle down in neighbourhoods where other residents had the same ethnicity and religious sect. People were able to find land to build houses on without any permission so they could live amongst others of the same ethnicity and sect. However, the loss of publicly-owned land, strict controls on building permits after the earthquakes, and the implementation of rules and controls in line with the process of Europeanisation reduced the chance for new-comers to find available land to build a house on in order to first settle down before integrating into urban society and transferring their poverty to some other poor migrants (Isik and Pinarcioglu, 2008 and 2011). Thus, people from the same villages, towns and religious sects now have to settle down in different neighbourhoods. This led to two distinct results: First, relationships between people from the same background weakened which damaged the traditional welfare mechanisms in Turkey. The second result could be seen as positive since people from different backgrounds must live together and that encourages individuals to recognise other ethnic and religious groups. People from different backgrounds have developed solidarity and assistance networks as seen in Chapter VI, which replaced the former family/kinship informal networks. Besides, people also now develop relationships within neighbourhoods that encompass different people from different backgrounds. This is clearly seen from participants' experiences. People in the same neighbourhoods developed increased relationship and solidarity regardless of others' origins. Poor urban migrants developed relationships and solidarity mechanisms in their neighbourhoods, which replaced and compensated for previous traditional informal networks. Although they cannot participate in social activities, visit their relatives in distant areas of city and they cannot enjoy city life in the modern manner, they engage in a new social life in their neighbourhoods which also provides solidarity and assistance mechanisms. As indicated before and will be seen more detailed in the second part, these network channels work as solidarity tools and keep these people in the social

order. Instead of serving as fertile pools for social movement recruitment process, these networks have solidarity features. Although previous solidarity networks have eroded significantly after 1980s, new networks emerged in this period among significantly neighbours but the main characteristic of networks hasn't changed. Participants' expressions revealed that these networks help them meet their daily needs and conduct their lives.

The urban poor's relationship with the rest of society and their participation in social activities reveals that they adjust their position in society to fit their economic conditions. New kinds of relationships and solidarity mechanisms depend on intra neighbourhood networks developed by poor urban migrants and these are new types of coping behaviour. However, as indicated by Bayat (2000a and 2000b), this strategy regards relational perspectives of deprivation rather than being a coping strategy to resolve the economic problems: Participants develop new solidarity models in order to both improve their economic opportunities and to engage with society. By this way, they still feel themselves as a part of society and the neighbourhood in which they live. This two sided coping behaviour enhances their capacity and information about job opportunities and sources of assistance on the one hand. On the other, it also eases their integration into the city and society by helping them engage with society and build on this relationship.

8.1.2 The Urban Poor and the State

The urban poor's attitudes towards the state and the mechanisms of state institutions cover their perceptions about their position before the state and their relationships with state institutions. The literature reviewed reveals that although there are several factors, one of the most prominent factors that affect people's attitudes and behaviours are their feelings and perceptions. In particular, the urban poor might feel frustration towards people and the state due to their deprivation, which can cause grievances and anger towards state institutions, and then aggressive responses to them. Participants' attitudes towards current state institutions reveal that they prefer to stay committed to the state. Their approaches to any social movement appear as the opposition to the social order instead of accepting these actions as tools for displaying their demands. However, all mechanisms based on active approaches towards

the state illustrate that these mechanisms are mainly used as coping behaviour for increasing access to improved economic opportunities.

Participants get involved in the political system in order to enhance their economic opportunities. However, all these efforts obey the state's legal framework. So this study's findings give a different picture of the urban poor's attitudes towards social order and state institutions compared to Bayat's "Quiet Encroachment" model. While Bayat's model put the action of urban poor involves a cumulative encroachment that is an expansion of their space in order to reach better off position through mostly not obeying public rules such as the repudiation of bills, respondents want to find better ways to cope, they still value being committed to social order. However, it should be kept in mind that, rapid urbanisation process obstructs new comings' opportunities to reach blank spaces to occupy. Besides, populist policies which allow occupying plots and building houses have lost their weight. Therefore participants search for additional coping behaviours to overcome their unfavourable economic conditions while staying committed to the state instead of displaying their demands through social movements. Their attitudes towards political parties, voting habits, satisfaction with politics, social equality and citizenship are strictly connected to perceptions about living conditions. The more they perceive an opportunity for their living conditions and chances of receiving economic help increase, it is found that, participants' level of satisfaction, and hence their commitment to state, increases. This approach of participants reveals that, the important point for them is their personal gains. Instead of demanding common gains which would improve deprived people's conditions totally, respondents' personal improvement arises as the most prominent factors that affect their attitudes and actions.

This approach is related to participants' perceptions about their own position before the state and its policies. Participants' perception about themselves before the state will be discussed thoroughly in the next part; nevertheless, policy change should be mentioned here because it is related to the relationship between urban migrants and the state. As indicated before, first generation migrants could find a plot of land and build a house without a permit, then acquire a legal permit through pardoning laws of the government,

build apartment blocks, rent them to new migrants and then transfer their poverty to them. This process is defined as “Poverty-in-Turn” by Isik and Pinarcioglu (2011) which came to an end in the last 15 years (Isik and Pinarcioglu, 2008). This process also has features in common with the “Quiet Encroachment” approach of Bayat (2000a and 2000b). In line with the features of this approach, first generation migrants improved their conditions at the expense of the state and they gained new advantages with every step taken by themselves and governments. However, second and third generation comers could not find a place to build houses due to two main reasons: the lack of free plots and stricter rules. Together with the Europeanisation process, new rules for construction after two great earthquakes in 1999 became effective on the activity. Strict state and municipality controls on plots and construction permits now prevent encroachment by urban migrants. The perception of the state as strong discouraged this kind of action, people’s feelings of powerlessness before state together increased with idea of the paternal state. Therefore, participants felt obliged to find legal ways to achieve better living standards and they also keep committed to the state and its legal framework due to some other factors that will be discussed in the next part.

