

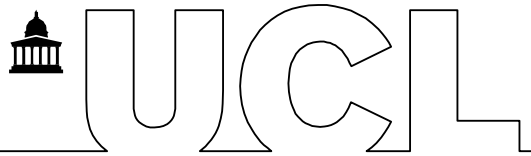


**Local Knowledge Production for Pro-Poor Development: Political Feasibility  
of Integrating the Multidimensional Poverty Index on a Local Level in Türkiye**

STUDENT NAME: Deniz Ceren YAZICI

MODULE CODE: BGLP0014

WORD COUNT: 14559



## IGP MSc COURSEWORK

### DECLARATION OF OWNERSHIP AND COPYRIGHT FORM

#### 1. DECLARATION OF OWNERSHIP

I confirm that I have read and understood the guidelines on plagiarism produced by IGP and UCL, that I understand the meaning of plagiarism as defined in those guidelines, and that I may be penalised for submitting work that has been plagiarised.

This piece of coursework must be submitted electronically through Turnitin on Moodle by the stipulated deadline. I understand that the coursework cannot be assessed unless it is submitted online and that penalties will be applied for late submissions as per UCL and IGP guidelines unless there is an approved case for Extenuating Circumstances or Reasonable Adjustments.

I declare that all material is entirely my own work except where explicitly, clearly and individually indicated and that all sources used in its preparation and all quotations are clearly cited using a recognised system for referencing and citation. Should this statement prove to be untrue, I recognise the right of the Board of Examiners to recommend disciplinary action in line with UCL regulations.

#### 2. COPYRIGHT

The copyright of the coursework remains with me as its author. However, I understand that anonymised copies may be made available to future students for reference. Please, tick the box if you DO NOT want this report to be made available for teaching purposes.



## Table of Contents

<b>ABSTRACT .....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW .....</b>	<b>7</b>
MULTI-LEVEL GOVERNANCE THEORY AND DILIGENT DECENTRALISATION .....	7
POLITICAL WILL WITHIN DISTRIBUTIVE POLITICS AND POVERTY GOVERNANCE.....	8
RECENT DEVELOPMENT IN TÜRKİYE’S POLITICAL STAGE .....	9
CAPABILITY APPROACH AND MULTIDIMENSIONAL POVERTY INDEX .....	10
<b>CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY .....</b>	<b>14</b>
RESEARCH PHILOSOPHY.....	14
RESEARCH QUESTIONS .....	14
DATA COLLECTION.....	14
SAMPLING METHODS .....	15
INTERVIEW STRATEGY.....	15
DATA ANALYSIS .....	16
DATA COLLECTION.....	17
<i>Legal Documents</i> .....	17
<i>Interviews</i> .....	17
<b>CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS .....</b>	<b>18</b>
LEGAL DOCUMENTS .....	18
<i>Purpose of Local Governments</i> .....	18
<i>Jurisdiction of Local Governments</i> .....	18
<i>Intersection of Local Governments with Different Levels and Actors</i> .....	19
INTERVIEWS.....	20
<i>Metropolitan Municipality A, Social Services, Participant A, Republican People’s Party</i> .....	20
<i>Metropolitan Municipality B, Social Services, Participant B, Justice and Development Party</i> .....	27
<b>CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSIONS .....</b>	<b>35</b>
POLITICS, LEGALITY AND GOVERNANCE NEXUS .....	35
MPI FRAMEWORK AND LOCAL GOVERNANCE NEXUS .....	37
SUGGESTED INTEGRATION STRATEGIES .....	38
<b>CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS .....</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>REFERENCES .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>ANNEX 1: INTERVIEW GUIDE.....</b>	<b>9</b>

## Abstract

Local governments can be a force for good or bad within poverty governance and distribution systems depending on the political will present within the local elite as well as the government structure these elites operate in. One thing that can enhance structural bargaining power is knowledge production, which can both lead to increase of citizens and political elites' respective capabilities to achieve more. This study aims to shed light to the perspectives of local government actors in the context of distributive politics, poverty governance and endogenous development potentials by assessing the political will present within local governments in Türkiye upon measuring and assessing poverty through the Multidimensional Poverty Index using a triangulation method with two distinct data streams and three blocks for analysis: legal documents concerning the playing field of the local governance as well as interviews conducted from either main parties for understanding to understand how people on the ground operate them. The research aims to contribute to wider debates around decentralisation for good governance, while also assessing localised developments' limits. The research proposes that electoral success, political ideology, political objectives can lead to vastly different interpretations of local government's purpose, jurisdiction and intersection and thus yield in different views on local knowledge production and utilization to overcome poverty and increase citizens' capabilities.

**Key Words:** Poverty Alleviation, Multidimensional Poverty Index, Multi-Level Governance, Political Will, Local Government, Türkiye.

## Chapter 1: Introduction

In its broadest sense development theories are “The idea of “development,” in relation to societies, implies a process of change to what is, in some sense, a more “advanced” state.” (Harris, 2014). What makes development theories and the field of development economics conducive however is its ability to assess the current state accurately, democratically decide on what the desired future state is, and plan and actualise policies according to those objectives set. The actualisation of this seemingly straight forward process has a history of being tainted by international governmental organisations (IGOs), international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) and foreign policy, which played a crucial role in creation and dissemination of ideas around development after WWII ended and the Cold War started. Also named international development, this western-dominated sphere under the Cold War’s black-and-white logic, was utilised as a bulwark against international strategies of the USSR; thus, making the official development assistance provided a rewarding and punishing mechanism for alignment (Petersen, 2020; Miller, 2010; Lee, 2022). During this period, these institutions have largely employed or supported the employment of the Washington Consensus, a set of neoliberal policies of deregulation, privatisation –stemming from neoclassical economics.

These internationally supplanted efforts however weren’t in line with the needs of the ‘Third World’ countries, as they stemmed from neoclassical (exogenous) theories of development which were blind to the political and economic experiences within developing countries. This blindness was also demonstrated by decoloniality and dependence theorists such as Dos Santos (1970) and Rodney (1972) by showcasing that: exploitative labour relations through unidirectional human capital flows harm the growth prospects of post-colonial states, the usage of technology to maximise capital rather than create just development exasperates existing socioeconomic inequalities, and, finally, popularisation of remittances create a culture of economic dependency which inhibits prospects of growth. Lal (1983) contends this model, but not market economies at large, by denoting that:

*“...the most serious current distortions in many developing economies are not those flowing from the inevitable imperfections of a market economy but the policy-induced... distortions created by irrational dirigisme.” (Lal, 1983, p.105)*

The critiques towards the neoclassical development theory not only came from post-colonial states and peoples, but also rural parts of the Western states which’s state of development were largely disregarded and as they were part of the ‘developed’ nations.

Romer (1986; 1994) and Lucas (1988), both American economists, put forwards the idea of endogenous growth theory. Endogenous growth theory relies on three key assumptions: (1) technological change incentivises capital accumulation, leading to a cyclical relationship in which output per hour worked increases, (2) technological change relies on intentional action taken by market actors, making capital accumulation dependent on human capital, (3) there are inherent differences between working with raw material than economic goods due to incurrence of instructions and their impact on fixed costs (Romer, 1990). The focus on the impact of local resources and human capital within the endogenous growth theory thus matched the inadequacies experienced by sovereign growth due to colonial, neocolonial and neoliberal relations outlined by dependency and decoloniality theorists, showcasing an innate link between sovereignty and a strong internal market.

However, the oppression of peoples can go beyond solely exogenous forces of international politics and economics. Lipton's (1977) marks that how economic planning, especially in developing states, innately carries an urban bias as it is most often centrally designed by the national elite whose position incentivises the continuity of rural-urban divide and wealth inequality –supporting decentralisation. While typically decentralisation consisted of: deconcentration, delegation, devolution, and privatisation; the play of, and the play in between, these factors create drastic differences between forms of localisation which cannot be simplified by being seen as the product of the same transnational movement (Faguet & Pal, 2023). The delegation of decision-making and service delivery power to subnational governments without diligent implementation strategies, active citizen participation, and construction of necessary monitoring bodies that embed accountability to the system, only cause corruption to be diffused to lower ranks of the multi-level national systems (Bergh, 2004; Devas & Delay, 2007; Kulipossa, 2004), a nuance that has been largely missing in mainstream development discourse. This thus showcased the necessity for understanding development from a human development and poverty alleviation perspective, in which people's capabilities are enhanced, so that they can participate in both political and economic life in more nuanced ways.

In 1990 the United Nation's released its first Human Development report, showcasing the necessity of viewing development from a point of causes rather than solely affects to overcome the neoliberal conceptions of development (UNDP, 1990; Fukuda-Parr, 2011). Across 1990s the World Bank emphasised the need for good governance and decentralisation for increasing the capabilities of state institutions for just development (The World Bank, 2005). However, as the ideas of development were readily internationalised, creating tensions between the new form of universalisation and appreciation of geographic variation for human development (Barbieri, 2019; Horner, 2020), thus leading to the competition of two key forms of localisation: localisation of

global development and localising development. The mismatch between the expectations of international development ideals and national development goals, and national-subnational relations thus made the grassroots action, untainted by the expectations of externally driven localisation efforts, much more important in 21<sup>st</sup> century.

While there is extensive literature on various points made within this introduction, which will be highlighted further within the literature, the lack of intersectional work stemming from studies, as well as studies focusing on non-Western contexts, make it harder to move towards a new system aligned with the necessities of 21<sup>st</sup> century (Norberg-Hodge, 2022). Thus, this research will attempt to bridge the gap within the literature through intersectionally studying political will, multi-level governance and structure and local governments in Türkiye, to shed light into the integrability of human development and capabilities approach, codified within the Multidimensional Poverty Index framework through knowledge production. With this aim the study will use a constructivist approach with a qualitative methodology looking at the structural policy and politics nexus' effect on political will and bridge the existing gap.