8.2 Factors that Affect Urban Poor Migrants’ Attitudes

This part will discuss factors that affect main respondent group’s attitudes. This study uses triangulation to reach its objectives and it reveals these factors, they were derived from three different sources: Poor Urban Migrants, NGO Representatives and State Officials. However, these factors will be discussed together, since all three sources have common factors.

8.2.1 Personal Factors

As it revealed by all three group sources, personal factors emerge as the most important conditions that affect and almost shape urban poor migrants’ actions and attitudes. These are distinguishing factors for Turkey that enhance the understanding Turkey context by using macro and micro conditions. As Eroglu (2011) points out, values, norms and beliefs have distinctive role on households’ behaviour. Further Bayat (2000a and 2005) sees Muslim societies

have limited means for action and thus these societies need a view that include values and beliefs, including religion.

The importance of religion in society and for participants is the most prominent point that keeps people committed to the state and society and helps them to tolerate the deprivation. Religion is effective in the urban poor's perception of their conditions, their responses towards society and the state, and in producing mechanisms for providing social cohesion and order.

Participants believe that everything they receive and experience is the result of Allah's will and their destiny. Everything they receive is given them by the will of Allah through different sources. Everything they experience is the part of their destiny which is determined by Allah. Therefore, they see their experiences as an examination for them and they accept that if they question their conditions and experiences, they might question the will of Allah. This approach is also a reality for them when they compare themselves with their past experiences, with other poor people or with those better-off. Further, participants see any rebellious act against their conditions as a rejection of their destiny which means being excluded from the Islamic religion. Religion and its importance were also brought forward by NGO representatives and officials. Religion and its social solidarity mechanisms are considered to be major tools that keep society together and distinguish Turkish society from its western counterparts. Policies are also produced after considering how to not diminish solidarity feelings among people from tradition and religion. Therefore, religion and its importance among participants and Islam's tools for assistance and solidarity are both considered by the urban poor, NGO representatives and officials. The presence of Islam in everyday life for participants increases their tolerance for their deprivation and experiences and eases the state's role to enhance social cohesion and order in society.

The clientelist approach of governments to the social policy tools is another factor that shapes people's approaches and attitudes towards state and state institutions. This approach reinforces the paternal state perception among participants together which separates Turkey from other countries. As pointed before, clientelist implementations prevail particularly in developing countries. This is a reality especially for Middle Eastern countries (Bayat, 2000a). Aybars

and Tsarouhas (2010) argue that Turkey displays a “hybrid character” between Middle Eastern Countries and European Countries. Although Turkey was similar to many Middle Eastern countries, its Europeanisation has made it unique. Clientelist implementations in Turkey reinforce paternalistic state perception which shape state-citizen relationship since the Ottoman Period. Participants’ expressions revealed that social policy tools such as cash and in-kind aids, widow and/or disabled salaries are perceived as the great goodness of the state which is an important part of the paternalist state understanding. Despite the fact that governments in Turkey face regular elections, people’s perceptions about the paternalistic features of the state are still strong (Aybars and Tsarouhas, 201; Grutjen, 2008). This perception is found from interviews with participants. Therefore, social services and welfare assistance are seen as the great goodness of the state rather than a citizenship right. Participants’ responses revealed that the urban poor have a natural commitment to the state which influences people’s ideas about justice and fairness as indicated in literature (Takenishi and Takenishi, 1992). This idea is particularly important in order to explain the reasons for continuing commitment to the state despite economic crises periods. Further, the paternal state perception can cause a powerlessness feeling before the state. The literature reviewed revealed that feeling powerless can shape people’s attitudes towards the state. People might not react in an aggressive way to the circumstances even though they perceive that their conditions are unjust (Tyler and Smith, 1995; Hvinden, 1995). As indicated in Chapter II, pragmatic costs and benefits also have influence on the decision of people to participate in any social movement. People can actually respond aggressively and they can participate in social movements when state capacity declines (Gizewski and Homer-Dixon, 1995 and Sambanis, 2004). People might want to change the system if they feel that they are powerless and when they change the system they might gain power. However, the effectiveness and power of the state and the personal understanding of state – such as paternal state- might become more prominent when people consider costs and benefits. Since respondents accept state in a paternal role and perceived their rights as the goodness of state, they see social movements and demanding their rights through any oppositional ways as not an acceptable way. Therefore, clientelist implementations together with the paternal state

perception emerge as one of the most prominent factors that keep the respondents committed to the social order.

One of the most prominent components of relative deprivation theory is based on people's perception of their well-being in comparison to others. Sometimes people may compare themselves to others who live in better conditions; people may have worse living conditions and/or their own personal comparison with either their past experiences or their future expectations. People's future expectations also affect their attitudes towards the state. This study finds that participants now have better conditions compared with their past experiences. These comparisons are not based only on economic criteria. Participants think there are several ways that their current living standards have improved compared to the past. As indicated in Chapter IV, poor urban migrants chose to migrate to cities for several reasons. These reasons can be divided into push and pull factors (UN Habitat, 2003a). However, economic difficulties were the most prominent among others. This also reflects the migration process in Turkey. It is indicated in Chapter IV that economic problems in rural areas of Turkey intensified internal migration from rural areas into cities with the economic opportunities offered in the latter (Adaman and Keyder, 2006; Tas and Lightfoot, 2007). Therefore, people who have migrated into cities also have expectations to solve their economic difficulties and achieve better living standards. However, this is harder for newer migrants than older ones.

Although participants in this study have not been able to reach the living standards they wanted in their statements, they are happier now when they compare themselves with their past. Participants³³ indicated they have better income sources and opportunities compared to when they lived in their hometowns. Participants also compared themselves with people in worse conditions. This comparison is strictly related to participants' values, norms and beliefs as well. Participants compare themselves with people who live in worse conditions and people who have no economic sources of help from formal and informal networks.

³³ Except 6 of them who wish to return to their hometowns if they had enough income.

Thus, they feel grateful to Allah because of their relatively good conditions. Participants with this view reflect the approach of Tyler and Smith (1995) that people make comparisons with those who live in worse conditions to enhance their feelings of self-worth than upward comparisons which might cause discouragement. The main difference or an additional component of this comparison preference among participants is the role of religion.

This part reveals that personal factors have significant effect on some segments of urban poor migrants' attitudes and approaches. Although the importance of religion, norms and beliefs are indicated, this part enhances the analysing of urban poor migrants' perception about social movements and improving their conditions through social movements. Especially religion and its interpretation by respondents display similarities with the reaction what Melucci (2003) named as "sublimation" which refers searching rewards in sacral self-celebration. Respondents vows their poverty and deprivation and mobilise their symbolic resources to interpret their living conditions. Instead of accepting social movements as a democratic right and a way to display their demands, social movements are perceived as defiance to religion and paternal state. Therefore, respondents' expressions revealed that they prefer to search ways for individual upward mobility such as aids and informal networks instead of using "voice" choice and display their demands through social movements

8.2.2 Organisational Factors

As it revealed in Chapter VI, urban poor migrant respondents receive any kind of support through significantly informal networks. Although previous informal networks that helped poor urban migrants to integrate in the city had been eroded due to social, economic and political changes (Bugra and Keyder, 2006), it is found that there are still informal networks among the urban poor. The main difference is the change of styles of these networks among the urban poor. Previous informal assistance and solidarity networks were family/kinship solidarity, continuing tie with the villages and informal Urban Settlements. However, changes in families from extended to nuclear types, economic factors and changes in the feature of neighbourhoods have transformed these informal networks into intra-neighbourhood solidarity and assistance

networks. As indicated in Chapter IV, the Turkish urbanisation process produced its own solutions to fight against poverty and improve integration. These solutions were related to the traditional importance of the family in the Turkish context, which underlines common features with the Southern European Welfare Model (Gough et al, 1997). These traditional family arrangements keep the urban poor's hopes for upward mobility alive as suggested by Hirschman (1973). However, in line with the change in these structures, the effectiveness of intra-family solidarity was damaged. Although family/kinship solidarity was eroded, the urban poor also improved intra-neighbourhood solidarity that helps them to conduct their daily routines, to integrate into the city, and to keep their hopes for future upward mobility alive together with the improvement in social services. These solidarity mechanisms reveal that Turkey still keeps its traditional society feature which also increases the tunnel effect as Hirschman (1973) suggests. People who achieved better economic positions and/or who receive formal and informal assistance, better income sources, and job opportunities, acknowledge their responsibilities towards people in their networks. Thus, people can still keep their engagement with society and their commitment to state institutions even if they live in deprived conditions.

In addition, there are also solidarity circles based around friendships, religious sects and party membership. These solidarity networks also serve as connecting tools among particularly urban poor. Together with the solidarity networks based on neighbourhoods and religion, networks based on friendship and political party membership help respondents in migration and integration, housing, job seeking and meeting their daily needs. These networks also reflect the locality of respondents since these networks are effective particularly in the neighbourhoods of respondents. While these channels are effectively being used by respondents in order to meet their necessities, their statements revealed that these networks serve as connecting tools to the social order for them. As discussed in Chapter II, these networks reduce the emergence of social movements by serving as cross-cutting solidarity channels. These networks connect urban poor to the society and social order they live. Therefore, informal solidarity channels increase the respondents' connections

with society, instead of serving as fertile ground for forming and /or participating social movements.

8.2.3 Role of State and Welfare Implementations

The literature reviewed revealed that people might keep committed to social order as long as they think that it cares for people like them. This approach is related to the state's policies and services by which it can directly affect citizens' everyday lives. The analysis of the experiences gathered, revealed that improvement in the effectiveness of state services especially in the last decade in Turkey led to an increasing satisfaction among respondents. Participants generally stressed satisfaction with improvements in health, social insurance and social assistance services. Policies and tools such as free books for all school pupils; free coal; social assistance tools for the elderly, widows, the disabled, and those nursed at home and full social insurance coverage for all were either introduced or improved in the last decade. Furthermore, fieldwork showed that improvement in health services for the elderly, the ill and poor people have also been appreciated by respondents. All these services increased respondents' satisfaction with state services. An effective social service can increase people's commitment to the state (Agnew, 1992; Agnew et al, 1996). Although Turkey's social assistance service is still fragmented (UNDP, 2013) both statistics revealed by TUIK and participants' expressions show that people now can receive a better social assistance service compared to former periods and their commitment to the state also increased in line with these improvements. However, as respondents indicated current amount of cash transfers are not adequate for them. As Eroglu (2011) puts, current social assistance scheme far from provides a sustained and sizeable cash support for needy people. Although they have difficulties for meeting their needs, participants still think that the current social order and the government care for them and as indicated in the literature review, these policies and the improvements in social services increase their commitment to the state and help to maintain their hopes for the future. This approach is also indicated by NGO representatives and state officials. Increasing the state's capacity and effectiveness is thought as one of the most prominent factors that maintain people's beliefs and support for the current social order.

As suggested in the literature, if people think that current social order cares for people like them they keep being committed to the state. All three group participants' experiences, observations and statements reveal that this is valid for this study. As Keyman and Onis (2007:213) point out, the current ruling party (JDP) covered social justice issues through an effective and democratic state that were the most prominent demands of people, thus won the 2002 election. In line with the improvements of social services, people's commitment to the political and economic order was kept and JDP is still the ruling party. Additionally, the effectiveness of NGOs and municipalities on social services such as solidarity and assistance also increased in this period. Participants' demands and needs were met by the state, municipalities and NGOs. Thus aid is available from three different formal services. Therefore, participants' satisfaction with the current social order is affected in a positive way. Participants' expressions revealed that satisfaction with the current political and economic order is still high. They have hopes for future and they can still tolerate existing inequalities and disadvantages.