## Chapter 2: Literature Review

### Multi-Level Governance Theory and Diligent Decentralisation

Bache and Flinders (2004) argue that “the role of the state is being transformed as state actors develop new strategies of coordination, steering and networking that may protect and, in some cases, enhance state autonomy”. Yet at the same time Paxton (2022) shows that the national politics and local government structures are innately linked, and the role of state can easily be undermined by populist and centralist politics, especially on subnational levels. In line with this, Crawford (2008) argues that there is no empirical evidence that shows a direct correlation between decentralisation and enhanced poverty reduction, since devolution primarily relies on the dynamics between exogenous forces to the subnational level such as central commitment and bureaucratic capacity to reform, and endogenous factors to the subnational level such as capabilities of local leaders and elites as well as capacity of the local community. So, while decentralisation typically consists of: deconcentration, delegation, devolution, and privatisation; the play of, and the play in between, these factors create drastic differences in forms of governance localisation which cannot be simplified by being seen as the product of the same transnational movement (Faguet & Pal, 2023). Thus, it is crucial to understand the Multi-Level Governance Theory (MLG) of Gary Marks (1993) as it can shed light into how institutional innovations that yield in sustainable forms of decentralisation can be achieved through understanding strategic approaches to power, knowledge and moral duty nexus.

In attempts of trying to understand the institutional innovation brought about within the EU member states, Marks (1993) argued that the supranational entity has created a myriad of constant negotiations between supranational, national and subnational levels of government in which decentralisation took place because of decision-making power being pulled by the European Council and delegated to subnational levels of governance. This configuration was allowed through increased necessity for subnational knowledge for good governance, leading to a less hierarchical interaction between the state and the multiple levels within it. Hooghe and Marks (2001) differentiated between two types of MLG structures born out of this need. Type I being federalist structures in which the central government plays a key role while jurisdiction is distributed to sub-central entities, creating a ranked hierarchy of levels; Type II follows a flexible system of jurisdiction between different levels and territories, making a non-hierarchical relationship between levels while decision-making becomes a heterogenous practice between different groups –creating a participatory structure. In either of these multi-level realities Hooghe & Marks (2003) point that the local level must be informed about both



its capabilities upon various accounts and how to enhance them, to pave the reorganisation of the governance structure in their favour in terms of purpose, intersections and jurisdiction. But what the MLG theory lacks within it is the understanding that local governments, and governments at large, are only as strong as their demos. Hence, if decentralisation and endogenous development is to be achieved, the necessity for individuals capable of creating a function out of a set of means available to them on both on economic and political term is a must for local governments to leverage their position –bringing about the concept of political will.

## Political Will within Distributive Politics and Poverty Governance

The meanings attached to political will changes according to the context it is analysed in, making the concept a hard one to grasp. Thus, we will be evaluating it in two confined spheres of distributive politics and poverty governance. According to UNRISD (2010), the main issues surrounding poverty eradication have been: institutionalisation of the rights of the poor and their access to democratic processes, sustained public engagement with the poor and groups closer to them for participatory forms of governance, and thus creating space for them to expand their bargaining power in policy-making spheres. Pointing at a governance structure that diffuses political power towards the poor, the report indicates high levels of political will attempts to gain legitimacy by exercising power and authority to mobilise resources that will change the institutions and address institutional gaps which leave the poor behind –which, however, requires the right kind of political mindset to be actualised.

The sphere of distributive politics shows that the political will be enacted by the politician and bureaucrats are not often aligned with good will but calculated decisions that centre around gaining legitimacy (Mosley, 2012). Keefer & Khemani (2005) argue that the electoral cycles have a high impact on the social service outcomes for the poor by introducing the issue of political legitimacy into the scene, often tainted by information gaps, societal polarisation and absence of strong and committed leaders –which they believe can be counteracted by right implementation of decentralisation and participatory governance, also requiring political will in and of itself. Wang & Guo (2022) thus define the poverty governance processes as one that is a multi-faceted processes that requires a dynamic interaction between all levels, actors and stakeholders concerned about the issue to work efficiently according to what they can bring to the table. Although largely missing out the issue of interparty competition and societal fractions due to the assessment taking place in a Chinese context of limited political variance allowing for a relational governance form to be enacted (Xu et al., 2022), this limitation brings a new perspective aligned with MLG theory: the operationalisation

methods of government structures and governance models in line with political will, running of political institutions.

Thus, the meaning of political will can be narrowed down to an actors' awareness of the means and their relations at hand, and their willingness to mobilise them according to a desired change aimed to be achieved. This way the structural aspects that define political will are included into an actors' ability to be motivated, while also giving them the agency they deserve and own in terms of overcoming policy challenges –to include all forms of governance models.

## Recent Development in Türkiye's Political Stage

The electoral success of the Justice and Development Party (JDP) for the last four election cycles, meaning for the last twenty-two years, isn't something that can be easily disregarded in multiple fronts –especially when the candidate of the party, and thus the President, has never changed. Yilmaz & Bashirov (2017) argue that after many years of governance from JDP, a new form of political regime has emerged which consists of electoral authoritarianism in which political freedoms are limited making the playing field for the opposition weak, neopatrimonialist political economic structuring which yields in nepotism and clientelism, and finally populist political narratives which creates societal schisms according to political ideology, gender and ethnic background. This mode of governance has also been deemed as competitive authoritarianism (Esen & Gumuscu, 2016) and authoritarian neoliberalism (Altınörs & Akçay, 2022) which Öniş (2009; 2012; 2019) describes as mass privatisation after 200-2001 financial crisis through regulatory reforms which largely permitted it to build coalitions that embedded neoliberalism and propped up authoritarianism by reducing the political costs of limiting democratic rights through creating formal and informal redistributive routes allowing for consolidation. Akçay (2020) denotes that since 2013 the state has been in a dual crisis leading to increase of authoritarian consolidation efforts in post-2019 period with the 2018 exchange crisis and the loss of Istanbul in the 2019 local elections to Republican People's Party (RPP).

The 2019 local election were perceived as a beacon of hope by the voting base of the opposition, yet the thread must be sown with care. Authors like Esen & Gumuscu (2019) and Yavuzylmaz (2021) argued that results of the local elections were a reaction to the general system, with the non-polemical populist campaign method employed by the opposition bridging the regime-level schisms that plague Turkish society, while securing a voting base that was previously linked to JDP. However, the unmet expectation over the electoral success of the opposition coalition in 2023 showcased that authoritarian populism was still very much alive even though the governance crisis was deepened

(Esen et al., 2024). Kutlay & Öniş (2024) argue that the survival of the Erdogan regime can be analysed through the concept of cost of exit and a product of uncertainty about integrity of the oppositional block named the Nation Alliance –formed by five parties both from left and right of the political spectrum primarily led by RPP and Good Party. The coalitions inability to announce a candidate for a long time during the campaigning period, and the constant fractional debates that reflected in the media thus caused an economic voting behaviour (Aytaç, 2024). The failure in the general elections resulted in the change of the head of RPP from Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu, who has served the party for 13 years and lost 13 elections (Saymaz, 2023), to Özgür Özel; which changed the tone of the party from one of polarising opposition to one of ‘normalisation’ through Özel’s recent one-on-one meetings with Erdogan –aiming to bridge the gap between the two political views to curb the political polarisation which is seemingly a threat to both the administration and the main opposition (Sayın, 2024).

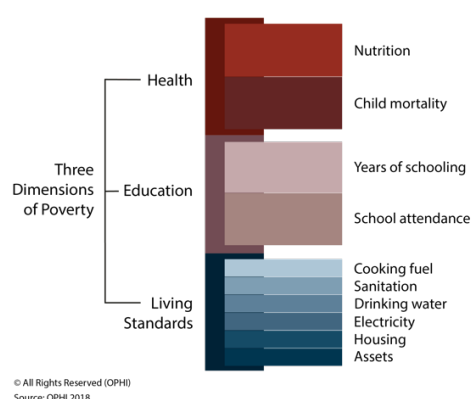
In the 2024 local election manifestos, RPP outlined a new local government strategy which they named as the ‘democratic’ municipality, which aims to create locally-led projects focusing on multiple forms of deprivations present in the face of a governance and economic crisis that yields in high levels of poverty (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, 2024). The overall manifesto outlines the lack of socioeconomic security experienced by Turkish citizens which is perceived from a multidimensional perspective. On the other side the spectrum the JDP manifesto have listed all the local election campaign promises and victories made since 2004, repeating that the understanding of municipality governance of JDP has been one of improving infrastructure and public services –while also including achievements made upon central level to strengthen their case (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, 2024). The 31<sup>st</sup> of March 2024 election results have been a landslide win for the RPP, remotivating the public on a potential win. At the same time, recently Özel has called for an early election, claiming that the last date for a general election in which Erdogan can be a candidate is November 2025 due to constitutional limitations which were already breached due to the constitutional changes that were enacted in 2017 (Euronews, 2024). Due to highly politically competitive environment, now local performance is more important than ever.

## Capability Approach and Multidimensional Poverty Index

“Knowledge of the multidimensionality and complexity of poverty is essential as it guides the selection of a suitable poverty worldview...” Gweshengwe & Hassan (2019, p.8), which determines the method of analysis, the information supplied for social and developmental policy efforts, and consequently the outcomes of welfare on both individual and societal level. Similarly, by analysing and comparing four main poverty approaches (monetary, capability, social exclusion, participatory) Laderchi et al. (2003,

p.260) found that “All definitions of poverty contain some arbitrary and subjective elements, often imposed by the outside observer.” with the monetary approach being the most rigid and arbitrary due to the limited focus it brings to the human experience and social arrangements by basing itself upon absolute poverty, while the capability approach being the most flexible in terms of its ability to reflect the experience of poverty in the modern world by relying on a more nuanced normative commencing: “Capability is... a set of vectors of functioning, reflecting the person's freedom to lead one type of life or another.” (Sen, 1995, p.40). In this view, a state of well-being is determined by the emergent dynamic between the capability of an individual to achieve a certain functioning (and all other possible functionings), and the created or chosen functioning increasing the individual’s capability to function –constituting a person’s well-being freedom (Sen, 1995). In the context of development, this inception point holds crucial as the ‘means to’ and ‘ends of’ progress is determined by human agency. Thus, people’s ability to actualise themselves and their social wirings freely rely on political freedoms, social opportunities and economic facilities, while also the expansion of these rely on human capabilities (Sen, 1999).