Participants believe that poor urban migrants now have better income sources and opportunities compared to the past. This better position comes from improved income sources, economic opportunities and democratisation. Thus, this satisfaction also reinforces their hopes for the future and their expectations of better upward mobility, which is an important factor that increases the tolerance poor urban people have towards the deprivation they experience. If people see themselves in an improved condition and/or have hope for upward mobility, they keep committed to the social order as it is indicated in literature (Agnew et al, 1996; Sambanis, 2004). Hirschman's (1973) tunnel effect also reveals that people can tolerate inequalities and deprivation if they have hope for upward mobility with no clear restrictions. Respondents' expressions revealed that they still have hopes for future upward mobility in an environment where there is no clear restriction on upward mobility for any kind of group. Therefore, these two factors affect poor urban migrants' attitudes and participation in society positively and increase their commitment to the state and the social order.

As shown in the literature review, people's attitudes towards state institutions are connected to their perceptions about how well the current government serves them. It should be noted here that the important point is the evaluation and perception of participants about the current government and its policy tools. Political party memberships are seen as coping mechanisms by which they perceive that they can obtain additional sources of economic help to increase their living standards. These tools also compensate for the previous informal mechanisms –family/kinship networks- by increasing job opportunities and assistance sources. In the environment where previous mechanisms were eroded due to social, economic, political and demographic changes, the urban poor have adopted the political system as a compensation mechanism. Together with the social policy tools used by government in a clientelist approach, participants evaluate coping mechanisms and implementations as a way that helps them to cope. This illustrates an important and significant point that underlies one of the motivations of this study; the urban poor choose mechanisms that help them to cope with their daily necessities, instead of participating in aggressive responses towards state institutions that might affect the more people who experience similar deprivation.

Democratisation process by which bans of some issues were lifted, also have effect on respondents' commitment to social order. Participants who define themselves as Kurdish or Alawite indicated that they feel better in society and before state institutions compared to the past. Although they had experienced unpleasant behaviour from others, it is stated that they have better relationships with their neighbours and the rest of society. The democratisation process and the end of bans on several issues such as on wearing the hijab in public areas and on the use of the Kurdish language increased participants' satisfaction. Apart from the economic comparison, people also compare their everyday life including relational perspectives of their experiences with their past experiences. This comparison also gives participants a hope for the future. Together with the increase in the recognition of people from minority backgrounds as a result of changes in the characteristics of neighbourhoods, democratisation has reinforced people's engagement with the rest of society and commitment to the state.

8.3 Conclusion

This study aims to uncover the main factors that keep some segments of poor urban migrants committed to the state in Turkey. As it indicated before, social movement approaches are seen inadequate in order to understand societies that have different social dynamics than western countries. Turkey is one of these countries as a contemporary Muslim country. Therefore, she has distinct features and social dynamics which must be explored by depending on people's own perceptions and ideas. Participating in a social movement is not just a simple decision rather it has distinct meanings in Turkey. There are especially personal factors that shape people's evaluations and decisions in the society towards state, state institutions and social movements. It is revealed that participating in a social movement is perceived as defiance to the social order by respondents. Thus, not participating in a social movement refers a commitment to social order especially for urban poor respondents. This study reveals that poor urban migrant respondents still remain committed and loyal to the state and the social order. Despite the fact that the economic aspect of their poverty changed, deprivation they experience have not changed from a relational perspective. However, it is revealed that the way they are connected to society and the sources of connections has changed. Poor urban migrants now conduct their daily lives in their local neighbourhoods and they have new kinds of solidarity mechanisms in order to replace the previously effective family sources of solidarity. They were able to adjust their position in society in line with the changes to the style of deprivation and the changes to social and demographic structures that they experienced. They act as "foxes" not only in an economic manner but in a relational one as well.

This approach is also seen in their relationship to the state and in their attitude towards state institutions. New comers in particular cannot benefit from the previously prevailing mechanisms, as mentioned earlier, by which urban migrants could transfer their poverty to others and enhance their standards of living through those mechanisms. However, they prefer to remain in and adapt to the new system, without the previous mechanisms, and they try to do so by finding new solutions to help them realise their expectations. Although the

urban poor display reactions to their deprived conditions and they also give examples of these reactions, common thought anticipates that urban poor people are more likely to react aggressively in developing countries particularly where the state's capacity to improve their living standards has declined. However, some segments of urban poor do not act aggressively and participate in social movements in order to protest against their living conditions even during an economic crisis.

Participants' expressions brought that there are main factors that need to be found qualitatively in order to assess people's feelings and opinions. Personal factors emerge as the most important factors that keep urban poor migrants committed to state and social order. These distinguish Turkey from other countries with large populations of urban poor. The importance of Islam for participants shows us its place in the urban poor migrants to keep them committed to state and order. The place of religion in the lives of participants and its capacity to affect their actions, attitudes and decisions are stressed by all group of sources. It is also pointed out that religious tools and implementations are considered by policy makers for better social policies that aim to maintain social order and increase social cohesion. Still, the endurance of the parental state perception is another main factor sui generis in Turkey. Clientelist implementations of governments and their approach to social policy tools reinforce parental state perception among the participants. Participants' experiences revealed that this perception both increase their appreciation of the state and encouraged commitment to future governments. Informal networks are still salient in Turkey although they are no longer based on family/kinship solidarity but instead on neighbourhood solidarity. Demographic, economic and political changes caused this shift in the prevalent form of informal solidarity networks and they also increased recognition between different social groups of each other which helped increase social cohesion.

It is also revealed that, welfare state implementations are recognised by respondents as the goodness of paternal state. Together with the importance of religion, under which respondents is accepted any demanding action towards the state as a defiance to their destiny; the importance of paternal state, under which demanding better living standards through social

movements is accepted as a defiance to the paternal state approach; state's role and welfare state implementations emerge as social control agents used for maintaining social order. Due to the acceptance of state as powerful, urban poor feel themselves as powerless against state mechanism, individual and informal ways are preferred by urban poor instead of demand-making movements. When we analyse the factors affect urban poor respondents' actions and attitudes, the repressive apparatus of the state should be considered as Melucci (2003) puts. Hence, this study reveals that social control agents such as religion, clientelist social policy implementations and powerful state perception obstruct the participation process of urban poor migrants in social movements.

Besides, as indicated in the literature, education provides people knowledge about what the problems are and how the system works and can be changed. Therefore, educated people are more likely to engage in social movements (Brodie et al, 2011). Chapter V revealed that urban poor respondents mostly uneducated and even illiterate. Due to the limited education, respondents have limited sources for knowledge and action. Further, limited education also affects the calculation process of cost and benefits. Uneducated respondents, therefore, choose individual mobility and/or coping behaviours instead of mobilising for social movements. This also increases the apolitical attitudes of respondents since they approach political processes as coping mechanisms.

The most distinguishing part of this study is the findings which reveal the factors that affect urban poor migrants' attitudes and approaches towards the state and social order. These factors suggest that social settings would have high importance in a society through effecting people's judgements and approaches. Although urban areas in Turkey have problems similar to other developing countries' urban problems, Turkey's unique features put her in a unique position. The design and methodology of this study reveals that the real meaning of the some segments of poor urban migrants' silence is their commitment to the state and social order. This study brought the factors that underpin their attitudes and approaches towards society and the state in a developing country, Turkey. By revealing these factors, this study display the importance of personal factors and informal mechanisms in the analysing

process of social movements by depending on macro and micro conditions that might motivate people to participate in social movements.

As a candidate country for the EU, Turkey aims to implement the guidance this organisation offers for tackling poverty, for producing social order and cohesion. However, Turkey's historical development gives her a unique feature which separates her both from Middle-Eastern countries and European countries. Therefore, policies should target both at the distributional and the relational perspectives of the urban poor's experiences. Policies should encompass the following approaches and tools in order to encourage the real commitment to the state on the one hand and increase social cohesion in the society on the other.

First of all, as it obtained from all sources, social movements are recognised as a threat for state and social order. However, as with the developments in the world, social movements are now recognised as tools for development of a society. Therefore, emergence of a social movement should be recognised as a way for displaying demands. Social movements without violence bring people's demands into the politic area in a democratic way. While policy makers' perception about social movements might change through increasing the effectiveness of democracy rules, people, especially poor urban people's perception might change through education and the implementation of rules. These might enhance the democratic environment in a country and might turn patron-client relationship into a real commitment.

As shown above, Turkey's continuous economic growth during the last decade helped to reduce absolute poverty rates. However, relative poverty rates are still high in Turkey. This might be reduced through effective policies that target to decrease the inequality among people in a society. An efficient social policy must aim to have better distribution channels among people. Therefore, the inequality and the gap between poor and rich must be reduced. In order to maintain these people's commitment, state should take effective policy steps considering inequality. As Ferreira and Ravallion (2008) put it, economic growth can reduce absolute poverty but besides that, policies that effectively reduce inequality are also important for sustaining economic growth and social development. Therefore, governments should introduce pro-poor policies and

programmes that will help to reduce inequality in society. Accordingly, citizens' commitment to social order would be maintained.

It is revealed that, clientelist implementations of social policy tools are prevailing in Turkey context and this approach obstruct the citizenship understanding. This approach also undermines democracy and the necessities of democracy such as transparency, accountability and equity. More equal and well programmed system for the implementations of social policy tools should be built. This would enhance the citizenship and social right understanding among people by this democracy and democratic institutions also would be improved. Literature review revealed the importance of democratic institutions particularly for the economic growth and the development of a country. Therefore, Turkey should develop a programmed social aid system. There are several Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) programmes in Turkey that give assistance to widows, the elderly and others. All education, health and disability benefits could be gathered in one well-planned programme. This kind of programme would have two main results: A more effective and comprehensive social policy tool than the current one and a maintained level of commitment to the state and its social order from citizens. This is because, as was indicated earlier, when people think that the current government cares about them, they are less in favour of radical changes to economic and political structures (Ravallion and Lokshin, 2000).

Employment policies should be conducted in line with social policy tools. The fieldwork carried out revealed that the employment agency in Turkey is incapable of producing solutions to poor people's employment issues. Personal conditions such as ill health, motherhood, commuting costs and education should be considered by the employment agency when dealing with employment problems. Moreover, it is also essential to improve vocational education, since the job market requires certain specific skills from the labour force.

Furthermore, appropriate channels must be developed by which disadvantaged groups can participate in and represent themselves in policy producing processes. Exclusion from the political decision making processes can reduce

poor people's commitment to the state and its political bodies. Therefore, their participation should be facilitated in order to increase social cohesion in society. Including different parts of society in social policy discussions would help to spread the idea that the state is not the only party responsible for addressing issues of poverty and social cohesion. All parts of society should take a role in promoting social cohesion and national unity.

Finally, Turkey should improve her democratic institutions. Policies and tools implemented by state institutions, should aim the improvement of society totally and these tools should consider the features of Turkish society. Democratic changes taken by Turkey in the last decade increased people's commitment to state institutions and their trust in future policy making. Therefore, Turkey should continue her democratisation process which would bring more equality for all citizens and increase their commitment to society and social order.

Appendices

Appendix A : Consent Forms

A.1 Consent Form 1 (To be given by NGOs to individuals who agree to participate in the first part of the study)

CONSENT FORM (V 1-1)

Study title: New Social Problems in Turkey, How Are They Being Combated and Their Implications for Social Cohesion and Unity

Researcher name: Fatih URKMEZER

Ethics reference: 5063

Please initial the box(es) if you agree with the statement(s):

I agree that [name of NGO] can pass my contact details to Fatih Urkmezer so that he can arrange to interview me

I agree to meet with Fatih Urkmezer in order to be interviewed

I understand that Fatih Urkmezer will not share any personal

I agree that Fatih Urkmezer can use information obtained from

Data Protection

I understand that information collected about me during my participation in this study will be stored on a password protected computer and that this information will only be used for the purpose of this study. All files containing any personal data will be made anonymous.

Name of participant (print name).....

Signature of participant.....

Date.....