Nussbaum (2011, p.185) in her book *Creating Capabilities: The Human Development Approach*, concludes that “...the real purpose of development is human development; other approaches and measures are at best a proxy for the development of human lives...”, showing that development must advance people’s capabilities rather than solely focusing on the capability of economies to provide for people, as the latter is only possible with the former. This is widely reflected in the Multidimensional Poverty Index. While the first product of the capability approach was the Human Development Index (HDI) with a composite structure that assesses three dimensions with four indicators: Longevity with life expectancy as it's indicator, Knowledge with expected years of schooling and mean years of schooling as it's indicators and Living Standards with GNI per capita as it's indicator; MPI emerged as an answer to the various authors denoted the Human Development Index’s oversimplification of the human experience on both statistical and conceptual ends even with the indices integrated (Srinivasan, 1994; Aturupane et al. 1994; Krishnaji, 1997; Hicks, 1997; Ranis, et. al., 2011; Permanyer, 2013)



*Figure 2: Multidimensional Poverty Index Framework (OPHI, 2018)*

Through adding nutrition as an indicator to Health; redefining the Living Standards dimension through the integration of 6 indicators (cooking fuel, sanitation, drinking water, electricity, housing and assets), the index has expanded the understanding of human experience in order to truly capture the essence of human flourishing through integrating all basic modern dimensions of it in poverty measurement and analysis (Alkire, 2000; Alkire, 2002; Alkire, 2007; Alkire 2015). By also basing the computation on a counting method, rather than a geometric mean, the index identifies deprivations across distinctly weighted indicators and equally weighted dimensions to find the individuals or households that are jointly deprived, also called clustered disadvantages by Wolff and De-Shalit (2007), to create targeted policy interventions, rather than compositely assessing the achievements made in particular areas constituting human development (Alkire & Foster, 2008; Alkire & Foster, 2011). Thus, since its launch under UNDP, it has been successfully integrated to 110 developing countries, outlining that 1.1 billion people live in multidimensional poverty (OPHI, 2023) rather than the 712 million defined under World Bank's extreme poverty line of 2.15\$ per day (World Bank, 2024).

The novelty of MPI and the Alkire-Foster Method is that in this form of analysis, due to various deprivations being jointly analysed, "...the terms 'deprived' and 'poor' are no longer synonymous." (Alkire et al., 2015a, p.11); an individual, or household, may remain under the cut-off point indicating that they are deprived on a particular indicator(s) or dimension(s) however that does not constitute them as multidimensionally poor as deprivations are analysed according to joint distribution method rather than marginal (Alkire et al., 2015b). The aggregation function used in determining for indicators are used similarly for the dimensions, also known as the dual cut-off approach, to construct a poverty line for the whole index within differently weighted indicators and equally weighted dimensions with normalised weighting; this means that only if an individual or a household's score remains below the set poverty line, they are considered poor, while those who are above are non-poor yet deprived (Alkire et al. 2015b). The overall score for the analysed society, is determined through the multiplication of the incidence, proportion of the people identified as multidimensionally poor, and intensity of poverty, the average proportion of dimensions in which people are deprived –which censors the individuals or household who are identified to be non-poor, called the adjusted headcount ratio (Alkire et al., 2015b). This method thus allows for both aggregation and disaggregation of the data allowing various forms of analysis to take place, while also ensuring responsiveness to deprivation scores through monotonicity in dimensions (Alkire et al., 2015c). It is also important aspect to note here is that the MPI's weighting, and cutt-of decisions solely rely on axiological and thus normative judgements, making it flexible for various contexts and adjustments (Alkire et al., 2015c).

The critique posed on MPI is also crucial to consider as well. By assessing and comparing the ability of MDG indicators and global MPI's robustness upon capturing the real local impact of the Millennium Village Project in Northern Ghana, Masset & Hombrados (2021) found out that the sensitivity of the global MPI to some indicators make it a potentially unfeasible index when it comes to evaluating local development endeavours. A similar issue has been identified by Catalán & Gordon (2019), building on Catalán's (2018) introduction of a statistical analysis tool of psychometrics looking at coherency through analysing  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ , and  $\omega$ , with the regional deployment of MPI in Latin America (MPI-LA) with five pre-determined dimensions and thirteen indicators and normatively assigned weights and threshold points, noting that when its performance is compared among six Latin American countries in two time periods it fails to compete with the latent nature of the issue, and yields in misidentification of populations. Santos & Villatoro (2019) argue in the same journal that this critique isn't applicable due the testing method's applicability to coherently assess the validity of MPI-LA, while also noting that normative judgement is crucial as "Certain functionings have intrinsic value for a life with human dignity... and this intrinsic value is not subject to empirical validation." (Santon & Villatoro, 2019, p.1787). While one of the critiques explicitly mention the scale of employment creating issues and the other tacitly referring to it while mainly basing the argument upon scientific quality, there only remains one example of MPI being computed on a subnational level.

# Chapter 3: Methodology

## Research Philosophy

This research will take a constructivist, qualitative and inductive approach to understand the complex legal and political interactions which create the multi-level governance system in Türkiye that defines the playfield for the subnational government's ability to produce local knowledge, create local social and development plans and projects to understand the integrability of MPI framework. This assessment will then aid the researcher upon determining possible implementation strategies. This research comes with a set of assumptions regarding how development takes place on a local level in Türkiye: (1) the will of the local politicians and local government officials in the wake of systematic and systematised disadvantages would be the key drivers of change upon how knowledge is created and utilised, (2) the fiscal constraints upon local governments are a secondary concern to those of political and statutory limitations when it comes to integration of MPI, (3) although the political lobbying power of local communities and civil society members are recognised, they can only aid the integration of MPI on a local government level if they are given the space to operate.

## Research Questions

Main Question: How politically feasible is it to integrate MPI on a subnational level in Türkiye?

Sub Questions:

- 1- How does the legal structuring of the government system in Türkiye affect the purpose, intersection and jurisdiction of local government in terms of poverty alleviation?
- 2- How does political ideology affect political will in terms of poverty alleviation on a local level?
- 3- What can be certain strategies to employ for a sustainable integration of MPI in the wake of the interactions between sub-question 1 and sub-question 2?

## Data Collection

For the answering of these questions two streams of data will be collected distinctly for this research:

- 1- The legal documents will be selected through search words of ‘local government’, ‘metropolitan municipality’ and ‘municipality’ under T.C. Resmi Gazete and T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Mevzuat Bilgi Sistemi databases.
- 2- Semi-structured interviews with bureaucrats and politicians working in fields related to poverty from subnational government levels, under Justice and Development Party (JDP) and Republican People’s Party (RPP) in equal amounts. While the first stream of data requires secondary data collection which’s collection and sampling information have already been reported on; the second data stream needs further attention and a diligent collection strategy due to the complexities of primary data collection and the political position of the participants.

## Sampling Methods

The sampling method for the semi-structured interviews will be quota sampling to reflect the level of political will be apparent within each category present within the last sample (Rukmana, 2014). The selection criteria will be as follows:

- 1- An official within a metropolitan municipality of comparable regional dynamics,
- 2- Be in the political leadership of the metropolitan municipality,
- 3- Holding an office related to one or more MPI dimensions and indicators. A potential sample will be made through this criterion.

The sample will be narrowed down further according to the following rules:

- 1- The participant must qualify for either 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup>, or 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> criteria to be chosen for the final sample.
- 2- For the sample to be comparable, there must be at least one member from the same position from two metropolitan municipalities under the opposite political parties.
- 3- If there are any participants from one metropolitan municipality under a particular party without their positional equivalent and political disparate, they should be removed from the final sample. This criteria and rules will ensure a fair representation within the final sample. While the sample may not consider the economic performance and population size of the metropolitan municipalities explicitly, differentiating and moderating factors will be outlined with respect to the anonymity and security of the participants after the final sample is obtained.

## Interview Strategy



Poverty and its alleviation and eradication strategies are highly sensitive for political parties and government institutions, which makes the interview process with their members harder, and the credibility of the answer's irregular. According to Bull et al. (1996) politicians are three-faced due to the need of defending a personal face, party face and face of significant others within interviews, resulting in most answers not directly addressing the questions asked by the interviewer. Additionally, Bavelas et al. (1990) argue that the communication is a social process in which conflict avoidance behaviour leads to equivocation, avoidance of clarity to soften or hide the truth. Considering this, Cowley (2022) states that semi-structured interviews with politicians cannot work through the classic question-and-answer format, and adaptation and reflexivity to the qualities of the participant in front of you is necessary.

Due to the academically rigorous nature of the topic, a document outlining the research topic in detail will be asked will be provided to the participants at least three days beforehand so that the participants do not feel compelled to equivocate due to lack of knowledge as outlined by Bavelas et al. (1990). Additionally, with the same reason in mind, the interview guide will be provided within the same document so that the participants can feel in control to avoid the three-face issue as much as possible (Bull et al., 1996). During the interview the formulated questions will be the baseline for the researcher, however, which questions are asked and how they are integrated may be subjected to change during the interview according to the cues exhibited by the participant to answer the research questions Cowley (2022). However, as the research refrains from including personal information about the participants, no behavioural data about the participants will be recorded or reported on due to ethical concerns that may arise.

## Data Analysis

Two streams of data will be first distinctly analysed and then triangulated through the following methods:

- 1- The legal documents will be analysed through directed content analysis with deductive coding, with initial codes being drawn from the keywords of purpose, jurisdiction and intersection found within the Hooghe & Marks (2003) paper in order to understand the playing field for subnational governments within law.
- 2- The interviews will be done in Turkish to than be manually semantically translated upon transcription, these interviews will then be analysed through thematic narrative analysis with inductive coding to constructively assess the outlook of local officials upon poverty and their capabilities of addressing them.
- 3- The results than be triangulated to understand the importance of political will upon operationalisation of local government in the wake of the national-

subnational government wirings, to understand the feasibility of MPIs integration on a local level.

## Data Collection

### Legal Documents

According to the methods outlined the final legal documents chosen for analysis were: The 1982 Turkish Republic Constitution (TÜRKİYE CUMHURİYETİ ANAYASASI 1982) with the Law No.6771 titled 'Law Upon the Changes to the Constitution of Turkish Republic' (TÜRKİYE CUMHURİYETİ ANAYASASINDA DEĞİŞİKLİK YAPILMASINA DAİR KANUN 2017), Law No.5216 titled 'Metropolitan Municipality Law' (BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ KANUNU 2004), Law No.5393 titled 'Municipality Law' (BELEDİYE KANUNU 2005), 'Regulation on Workings of the Municipality Parliament' (BELEDİYE MECLİSİ ÇALIŞMA YÖNETMELİĞİ 2005), Law No.5442 titled 'City Governance Law' (İL İDARESİ KANUNU 1949) and the 'Regulation on the Organisation, Duty and Workings of the Governorship and District Governorship' (VALİLİK VE KAYMAKAMLIK BİRİMLERİ TEŞKİLAT, GÖREV VE ÇALIŞMA YÖNETMELİĞİ 2011).