A.2 Consent Form 2 (To be given by the researcher prior to interview)

CONSENT FORM (V.1-2)

Study title: New Social Problems in Turkey, How Are They Being Combated and Their Implications for Social Cohesion and Unity

Researcher name: Fatih URKMEZER

Ethics reference: 5063

Please initial the box(es) if you agree with the statement(s):

I have read and understood the information sheet (19.12.2012 /V.1-1 of participant information sheet) and have had the

I agree to take part in this research project and agree for my data

I understand my participation is voluntary and I may withdraw at

Data Protection

I understand that information collected about me during my participation in this study will be stored on a password protected computer and that this information will only be used for the purpose of this study. All files containing any personal data will be made anonymous.

Name of participant (print name).....

Signature of participant.....

Date.....

Appendix B : Information Sheets

B.1 Information Sheet for Urban Poor Migrants

Dated 19.12.2012- Version 1

Participant Information Sheet (V1-1)

Study Title: New Social Problems in Turkey, How Are They Being Combated and Their Implications for Social Cohesion and Unity

Researcher: Fatih Urkmezer

Ethics number:5063

Please read this information carefully before deciding to take part in this research. If you are happy to participate you will be asked to sign a consent form.

What is the research about?

I am a research student at the University of Southampton. I am also a district governor for nearly 12 years and I am studying at the University of Southampton on behalf of Ministry of Interior of Turkey. This study will be a part of the research for reaching a PhD degree in Sociology and Social Policy. My main aims are to explore and reveal the new social problems in the poverty in urban areas of Turkey; poverty and social exclusion experiences of poor people in urban areas; Turkey's social assistance programs and their implications on social cohesion and unity. This study mainly concerns in revealing the changing in the poverty and welfare strategies, poverty experiences, policies and implementations about poverty and social exclusion and preventing the feelings of breakdown of the social bonds and disaffection arising from poverty and social exclusion. There will be three groups of interview and for every group there will be specific information sheets in which the reasons of the groups chosen and their rights will be revealed separately.

Why have I been chosen?

I am interviewing you because you have previously been contacted by [name of NGO] and have agreed to take part in my study. You were chosen because you are representing the newly group of immigrants. You migrated from different parts of Turkey to Istanbul after 1990s. After the economic crisis, earthquakes and socio-economic transformation in Turkey existed welfare strategies had changed and these problems had caused a permanent poverty, social exclusion and breakdown of the social bonds. Your experiences will be helpful to be understood that the new social problems arising from socio-economic transformation.

What will happen to me if I take part?

If you accept to take a part of this research there will be an interview in your home or in another place preferred by you. The time of the interview also will be arranged in line with your will.

There will be some questions relevant to my research and these questions will follow each other according to your answers. This interview will take 75 minutes at most and interview will start

after you give your consent. The conversations will be recorded and there will be no cost for you for being a part of this study.

Are there any benefits in my taking part?

There will be no individual benefit but this study will be helpful to understand the changing in the characteristics of poverty and the relationship between poverty, social exclusion and disaffection; and will be helpful for effective social assistance policies in providing social cohesion.

Are there any risks involved?

As a being a part of this study you will not face any risk arising from the study and in any part of the study you have right to not answer the questions from which you feel stress and/or discomfort.

Will my participation be confidential?

All the data and information will be kept in a secure way in order to assure confidentiality. This protection will be provided via password controlled laptop hence data will not be accessed by anyone else. All the data and information will be obtained, stored, processed and kept in line with Data Protection Act and University of Southampton policy. By this way your personal information from which you could be identified will be changed and pseudonyms will be used.

What happens if I change my mind?

You have right to withdrawn in any time of the interview and it will also be asked to you whether or not you want to stop completely, re-schedule or carry on during the interview.

What happens if something goes wrong?

If you want to contact with someone for further information about the study and the process you can contact with:

Dr. Martina Prude,

Head of Research Governance,

00442380595058

mad4@soton.ac.uk

Where can I get more information?

For any other possible questions and concerns, my contact details as follows:

Fatih Urkmezer

University of Southampton;

UK number: 0044 7414 937793

TR number: 0090 505 3704474

fu1e11@soton.ac.uk

B.2 Information Sheet for NGO Representatives

Dated 19.12.2012- Version 1

Participant Information Sheet (V1 -2)

Study Title: New Social Problems in Turkey, How Are They Being Combated and Their Implications for Social Cohesion and Unity

Researcher: Fatih Urkmezer

Ethics number:5063

Please read this information carefully before deciding to take part in this research. If you are happy to participate you will be asked to sign a consent form.

What is the research about?

I am a research student at the University of Southampton. I am also a district governor for nearly 12 years and I am studying at the University of Southampton on behalf of Ministry of Interior of Turkey. This study will be a part of the research for reaching a PhD degree in Sociology and Social Policy. My main aims are to explore and reveal the new social problems in the poverty in urban areas of Turkey; poverty and social exclusion experiences of poor people in urban areas; Turkey's social assistance programs and their implications on social cohesion and unity. This study mainly concerns in revealing the changing in the poverty and welfare strategies, poverty experiences, policies and implementations about poverty and social exclusion and preventing the feelings of breakdown of the social bonds and disaffection arising from poverty and social exclusion. There will be three groups of interview and for every group there will be specific information sheets in which the reasons of the group chosen and their rights will be revealed separately.

Why have I been chosen?

You were chosen because you are in the position in which you examine the changing in poverty types, welfare strategies, integration problems, social bonds, social cohesion issues and other problems mostly experienced by the new migrants.

What will happen to me if I take part?

If you accept the part of this research there will be an interview at your office or in another place preferred by you. The time of the interview also will be arranged in line with your will.

There will be some questions relevant to my research and these questions will follow each other according to your answers. This interview will take 60 minutes at most and interview will start after you give your consent. The conversations will be recorded and there will be no cost for you for being a part of this study.

Are there any benefits in my taking part?

There will be no individual benefit but this study will be helpful to understand the changing in the characteristics of poverty and the relationship between poverty, social exclusion and disaffection; and will be helpful for effective social assistance policies in providing social cohesion.