### Interviews

Two interviews, one from RPP run local government and one from JDP run local government, were conducted for this research. The positions of the participants were Head of Social Services Department. The coding for the metropolitan municipality under RPP will be Metropolitan Municipality A, with the participant coded as Participant A. The coding for the metropolitan municipality under JDP will be Metropolitan Municipality B, with the participant coded as Participant B. The letter-based ranking indicates the differences in size. Both Participant A and B partook in an interview lasting approximately 1 hour. Both participants were given the information sheet containing information about the project, MPI framework, and the interview guide at least 3 days prior to the interview. Both participants were also provided with a copy of this document during the interview to ensure mutuality.

## Chapter 4: Findings

### Legal Documents

#### Purpose of Local Governments

According to Constitution of Turkish Republic' (TÜRKİYE CUMHURİYETİ ANAYASASI 1982), Law No.5216 titled 'Metropolitan Municipality Law' (BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ KANUNU 2004), Law No.5393 titled 'Municipality Law' (BELEDİYE KANUNU 2005), the role of the municipalities are considered as local governments whose purpose is to suffice the common needs of the people, with administrative and financial sovereignty provided under law. The common needs refer to public services that are provided under local levels. In line with this, according to the Law No.5216 titled 'Metropolitan Municipality Law' (BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ KANUNU 2004) and Law No.5393 titled 'Municipality Law' (BELEDİYE KANUNU 2005), local governments are tasked mainly with ensuring infrastructural quality and supplience that is designated in central laws are met on the ground level.

#### Jurisdiction of Local Governments

According to Law No.5216 titled 'Metropolitan Municipality Law' (BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ KANUNU 2004) and Law No.5393 titled 'Municipality Law' (BELEDİYE KANUNU 2005) the local governments can take any form of initiative to supply the common needs of the citizens under their jurisdiction, as well as produce local laws and regulations that are aligned with these necessities through the local parliament. On top of this, they are also given the freedom to improve on these services through strategic plans and investments, with the consultation of regional strategic plans for multi-level alignment –if any (BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ KANUNU 2004). The organisational structure of local governments consists of the leadership level (namely the mayor, vice mayor and the municipal council), the decision-making body and its organs (the local government parliament and its committees), the organisational departments, as well as the municipalities under the governance of the metropolitan municipality. Under the organisation of metropolitan municipalities, the coordination of and between municipalities as well as generation of projects and coordination of investments fall under the jurisdiction of metropolitan municipalities (BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ KANUNU 2004). As the main power within this body relies on the mayor and the parliament, their juridical powers are as follows.

As the sole representative of a metropolitan municipalities' legal entity, the role of the mayor within a local government are:

- The mayor must submit a strategic plan with performance indicators within 6 months after the local election and formation of the local parliament, which the mayor is the head of. The document must receive consultations from civil society, academia and community leaders in order then to be voted on by the parliament. (BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ KANUNU 2004)
- Upon the acceptance of the strategic plan, the mayor must govern the metropolitan municipality according to the plan, while also creating strategies for the organisational strategies for municipal bodies as well as appoint the staff for these bodies, plan and implement budgets according to those strategies. (BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ KANUNU 2004)
- The mayor must coordinate and govern the municipalities under the metropolitan municipality to ensure efficient service provision. (BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ KANUNU 2004)

As the decision-making body and the political organ of the local governments', the local parliaments can:

- Decide on the organisational structure by creating, merging or removing departments according to the necessities present within their borders (BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ KANUNU 2004)
- Create specialised commissions with at least three and at most five permanent members in municipality level and at least five and most nine members in metropolitan municipality level, whose members must be decided according to the ratio of parliament members from a certain party to that of the total number of parliament members, same applies to independent members. If a certain party or independent member fails to qualify, the parliament can decide to appoint them for fair representation. The members of civil society, academia and community leaders can participate within these commissions freely without the right to vote but the ability to consult. (BELEDİYE MECLİSİ ÇALIŞMA YÖNETMELİĞİ 2005)

## Intersection of Local Governments with Different Levels and Actors

The biggest intersection of metropolitan municipalities detected in the legal documents analysed are the: branch offices present within the local government which are tied to city governorship and sub-governorship entities. City-governorship and sub-governorship's purpose is to represent the Presidency and the Ministers within their respective level (İL İDARESİ KANUNU 1949; VALİLİK VE KAYMAKAMLIK BİRİMLERİ

TEŞKİLAT, GÖREV VE ÇALIŞMA YÖNETMELİĞİ 2011), ensuring the implementation of by-laws of the President (TÜRKİYE CUMHURİYETİ ANAYASASINDA DEĞİŞİKLİK YAPILMASINA DAİR KANUN 2017) and the legislation of ministries on metropolitan municipality and municipality levels. Additionally, these units are also responsible of work in coordination with the local departments they are under as well as source and file information in an upwards manner (TÜRKİYE CUMHURİYETİ ANAYASASINDA DEĞİŞİKLİK YAPILMASINA DAİR KANUN 2017). In other words, the governorship levels are the representatives of the central government with similar coordination powers as the mayor, while also acting as a monitory body over the elected local governments. The governorship entity also shows intersections with the local governments, as their office branches reside under local government departments, which may cause contention.

## Interviews

### Metropolitan Municipality A, Social Services, Participant A, Republican People's Party

#### *Codes and Sub-Codes*

#### Code 1.A: Multidimensionality of Poverty

The participant has focused on the meaning and manifestations of poverty throughout the interview both theoretically and with examples from the ground. Often denoting the complex web of reasons, showcasing a nuanced and ground-up understanding of poverty. Firstly, the participant has expressed that the meaning of poverty has to move away from a definition based on basic needs and include other forms of deprivations:

“I think, we have to change the meaning of poverty from basic needs such as shelter and food, you know that inability to access to democratic processes and the lack of rule of law is also a deprivation, inability to access education is also a deprivation, inability to access health is also a deprivation. So now when we are classifying the poor... our main argument is this: Let's define 'poor' in a way that addresses these new deprivations.” (Participant A, Metropolitan Municipality A, RPP)

On top of this the participant also focused on changing dominance between the different dimensions of poverty and their impact upon upward mobility:

“... for instance, I am X years old, we were a generation that could do better than their parents as we could get better education and thus get better pay. Now this generation is a generation that gets better education than their parents but gets less pay, because now this generation goes to university, ... but they go and become cashiers, am I able to emphasize? So, this is a very different form of poverty.” (Participant A, Metropolitan Municipality A, RPP)

## Code 2.A: Responsibility of Local Governments

### *Sub-Code 2.A.2: Local Government Strategy of Republican People’s Party*

Throughout the interview, the participant has approached the topic of social service provision from organisational efficiency perspective and have emphasised the role of local government upon evolving according to the needs of its citizens. This perspective was mainly linked to the term ‘supportive local government’ within the participant’s narrative, a principle that responsiblises the local government upon keeping up to date with their citizens needs and desires.

“Republican People’s Party asserts that they will be working with the principles of democratic local government and underneath democratic local governance it defines something called supportive local governance, which you can see in the Declaration of 2024 Local Elections, I can share it with you if you like, and the supportive local government principle outlines that a local government must support its citizens upon any topic and any area.” (Participant A, Metropolitan Municipality A, RPP)

### *Sub-Code 2.A.1: Central Policy vs. Local Policy*

The participant portrayed an understanding of the local government as part of the larger multi-governance system, yet also one that can assume the roles of the above layers when deemed necessary, showing contention between the two ends of the government spectrum:

“This [referring to data management for policy making] is very important for macro-politics, but it is also important for us.” (Participant A, Metropolitan Municipality A, RPP)

In line with this, the participant outlined that the local governments must abide to the law while remaining true to local realities in terms of jurisdiction:

“So, we set indicators such as these: firstly, we looked at the Social Services Law No.2022, there it defines ‘being in need’ as a household with an income under 1/3 of the minimum wage and it also allows all governmental institutions to support these people. But that number is too low, it is ridiculous for Metropolitan Municipality A. So, we decided in our Municipality Parliament that we will delegate the definition to a commission, we made a plan in which the commission will define the thresholds ...” (Participant A, Metropolitan Municipality A, RPP)

The participant also noted that the deviance from the central mechanisms in terms of measurement of poverty is necessary to address the needs the best on the ground:

“We based it off the laws but also added on top of it, true, all organizations do it the same way. For instance, among our district municipalities, I have worked with Municipality D, that’s why I know this, they have different indicators for their algorithm, but there are also resonating things for sure. What is important in this context is, at least this is how we always worked, you first define the key indicators and then rank them according to importance.” (Participant A, Metropolitan Municipality A, RPP)

#### *Sub-Code 2.A.2: Resource Mobilisation*

The participant also focused on the lack of resources available on a local level, however they conceptualised it rather as a reality that can be counteracted by right methods over resource mobilisation:

“So, for a social worker or strategist efficiency means putting the right resources to right use and putting away the old and unhelpful practices aside to bring in new ones that do meet the need. What we call kaizen, usually applied in companies to maximize profit, must be especially applied to our way of mobilizing resources and maximize efficiency.” (Participant A, Metropolitan Municipality A, RPP)

This targeted approach outlined by the participant was also defined to not only create financial efficiency but also higher impact upon ensuring a more strategic response to the local issues at hand:

“We detected these zones; we went to whoever would be the ones to carry out the operations on the ground and said that they should do the work in these places. And when you assess the impact of these projects right after you see the difference because if you discovered a need of the citizens in a

particular place and you answer it there, both the social and political reaction to it is much faster.” (Participant A, Metropolitan Municipality A, RPP)

### Code 3.A: Politics of Poverty Alleviation in Local Social Services

The participant has focused on the depoliticization of the social service mechanisms for a just distribution to take place:

“The first step is to change the algorithm. In third world countries like Türkiye, I mean the countries less developed in this space, you need to look at the algorithm first. Why? Because in countries like ours as social policy becomes politicized that politicization is reflect within the algorithm.” (Participant A, Metropolitan Municipality A, RPP)

“... the first thing we have done is to revise the social service algorithm to ensure the rightful distribution of the social benefits.” (Participant A, Metropolitan Municipality A, RPP)

However, the participant did not shy away from discussing the political nature of poverty alleviation within local governments within the interview, yet it came in two folds. Firstly, the participant has identified poverty as a central issue of the affiliated party within their approach to the local government:

“Politicians have pledges... There is poverty, and it is going to grow. It was a good strategy, and it worked... You can look at these pledges in two ways, as a score and your aim may be that at the end of 5 years you have... so you kept your promise, that the first type of leader. The second type of leader is the one that goes beyond keeping set promises, there is a very simple indicator within local governments, after the 5 years the citizen’s vote. Your success indicator is very simple.” (Participant A, Metropolitan Municipality A, RPP)

Although relatively supportive of the politicisation of poverty alleviation –the reason will be outlined in the precept below– the participant was aware of the negative impact of electoral cycles upon poverty measurement and policymaking and project development outcomes long-term. However, the participant approached to this topic from a utilitarian standpoint, defining these shortcomings as an opportunity:

“...but the real issue was that when you want to work on poverty in social services you look at the ministry in public administration front, you look at department of social service in local governments. Why am I saying this? As I just said earlier, the aged, old, neglected and uncritiqued, just like the Turkish



bureaucracy, which is quite heavy, can yield in quite remarkable things.”  
(Participant A, Metropolitan Municipality A, RPP)

#### Code 4.A: Rationalisation of the Approach to Social Service

##### *Sub-code 4.A.1: Social Assessment as Research*

Throughout the interview, the participant indicated that social assessments must be done from a researcher perspective, shifting the bureaucratic perspective on the, and perspective of the social workers that allows for a more scientifically rigorous assessment process:

“Poverty, especially in countries like Türkiye, is very hard to measure due to often being unregistered. This is why the social workers need to be the facilitators. The social worker needs to be observing good, doing some deep listening, or else you cannot understand it.” (Participant A, Metropolitan Municipality A, RPP)

“But what a social worker should do when going to a household is not only to look at the income or assets but to facilitate a dialogue with a holistic understanding of social service.” (Participant A, Metropolitan Municipality A, RPP)

The participant also noted that not only the social worker needs to take on the role of a researcher, but also the people within supervisory positions within these processes must embody the same logic for better assessment of the evolving forms of poverty and produce quality data.

“We ask these questions to understand the agenda of the citizens. We didn’t have this in the question form in 20XX but now we have food security as an opening question. This is the importance of supervision, while we ask these, we also add some gauging questions, one of those gauging questions is this one.” (Participant A, Metropolitan Municipality A, RPP)

##### *Sub-Code 4.A.2: Openness to Integrating New Methods of Analysis*

When asked about the MPI method and the potential advancements it can bring, the participant has expressed an open mind in terms of both advancing the current methods of evaluation and longer-term analysis:

“I think it [referring to the algorithm] it covers some parts of it, but can it be advanced further, most definitely.” (Participant A, Metropolitan Municipality A, RPP)

They also shown a good understanding of the data needed and methodology used within MPI, and asked for further information signalling interest:

“So, the integration of it is very simple, the index seems to be swift to compute too and it is also a swift one to track. I assume there are standard questions this index is also using?” (Participant A, Metropolitan Municipality A, RPP)

However, the participant also outlined few dimensions and indicators which would need to be revised according to the Turkish context to align with the meanings of poverty according to Türkiye’s socioeconomic, cultural and bureaucratic processes. For instance, upon the indicator of child mortality under the dimension of health the participant noted that:

“In our culture life is scared, it's not usually left behind. I don’t think we have such problem, so this indicator needs to be rewired according to the Turkish context I must say.” (Participant A, Metropolitan Municipality A, RPP)

In terms of dimension of education, the participant expressed that sourcing that data on local level isn’t possible due to the laws safeguarding children’s access to education which legally responsiblise parents:

“We say, ‘How are the lessons of your child going?’, just ask it like that, but the issue of school attendance is not something tracked at all in Türkiye. So, we would have to source this from Ministry of Education. You could ask this, but no one would say that they are not sending their kids to school because they can be fined for it.” (Participant A, Metropolitan Municipality A, RPP)

Lastly when asked about the advantages and disadvantages of integration, the participant pointed out:

“An advantage would be to see the fuller picture, because in public processes the first thing is to face the reality, I think this is the biggest advantage the index brings. A risk, but one that can be minimized, is that like all countries Türkiye has its own cultural codes so if we do not ask them to bear these codes in mind they wouldn’t pass well, so we need to formulate the questions according to the Turkish sociology.” (Participant A, Metropolitan Municipality A, RPP)

## *Themes*

### **Objective Governance of Social Services for Political Success**

This theme emerges from the interactions of Code 3.A and Code 4.A. The main theme present within the interview with Participant A was that the rational and impartial governance of local social service mechanisms hold a key importance over the political success of the Republican People's Party, by ensuring depoliticization of social services. The institutionalisation of some core principles necessary for efficient and just distribution of social services and benefits have been found to also bring electoral success for the party in Metropolitan Municipality. This institutionalisation has been conducted through organisational reformations concerning management of data and information, allowing a more objective approach to be embedded which serves all the citizens of Metropolitan Municipality A no matter their background –making it more appealing to the local electorate. This in return also allows for counteracting the negative impacts of electoral cycles on local policymaking and project development, as electoral success of the same party allows for the continuity of the same system.

### **Local Government as a Key Driver of Multidimensional Poverty Alleviation**

This theme emerges from the interactions of Code 1.A, Code 2.A and Code 3.A. Another theme that's been found within the interview conducted with Participant A is that the local government isn't viewed as peripheral to the central mechanisms but one that is completely integral to the poverty alleviation process through the utilization of local political mechanisms. In Code 2.A through exercising of local will through the municipality parliament the functioning of local departments has been appropriated to local realities rather than relying on the central laws created, showing the possibility of democratic decentralisation when right methods that attempt to maximise local wellbeing through methods and resources available at hand are utilised. Code 1.A. can be taken as an individual stance upon poverty, but in conjunction with Code 3.A it shows that this stream of thought is a party level phenomenon, which allows for the right forms of operationalisation mentioned in Code 2.A, to make the local government central to the poverty alleviation efforts.

### **Innovative and Open Local Government**

This theme emerges from the intersections of Code 2.A, Code 3.A and Code 4.A. The last theme presents within the interview done with Participant A is that the Metropolitan Municipality A's openness to deploy methods that will allow for a better understanding

of its citizens, both due to seeing it as a responsibility of local governments over creating contingent policies and a political tool for Republican People's Party's local success and increased voter confidence overall. These aims drive Metropolitan Municipality A's thirst for innovative ways of dealing with issues of public administration, bringing a mindset of optimal efficiency and impact, which makes potential integration of MPI feasible and appealing to Participant A if it can be appropriated to the Turkish context.

## Metropolitan Municipality B, Social Services, Participant B, Justice and Development Party

### *Codes and Sub-Codes*

#### Code 1.B. Ambiguity Over Definitions of Poverty

##### *Sub-Code 1.B.1: Poverty as Unemployment and Dependence on State*

The participant has noted on many occasions that poverty is born out of unemployment, as wage and income played a key point in the participant's narrative for access to wellbeing. When asked about the definitions of poverty, the participant outlined what they believe poverty is as follows:

“As far as I've seen and experienced, the definition of poverty is, a person who is under a particular income level, that are experiencing monetary poverty that disables them from meeting their basic needs, although there are various activities from the government to fix poverty, the group of citizens that cannot use their own will and intellect, their own mental capacity to fix this issue, are poor, in my opinion.” (Participant B, Metropolitan Municipality B, JDP)

The participant also has expressed their views through referring to how they approach the assistance given to vulnerable groups defined in Law No.2022, noting that their ability to work is the key for ensuring wellbeing:

“To our disabled, our elderly, ladies whose husband are in jail and that don't have the ability to work, however if a lady between the ages of 35-40 has the ability to work if their husbands are in jail or have been deceased, we want to make them to actively partake in life, there shouldn't be aid for them. We can give them relative aid but what we really aim is to direct them to İŞKUR [Work and Labourer Detection Institution] to make them have an occupation, to own a job. But if they have children between the ages of 1-2, and they cannot work

because they must look after them, then relative poverty steps in, we do relative aids and once the children grow up and the woman is able to go back into the workforce than we cut the benefits, and they start working.” (Participant B, Metropolitan Municipality B, JDP)

#### *Sub-Code 1.B.2: Poverty as Multiple Deprivations*

However, the participant also outlined that they believe that reasons and consequences of poverty should also be included in analysis of it so that a comprehensive picture can be constructed:

“The income related definition of poverty is a classical definition of poverty but not a good one, because we must integrate the reasons of poverty within the definition, you need to put its consequences in there too. At the end of the day, there are people who can’t supply their basic needs, there are poor people who can’t meet their needs of food, clothes, shelter. But why did they come to that point?” (Participant B, Metropolitan Municipality B, JDP)

As well as believing that the monetary definition of poverty isn’t a healthy one, the participant also communicated that the various deprivations faced by the citizens are taken care of by different mechanisms, indicating awareness over multidimensionality of the experience of poverty:

“Social services are all the activities that are done to increase the quality of life and prosperity of people. Social benefits are assistances that aim to relieve the poverty and deprivations experienced by people...We have various activities for bringing prosperity to the socioeconomic dimension of people as well as helping activities, we are the main branch but various units within the municipality put out activities to help society to progress a little.” (Participant B, Metropolitan Municipality B, JDP)

## **Code 2.B. Limitation of Local Governments**

#### *Sub-Code 2.B.1: Local Governments’ Jurisdiction and Purpose*

The participant set out the functions of local governments within the wider government and governance system as follows:

“The main activities of local governments are infrastructure services. Roads, water, sewer systems, but with the point we have come to in Türkiye through the infrastructure projects in many of our metropolitan municipalities and

provincial municipalities we have come to really good level. So, now our municipalities also started to act in other fields, doing cultural and social activities, they... to increase the prosperity of our citizens.” (Participant B, Metropolitan Municipality B, JDP)

In line with this, the participant outlined that the differences between local and central governments within the laws setting out the responsibility and juridical powers of both local and central governments:

“The real planning mechanism for these things [referring to poverty alleviation policies] is the government, they plan these things through the ministries, and the local governments only work towards aiding these plans. Both municipality laws and metropolitan municipality laws set out the obligations for local governments. For instance, it says that local governments can open retirement homes, but the responsibility lies on the Ministry and its city office.” (Participant B, Metropolitan Municipality B, JDP)

Moreover, the participant outlined that, even when the local governments can contribute to the wellbeing of their citizens, these can be minor contributions that take the role of relief, or complimentary work to the central government’s responsibilities:

“...issuing of the disability wages is the responsibility of the Ministry of Family and Social Services, but that disabled person is under the local government and as they cannot get to live on that wage, as they cannot sustain their lives with it, they [local government] do some discounts on their water bills or give them food aid. They [local government] do activities to increase their prosperity a bit more, they do activities to reduce the amount of people in poverty a bit.” (Participant B, Metropolitan Municipality B, JDP)

Thus, their role in data collection and utilization is also seen as limited to the complimentary work that they are carrying out:

“As we are a local government, we look at the data among ourselves, but the data is assessed centrally by the Family and Social Service Ministry. Let me tell it like this: we get requests from citizens, “I am disabled I need this help”, “I am elderly I need that help.” (Participant B, Metropolitan Municipality B, JDP)

*Sub-code 2.B.2: Political Nature of Local Governments*

The participant focused on the fact that the election cycles define the ability of the local governments to create long term policies, and described the local governments' role within the wider system as:

“Local governments are a unit of the central government and political organs. Mayors come in every 5 years with elections, thus the policies that they create revolve around that. Local governments aren't institutions that draw 10-20-30 year projections in their respective cities after analysing poverty indexes and unemployment indexes...” (Participant B, Metropolitan Municipality B, JDP)

The participant also signalled the reason for this limitation throughout the interview, pointing at the fact that the political nature of the organisation makes it innately unable to think about long term impact, as it must chase for projects with highest impact within the least time:

“Local governments work with this mindset, it's the nature of the job. Because every 5 years there are elections, in those 5 years you must create activities and generate services. So, the local governments focus on the main needs. Let's say that there is a social problem, in the next 10-20 years it will result in such issues, let's work on this and do various investments, it's not something that local governments can do.” (Participant B, Metropolitan Municipality B, JDP)

### Code 3.B: Issues Within Central Government

#### *Sub-Code 3.B.1: Unregistered Work and Social Security Premiums*

The participant mainly focused on the issues faced by central government throughout the interview which affects its ability to efficiently govern the issues of labour, social security and public finances:

“Where is our shortcoming? It is unregistered work, people working in jobs without national insurance and even the people who are working with national insurance as their SGK [Social Security Institute] premiums aren't categorised properly to make a pool; so, all the benefits that are given to people now are spent from the government's purse. We give without taking.” (Participant B, Metropolitan Municipality B, JDP)

The participant also outlined that this issue is one that is born out of and concerning three different sets of groups whose interactions define the ability of the central government to function properly:

“I mean, all employers say that the burden of social security is too high and then try their best to employ people without national insurance, they always find a reason. In return the government doesn’t put a lot of pressure to ensure that the unemployment doesn’t increase, it benefits the workers too, “If I work without national insurance I get this amount, if I work with national insurance I get that amount.” so there are three sides to the story.” (Participant B, Metropolitan Municipality B, JDP)

#### *Sub-code 3.B.2: Need for Reform to Restructure Social Service Finance*

The participant expressed that no form of poverty analysis can be done in Türkiye unless a social security reform that puts enforcement and monitoring mechanisms are put in place to understand the monetary dimension of poverty better:

“If the government makes a robust reform, reduce the costs of national insurance and then reduce unregistered work with a strict monitoring, then we can get a poverty index through the data available. I don’t think we have a good measure at hand now.” (Participant B, Metropolitan Municipality B, JDP)

Additionally, the participant outlined that the reform is necessary so that the streams of resources can be pooled and distributed properly, for better investments to be done:

“The disorderliness of our insurance types, because of the unregistered work, this never really settled, it is getting better but of course it takes years. In Europe for an individual the premiums have been cut and deposited for 50 years, after that it is easy to give services, we are in the attempt of securing that, that’s the main shortcoming.” (Participant B, Metropolitan Municipality B, JDP)

#### **Code 4.B: Unimaginability of Integration of New Forms of Analysis**

##### *Sub-Code 4.B.1: Distrust to Foreign Sources*

The participant throughout the interview have directed questions about the index and the collection of data for it on a global level, signalling discontent with the index at hand:

“So, what is this MPI, can you tell me more about it... For instance, who enters this data to the index, who do they give this data to? I assume it is used by United Kingdom?” (Participant B, Metropolitan Municipality B, JDP)



This can be attributed to its foreign origins and use, linking it to the incompatibility and inefficiency observed within the local offices and partners of United Nations in terms of the impact generated on the ground:

“Well, the countries may be giving the data for the United Nation's' surveys but, for instance there are associations made by United Nation's here, associations around migrants etc. and these aren't organizations that really serve their purpose.” (Participant B, Metropolitan Municipality B, JDP)

The participant also linked the data collection processes of the United Nations' to the inefficiency observed upon the projects on the ground, expressing that the data they collected aren't reliable due to perceived sourcing process:

“When those projects are done, they get a month or two of a break than start another project and say let's do it in City Y, so all the data that the United Nation's collects it's through these methods.” (Participant B, Metropolitan Municipality B, JDP)

#### *Sub-Code 4.B.2: Data Implications of Centralised Government/Governance Issues*

The participant, as mentioned in Code 3.B, believed that there is no way reliable data around economic aspects of poverty can be sourced simply due to not having a robust monitoring system which allows for healthy data in this regard to be sourced:

“Let's say you have detected people, the numbers here are hypothetical, you detected thousand people, maybe around 20-30% of these people's wage is higher than the minimum wage but for you it seems like the minimum wage. So, I don't think poverty analysis in Türkiye can ever be a healthy data before these issues are addressed.” (Participant B, Metropolitan Municipality B, JDP)

When reminded of the multidimensional nature of the index, the participant indicated that measurements can be done through requesting of data from higher levels of governance and working with different levels of government, however still indicated that the hierarchical structuring makes it impossible:

“Yes, we could do the measurements, but there wouldn't be any healthy data, let's say the data is sound, the local governments aren't the only deciding factor in correction policies, so those two are a bit of a dead-end. But this doesn't mean that local governments won't do anything anything around this field or that there isn't anything that they can do.” (Participant B, Metropolitan Municipality B, JDP)

### *Sub-code 4.B.3: Mental Blocks Around Local Policy Making due to Set Legal Responsibilities*

A peculiar finding within the interview with Participant B was their ability to outline steps towards policy initiation in terms of assessing deprivations under a multidimensional sense, however their inability to bridge the gaps in between developing projects and turning these into policies:

“For instance, we have a lot of activities tailored towards the elderly. In these activities we always see that there are elderly who cannot look after themselves in their own homes. We see it when we go to their homes to bring food, when we go to clean their homes. When these accumulate, we see that there is a need for retirement homes. We had meetings about this with the ministry and the provincial directorate, of course these requests go to the provincial directorate too, but we have our own measurements around these issues. For instance, our mayor has a visionary project around this, we are currently looking for resources and will be starting our activities around it soon.” (Participant B, Metropolitan Municipality B, JDP)

Participant B was also able to list out Metropolitan Municipality B, however, believing that these cannot be turned into local policies, as policymaking have been reserved to the central government within the participant’s narrative:

“In the last one to two years in all family visits that we’ve done, in the meetings with the healthcare sector we realised there is a remarkable number of citizens with autism and that they need serious education to be able to adapt to social life. So, we think what type of education we can provide, where should we find a place, we do these things time to time, but it isn’t a cumulative activity, usually sector by sector.” (Participant B, Metropolitan Municipality B, JDP)

## *Themes*

### *Poverty as Responsibility of Citizens*

This theme emerges from the intersection of Code 1.B and Code 3.B. One of the main themes found within Participant B’s narrative was that the relations between the labour, private sector and government define the ability of the central government allocate budgets and distribute resources efficiently, while it is the citizens responsibility to take care of themselves to ensure their own wellbeing to ensure state resources’ integrity and

rightful allocation. Threat of unemployment and thus the importance of the ability to work according to law has been emphasised extensively throughout the interview, as the finance for social service is sourced mainly from Social Security Institution's pooling of premiums payed by the employers for their employees. This problem thus also creates the issue of the responsabilisation of citizens for choosing to work for employers that defer the law around national insurance, or those who need social benefits –due to an inability to balance the lack of resources found within the central government and inability to meet the demand on the ground.

#### Central Government as Driver of Change and Local Government as a Facilitator

This theme emerges from the intersection of Code 2.B and Code 3.B. Another theme that was present within the interview conducted with participant B was that due to the organisational arrangements between local and central governments, local governments are positioned as relief mechanisms for when the central government's fail to provide for their citizens; however, the responsibility to provide social services and benefits is solely on central governments and their representative branches upon local level. Thus, the role of the local governments in the wake of their organisational weaknesses, policymaking and developing projects around socioeconomic progress becomes reliant on central government in Participant B's narrative, completely taking away the agency of local governments as they are put into the peripheries through the definition 'political organs of the central government'.

#### Government and Governance Structure and Inability of Integrating New Analysis on Local Level

This theme emerges from the intersection of Code 2.B, Code 3.B and Code 4.B. Last themes present within Participant B's narrative is that the structure of government and governance model implemented to operationalise within all levels of state creates certain associations between specific levels and government functions –making an ambiguous inability to go beyond certain perceptions over the legal definitions of responsibility and jurisdiction. On top of that the proposed method have been This may be due to prioritisation of central government matters within the participants' narrative rather than focusing on the local tackling of poverty, which may be attributed to the fact that JDP has been in power for the last four election cycles as well as participant's constant reference to Code 2.B. and Code 3.B. throughout the interview.

## Chapter 5: Discussions

When all the results are triangulated, there are some interesting findings that shed light into the relationship between government structures, governance models and political will on a local level in terms of distributive dynamics and willingness to analyse poverty in novel and new ways. Firstly, the laws around local governments showcase that although the purpose of local governments is one that is limited to facilitation of central laws, the jurisdiction given within laws and regulations allow local governments to act with much more flexibility than the outlined purpose. Legally, local governments are allowed to innovate and invest in projects that will aid the prosperity and security of their citizens, allowing them to also create local laws and regulations –while not having any limitations on local policy-making efforts.