Are there any risks involved?

As a being a part of this study you will not face any risk arising from the study and in any part of the study you have right to not answer the questions from which you feel stress and/or discomfort.

Will my participation be confidential?

All the data and information will be kept in a secure way in order to assure confidentiality. This protection will be provided via password controlled laptop hence data will not be accessed by anyone else. All the data and information will be obtained, stored, processed and kept in line with Data Protection Act and University of Southampton policy. By this interview you will have a chance to express your personal opinions and the policies of institute/organisation you present. Unless you prefer the opposite, your information will be shared in the study.

What happens if I change my mind?

You have right to withdraw in any time of the interview and it will also be asked top you whether or not you want to stop completely, re-schedule or carry on during the interview.

What happens if something goes wrong?

If you want to contact with someone for further information about the study and the process you can contact with:

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mad4@soton.ac.uk

Where can I get more information?

For any other possible questions and concerns, my contact details as follows:

Fatih Urkmezer

University of Southampton

UK number: 0044 7414 937793

TR number: 0090 505 3704474

fu1e11@soton.ac.uk

B.3 Information Sheet for Officials

Dated 19.12.2012- Version 1

Participant Information Sheet (V1 -3)

Study Title: New Social Problems in Turkey, How Are They Being Combated and Their Implications for Social Cohesion and Unity

Researcher: Fatih Urkmezer

Ethics number:5063

Please read this information carefully before deciding to take part in this research. If you are happy to participate you will be asked to sign a consent form.

What is the research about?

I am a research student at the University of Southampton. I am also a district governor for nearly 12 years and I am studying at the University of Southampton on behalf of Ministry of Interior of Turkey. This study will be a part of the research for reaching a PhD degree in Sociology and Social Policy. My main aims are to explore and reveal the new social problems in the poverty in urban areas of Turkey; poverty and social exclusion experiences of poor people in urban areas; Turkey's social assistance programs and their implications on social cohesion and unity. This study mainly concerns in revealing the changing in the poverty and welfare strategies, poverty experiences, policies and implementations about poverty and social exclusion and preventing the feelings of breakdown of the social bonds and disaffection arising from poverty and social exclusion. There will be three groups of interview and for every group there will be specific information sheets in which the reasons of the group chosen and their rights will be revealed separately.

Why have I been chosen?

You were chosen because you decide or implement existing/new policies about the poverty, social exclusion social cohesion problems and/or you analyse the connection between poverty, social exclusion, social cohesion, disaffection and weakening in the social bonds.

What will happen to me if I take part?

If you accept the part of this research there will be an interview at your office or in another place preferred by you. The time of the interview also will be arranged in line with your will.

There will be some questions relevant to my research and these questions will follow each other according to your answers. This interview will take 60 minutes at most and interview will start after you give your consent. The conversations will be recorded and there will be no cost for you for being a part of this study.

Are there any benefits in my taking part?

There will be no individual benefit but this study will be helpful to understand the changing in the characteristics of poverty and the relationship between poverty, social exclusion and disaffection; and will be helpful for effective social assistance policies in providing social cohesion.

Are there any risks involved?

As a being a part of this study you will not face any risk arising from the study and in any part of the study you have right to not answer the questions from which you feel stress and/or discomfort.

Will my participation be confidential?

All the data and information will be kept in a secure way in order to assure confidentiality. This protection will be provided via password controlled laptop hence data will not be accessed by anyone else. All the data and information will be obtained, stored, processed and kept in line with Data Protection Act and University of Southampton policy. By this interview you will have a chance to express your personal opinions and the policies of institute/organisation you present. Unless you prefer the opposite, your information will be shared in the study.

What happens if I change my mind?

You have right to withdrawn in any time of the interview and it will also be asked top you whether or not you want to stop completely, re-schedule or carry on during the interview.

What happens if something goes wrong?

If you want to contact with someone for further information about the study and the process you can contact with:

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For any other possible questions and concerns, my contact details as follows:

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UK number: 0044 7414 937793

TR number: 0090 505 3704474

fu1e11@soton.ac.uk

Appendix C : Guides

C.1 Guide for Interview with Urban Poor Migrants

**New Social Problems In Turkey
Interview Guide for Migrant Interviewees**

Main Information about Respondents: age, sex, occupation, literacy, family members, social security status, immigration (date, places etc.)