### Politics, Legality and Governance Nexus

This is particularly of interest when the drastic differences present within the themes detected from the individual interviews conducted with two heads of social services – one from RPP and one from JDP. The participant from the RPP run metropolitan municipality expressed that local governments are key actors in poverty alleviation and must govern social services with a rational mindset and a scientific approach, which also resulted in openness to integrate the MPI framework. The JDP run metropolitan municipality noted that the responsibility of overcoming poverty mainly relies on citizens themselves unless they are defined as a member of a vulnerable group, that social service spending is a burden on central government while the responsibility of creating poverty alleviation policies relies on them, and that it is not possible to integrate new forms of evaluation because local governments are defined by law as the political organs of the central governments. Thus, it can be argued that the interpretation of law, or points focused on within it, relies heavily on the political position embodied by the party that the departmental heads are a part of and the political objectives that they have now, hinting at the importance of political legitimacy within a highly competitive period of modern Turkish political history. This demonstrates that the post-2019 eras' highly politically competitive environment outlined by Esen & Gumuscu (2019), Yavuzyılmaz (2021), Esen et al. (2024) and Kutlay & Öniş (2024).

However, a comparison between 'Code 3.A: Politics of Poverty Alleviation in Local Social Services' present within Participant A's interview analysis, and 'Code 2.B. Limitation of Local Governments' within Participant B's narrative reveals another layer. While Participant A saw social service governance and distributive politics as a source of political gain, Participant B saw it as something that must be kept above the local

political sphere due to electoral cycles' impact on policy outcomes. The distinction here may also arise from the juridical intersection found in the municipal organisation set out in the law, mainly the local governments and the branch offices of central government tied to governorship entities. While Participant A showcased a more holistic and aligned understanding of local governments away from the distinction between different yet intertwined structures, which allowed for the ability to perceive local governments as a driver of change—realising its power to assess poverty on a local level as well as utilise this knowledge created for creating poverty governance policies. This outlook displayed by Participant A also contends with the findings of Keefer & Khemani (2007) upon electoral politics' impact on social service provision, while showing the importance of awareness over the structural advantages and disadvantages highlighted by Hooghe & Marks (2003) upon realising leverage. Thus, the integration of MPI seems feasible from a structural perspective in Metropolitan Municipality A.

On the other than Participant B, due to focusing on the power-play upon the intersection of two different governance levels and legal definitions of purposes of the entities that represent them—showing a Type I understanding of governance models according to Hooghe and Marks (2001), where the structure is hierarchical and rigid. But Participant B's outlook may also be indicative of another trend. Bache and Flinders (2004) argued that the role of the government is to change according to the needs of its citizens, but what Participant B outlines within central and local levels are quite the opposite and resonates more with the comments of Wang & Guo (2022) upon relationality of levels rather than competition. This can be attributed to the continued electoral security outlined by Yilmaz & Bashirov (2017), which Öniş (2009; 2012; 2019) described as a neoliberal market strategies propped by formal and informal redistribution routes to keep the voter's content. The continued electoral success thus may have made the JDP comfortable upon local outcomes throughout the years as well as members of the party resonate more with governmental affairs rather than political duties. Thus, the constant electoral reassurance may have made the interpretation a local government's purpose and jurisdiction within law inert and unresponsive to the local realities, showing a complete contrast with Hooghe & Marks's (2003) comments about awareness and strategic utilization while reaffirming Paxton (2022) remarks around how populist central policies can undermine the local political will through hierarchical governance models. Hence, the integration of MPI seems less likely in Metropolitan Municipality B from a motivational and structural perspective.

The wide differences detected between the participants ranging from how they interpret the laws governing local government structures and functions to how their identical departments' function within the respective municipalities, show that the metropolitan municipalities are indeed political organs, as outlined by Participant B. The operationalisation of the metropolitan municipality structure under the leadership of the

mayor and the local government parliament determines the social service outcomes heavily, and thus can be used for political legitimacy. The need for political legitimacy does not pose any moral or functional shortcoming if the parties in local administration embody democratic values. However, the uncertainty created through inter and intra party dynamics across time and space may pose a shortcoming in terms of integration if the MPI framework upon a local level across Türkiye.

## MPI Framework and Local Governance Nexus

Moreover, it is also necessary to comment on the normative and structural necessities rising from the MPI framework itself. The MPI requires a nuanced understanding of poverty as “...the terms ‘deprived’ and ‘poor’ are no longer synonymous.” (Alkire et al., 2015a, p.11). Multidimensional poverty distinguishes between being deprived and being poor as it moves away from a unidimensional understanding of poverty to a multifaceted and interconnected one, thus requiring readily available comprehensive understanding of reasons of poverty which is reflected in data management strategies readily available within the local level. According to Participant A’s narrative, Municipality A’s social assessment and data management style, outlined in ‘Code 4.A: Rationalisation of the Approach to Social Service’, show similarities with the MPI Framework already, with various deprivation and poverty focus projects developed already through collection and utilization of data on many fronts. On the other hand, Participant B has shown in ‘Code 2.B. Limitation of Local Governments’ that as the local governments are only relief mechanisms, the data that they produce does not go into assessing poverty on an aggregated level but only an individual level –and the data that they produce is supplied to the branches of the central government present within the local government. However, as mentioned in Chapter 4, under Legal Documents, there isn’t anything that stops the local governments on utilising the data that they create if they share them with the branch offices tied to the governorship entities.

Another requirement present within the MPI framework comes from the fact that the weighting and cut-off decisions are axiological, meaning that they must be addressed by the decision-makers’ normative judgments (Alkire et al., 2015c). This thus necessitates an understanding of development and wellbeing that reflects the moral arguments put forward by Amartya Sen (1995;1999) to ensure a pro-poor assessment of poverty with the MPI framework –as the frameworks structural qualities can only ensure a robust representation of the experience of poverty through right weights and cut-off points. The understanding of poverty thus becomes crucial in one’s ability to make these judgements. Participant A, under the ‘Code 1.A Multidimensionality of Poverty’ demonstrated a comprehensive understanding of various dimensions of poverty as well as the relationality of these aspects in present time and across time. On top of that, the

participant outlined that this understanding relies on local government strategy set out by the mayor and the party, providing some much-needed backing. On the other hand, while participant B has demonstrated a good understanding of how multiple deprivations can impact a citizen's capabilities and that the monetary approach to poverty is one that is under 'Sub-Code 1.B.2: Poverty as Multiple Deprivations', they have also defined poverty in terms of a citizen's own responsibility as dependence on state resources due to the inability of securing a job threatens state's larger ability to provide to those that are vulnerable under 'Sub-Code 1.B.1: Poverty as Unemployment and Dependence on State'. The ambiguity in Participant B's understanding of poverty coupled with the focus on central state issues throughout the interview thus raises questions about how robust the analysis would be if integrated –as the moral background becomes unpredictable. However, as the decision-making body and mayoral intent matters more within the local level, this assertion must be taken with a grain of salt as the participant haven't commented much about both these entities.

## Suggested Integration Strategies

The integration strategies that can be detected within this research fall into two categories: non-partisan integration and partisan integration. On the non-partisan front there are few strategies that can be utilised. Firstly, as Participant B declared, the initiative can be taken centrally and then disseminated across different levels of government for it to be institutionalised across Türkiye. Given the hierarchical structure of the government organisation, this option, from a purely structural stance, provides the most sustainability in the long term. However, the initiation of this as a nation-wide policy would be highly dependent upon the political objectives within the central administration, which has been found to embed clientelist redistributive strategies (Yılmaz & Bashirov, 2017), politicising distributive dynamics of government's social services. Coupled with increased authoritarianism since the 2019 elections, marked by Akçay (2020), this strategy does not seem likely as while the issue of poverty is very prevalent for the public, the impact of the economic crisis on political objectives of JDP seem more imminent upon central level especially pressures for early elections by the opposition (Euronews, 2024).

On the partisan front, there seems to be more options as the metropolitan municipalities assessed can be distinguished into two different categories and thus likelihoods can be assessed individually and benchmarked according to the campaign promises made in 2024 local elections to understand whether these trends can be party wide and thus still widely applicable through political routes. The interview done with Participant A revealed three themes: Objective Governance of Social Services for Political Success, Local Government as a Key Driver of Multidimensional Poverty Alleviation, Innovative and Open

Local Government. All of these, as mentioned in the previous sections under Chapter 5, indicate that the Metropolitan Municipality A has the political will to run the institutions they have and mobilise the available resources according to the political objectives they have, to gain political legitimacy. The view expressed by the participant also shows consistency with the local election manifesto of RPP published for the March 2024 local elections. Within the manifesto, under democratic municipality understanding is the supportive municipality principle which focuses on just and participative distribution of resources through producing action plans in line with the need of the citizens on the ground (Republican People's Party, 2024). The resonance thus shows that this understanding is a party wide phenomenon, while the current structure, awareness and motivation found in Metropolitan Municipality A may be novel to the city itself. A potential route for partisan integration thus could be MPI's integration to Metropolitan Municipality A, to then be carried to the party level for further dissemination.

The interview done with Participant B resulted in three themes: Poverty as Responsibility of Citizens, Central Government as Driver of Change and Local Government as a Facilitator, Government and Governance Structure and Inability of Integrating New Analysis on Local Level. As mentioned in previous sections of Chapter 5, these themes indicate that there is little done with the data collected upon the dimensions and indicators of multidimensional poverty on a local level in Metropolitan Municipality B as the participant believes that the duty relies on the central governments and does not see such capability upon a local level. This view partially falls into disagreement with the local election manifesto of JDP published for the March 2024 local elections, while also holding true in some regards. One of the promises made within the manifesto is that "[Translated from Turkish to English] We [referring to JDP] will create "Social Texture Maps" using field studies, geographical information systems and artificial intelligence applications to ensure that those in need are identified supply-oriented rather than demand-oriented." (Justice and Development Party, 2024, p.103) meaning that there is no current data collection and utilization system on the local level, but it is aimed to be constructed. While the manifesto supports Participant B's narrative around the lack of capacity available at present in local governments, it also refutes the point of such endeavour can only be taken by a central government. Yet still a central-local dissemination seems more likely due to the lack of political will be available on the ground. So, within the case of JDP, as the MPI framework aligns with the campaign promises made under social services and aids, it is plausible to integrate MPI to the party-level endeavours, to than disseminate it to the local level.