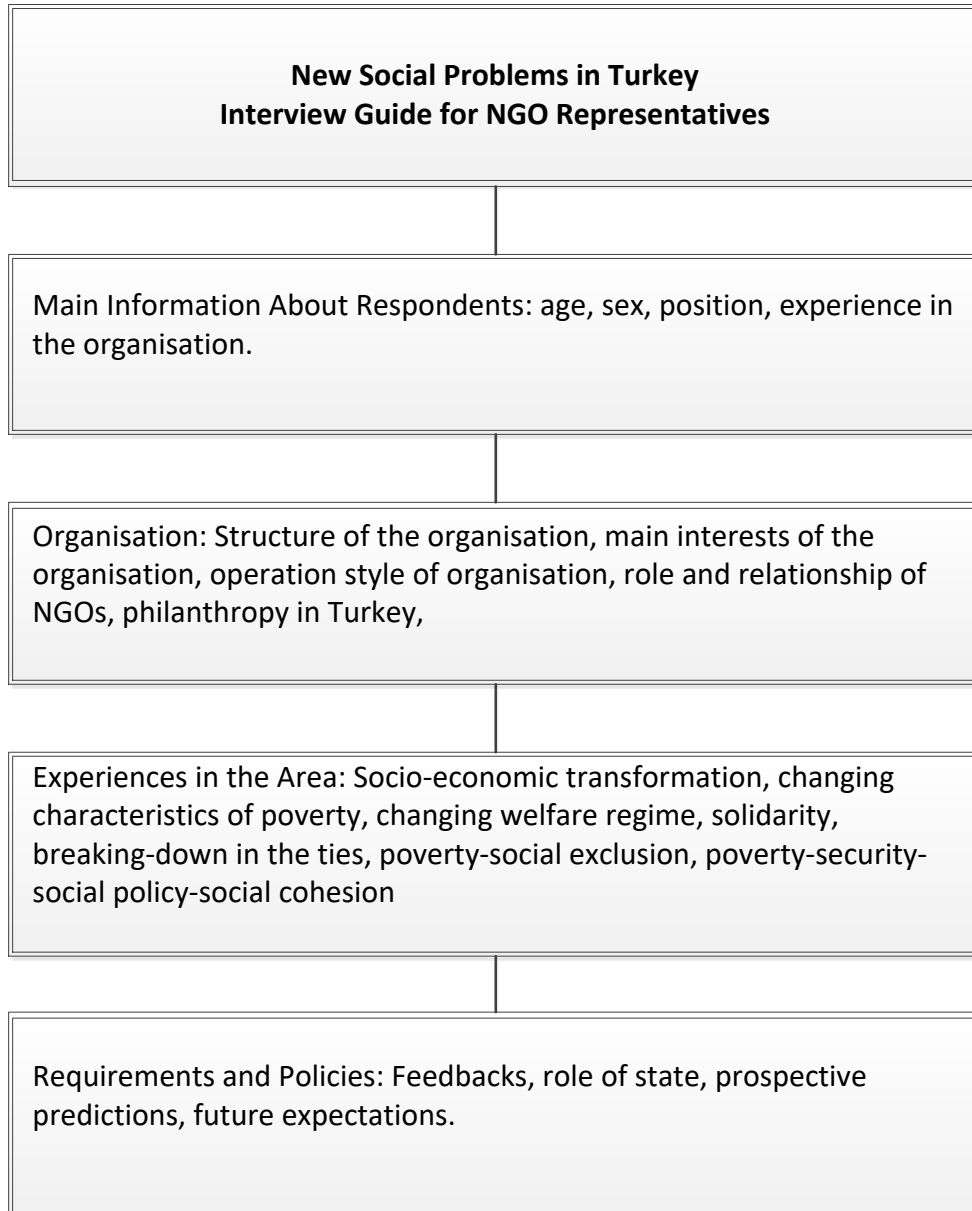
Economic Dimension: income, income resources, physical standards of houses, living standards, nutrition standards, poverty experiences, migration experiences, production, livelihood.

Social Dimension: Social services (health, education), social assistance, labour market participation, social participation, adaptation and integration, family/kinship and neighbours solidarity, welfare mechanisms

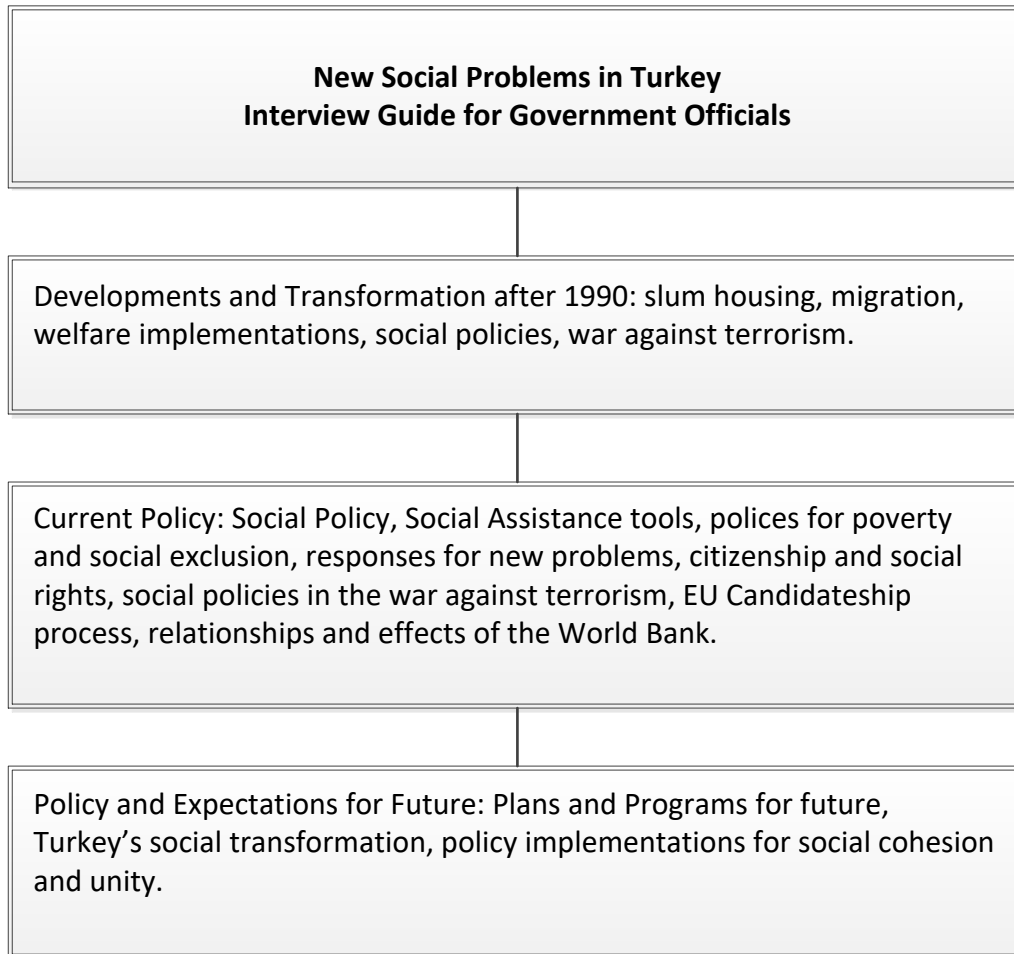
Political Dimension: Membership, citizenship, political freedom, voting, equality.

Disaffection and Security: feelings and opinions about society, future expectations, social order and unity, exclusion,

C.2 Guide for Interview with NGO Representatives



C.3 Guide for Interview with Officials



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