## Chapter 6: Conclusions

In the wake of 21<sup>st</sup> century, with only 6 years left to fulfil the SDG goals, utilization and enhancement of every governmental level is essential for both ensuring healthy democracies and increasing the capabilities of citizens (Boylston, 2019). Up until now, the international efforts of development and poverty reduction have failed to address the realities and needs of a huge proportion of the world's population due to Western-centric conceptions of growth and blindness over regional, national and local dynamics (Plaatjie, 2013). In 1990s a new wave of both understanding and implementation of development emerged through calls for decentralisation and human development; however, these efforts largely didn't go hand in hand, often development and poverty alleviation being national goals and strategies, with decentralisation focusing primarily on freeness from central control. This is a problematic dynamic as local governments are the first line of contact with citizens, thus having both a nuanced and rich level of information that can be utilised for comprehensive policymaking practices, if they have the organisational and political space to do so.

This research has largely tried to answer this through the example of Türkiye, assessing legal and political playing field for local governments upon the integration of the MPI framework to multidimensionally assess poverty and deprivations, and come up with certain suggestions upon integration. The research has used a data triangulation method by collecting legal documents upon local government structure to assess the ability of local governments on social and developmental policymaking while utilising MLG theory and conducted semi-structured interviews which were analysed through thematic narrative analysis to understand the level of political will present to run institutions and mobilise resources in a way that will facilitate the construction of MPI framework. To account for the ideological differences, participants were chosen from two metropolitan municipalities that are governed by two different parties –JDP, which is the main leading party, and RPP, the main opposition party. To even the playing field, only participants who had a pair in rank and occupation were put into the final sample –leading to two participants, one from each party. Thus, this constricted the data set, and must be bore in mind accordingly. This limitation has been attempted to be counteracted in the discussion section by benchmarking the participant's points of view with the most recent local election manifestos to see the consistency between electoral political claims and the reality experienced on the ground while recommending potential routes of integration.

The findings suggest that non-partisan integration of MPI upon a local level in Türkiye is nearly impossible due to the political nature of the local governments, both demonstrated in the laws analysed and interviews conducted, as well as the current

economic and political situations in mind. On the partisan front, the degree of feasibility changes according to the party which is in power. While RPP shows a better understanding of the multilevel government and governance mechanisms with higher degree of political will, JDP shows quite high levels of dissonance in terms of the reality experienced on the ground and political objectives. Thus, the routes for implementation divide into two routes: bottom-to-top for RPP and top-to-bottom for JDP. While Metropolitan Municipality A already has similar data management strategies to MPI, with Participant A showing high levels of motivation around the method, and the local election promises aligning with both, MPI can be integrated on a local to than be carried across the party to different municipalities it governs. On the other hand, as there is a pressing sense of hierarchy and centrality present within Participant B, with Metropolitan Municipality B only assessing poverty on individual levels and not utilising the available data for aggregate analysis as there isn't any political will towards local policy creation, while the local election promises refute this stance, a party level integration of the MPI framework to than disseminate it to municipalities under their governance is much more feasible.

## References

Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (2024) Türkiye Yüzyılı Şehirleri İçin Gerçek Belediyecilik. [Online] Ankara: Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi. Available at: <https://www.akparti.org.tr/media/0iphdfqk/2024-yerel-se%C3%A7imleri-se%C3%A7im-beyannamesi.pdf> [Accessed 1 June 2024].

Akçay, Ü. (2020) Authoritarian consolidation dynamics in Turkey. *Contemporary Politics*. 27(1), pp.79-104. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13569775.2020.1845920>.

Alkire, S. (2000). 'The basic dimensions of human flourishing: A comparison of accounts', in N. Biggar and R. Black (eds.), *The Revival of Natural Law: Philosophical, Theological and Ethical Responses to the Finnis-Grisez School*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, pp. 73–110.

Alkire, S. (2002). 'Dimensions of human development', *World Development*, 2002, Vol. 30(2), pp. 181–205. DOI: [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0305-750X\(01\)00109-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0305-750X(01)00109-7).

Alkire, S. (2007) The Missing Dimensions of Poverty Data: Introduction to the Special Issue. *Oxford Development Studies*. 35(4), pp.347-359. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13600810701701863>.

Alkire, S. (2015) 'Choosing Dimensions: The Capability Approach and Multidimensional Poverty.' in Kakwani, N. & Silber, J. [Online] *Many Dimensions of Poverty*, pp.89–119. Available at: [https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1057/9780230592407\\_6](https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1057/9780230592407_6) [Accessed 1 June 2024].

Alkire, S. et al. (2015a) Multidimensional Poverty Measurement and Analysis: Chapter 2 – The Framework. OPHI Working Paper 83. Available at: <https://ophi.org.uk/publications/WP-83> [Accessed 1 June 2024].

Alkire, S. et al. (2015b) Multidimensional Poverty Measurement and Analysis: Chapter 5 – The Alkire-Foster Counting Methodology. OPHI Working Paper 86. Available at: <https://ophi.org.uk/publications/WP-86> [Accessed 1 June 2024].

Alkire, S. et al. (2015c) Multidimensional Poverty Measurement and Analysis: Chapter 6 – Normative Choices in Measurement Design. OPHI Working Paper 87. Available at: <https://ophi.org.uk/publication/WP-87> [Accessed 1 June 2024].

Alkire, S. & Foster, J. (2008) *Counting and Multidimensional Poverty Measurement*. OPHI Working Paper 07. Available at: <https://ophi.org.uk/publication/WP-07> [Accessed 1 June 2024].

Alkire, S. & Foster, J. (2011) Understandings and misunderstandings of multidimensional poverty measurement. *The Journal of Economics of Inequality*. 9, pp.289-314. DOI: 10.1007/s10888-011-9181-4.

Altınörs, G & Akçay, Ü. (2022) Authoritarian neoliberalism, crisis, and consolidation: the political economy of regime changes in Turkey. *Globalizations*. 19(7), pp. 1029-1053. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2021.2025290>.

Aturupane, H. (1994) Poverty, Human Development, and Growth: An Emerging Consensus? *The American Economic Review*. 84(2), pp. 244-249. DOI: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2117837>.

Aytaç, S. E. (2024) Economic voting in the 2023 Turkish general election. *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*. 24(2), pp. 363-381. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683857.2024.2324524>.

Bache, I. & Flinders, M. (2004) Multi-Level Governance and the Study of the British State. *Public Policy and Administration*. 19(1), 1-83. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/095207670401900103>.

Barbieri, G. (2019) Regionalism, globalism and complexity: a stimulus towards global IR? *Third World Thematics: A TWQ Journal*. 4(6), pp.424-441. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/23802014.2019.1685406>.

Bavelas, J. B. (1990) Truths, Lies, and Equivocations: The Effects of Conflicting Goals on Discourse. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*. 9(1-2), pp.135-161. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0261927X9091008>.

BELEDİYE KANUNU 2005. Available at: <https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/mevzuat?MevzuatNo=5393&MevzuatTur=1&MevzuatTertip=5> [Accessed 1 June 2024].

BELEDİYE MECLİSİ ÇALIŞMA YÖNETMELİĞİ 2005. Available at: <https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/mevzuat?MevzuatNo=9529&MevzuatTur=7&MevzuatTertip=5> [Accessed 1 June 2024].

Bergh, S. (2004) Democratic decentralisation and local participation: a review of recent research. *Development in Practice*. 14(6), pp.780-790. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/0961452042000284012>.

Boylston, S. (2019) *Designing with Society: A Capabilities Approach to Design, Systems Thinking and Social Innovation*. New York: Routledge.

Bull, P. et al. (1996) Why politicians are three-faced: The face model of political interviews. *British Journal of Social Psychology*. 35, pp.267-284. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8309.1996.tb01097.x> [Accessed 1 June 2024].

BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ KANUNU 2004. Available at: <https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/mevzuat?MevzuatNo=5216&MevzuatTur=1&MevzuatTertip=5> [Accessed 1 June 2024].

Catalán, H. E. N. (2018) Reliability, Population Classification and Weighting in Multidimensional Poverty Measurement: A Monte Carlo Study. *Social Indicators Research*. 142, pp.887-910. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-018-1950-z>.

Catalán, H. E. N. & Gordon, D. (2019) The Importance of Reliability and Construct Validity in Multidimensional Poverty Measurement: An Illustration Using the Multidimensional Poverty Index for Latin America (MPI-LA). *The Journal of Development Studies*. 56(9), pp. 1763-1783. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00220388.2019.1663176>.

Crawford, G. (2008) Decentralization and the Limits to Poverty Reduction: Findings from Ghana. *Oxford Development Studies*. 36(2), pp.235-258. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13600810701702002>.

Cowley, P. (2022) How to Get Information Out of Members of Parliament (Without Being Told Off by the Speaker). *Political Studies Review*. 20(2), pp.236-242. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/14789299211042167>.

Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (2024) İşimiz Gücümüz Türkiye. [Online] Ankara: Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi: Available at: <https://chp.org.tr/yayin/2024-yerel-secim-bildirgesi>. [Accessed 1 June 2024].

Devas, N. & Delay, S. (2007) 'Local Democracy and the Challenges of Decentralising the State: An International Perspective.' In Coulson, A. & Campbell, A. (eds.) *Local Government in Central and Eastern Europe the Rebirth of Local Democracy*, pp.134-154. London: Routledge.

Euronews (2024) 'Özel'den Erdoğan'a erken seçim çağrısı: Son tarih 2025 Kasım'dır', *Euronews*, 14 September. Available at: <https://tr.euronews.com/2024/09/14/ozelden-erdogana-erken-secim-cagrisi-son-tarih-2025-kasimdir> [Accessed 15 September 2024].

Esen, B. et al. (2024) Competitive yet unfair: May 2023 elections and authoritarian resilience in Turkey. *South European Society and Politics*. 28(3), pp. 359-387. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13608746.2024.2327778>.

Esen, B. & Gumuscu, S (2016) Rising competitive authoritarianism in Turkey. *Third World Quarterly*. 37(9), pp.1581-1606. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2015.1135732>.

Esen, B. & Gumuscu, S (2019) Killing Competitive Authoritarianism Softly: The 2019 Local Elections in Turkey. *South European Society and Politics*. 24(3), pp.317-342. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13608746.2019.1691318>.

Faguet, J.P & Pal, S. (2023) *Decentralised Governance: Crafting Effective Democracies Around the World*. [Online] London: LSE Press. Available at:

[https://eprints.lse.ac.uk/120412/1/Faguet\\_decentralised\\_governance\\_published.pdf](https://eprints.lse.ac.uk/120412/1/Faguet_decentralised_governance_published.pdf)  
[Accessed 1 June 2024].

Fukuda-Parr, S. (2011) Theory and Policy in International Development: Human Development and Capability Approach and the Millennium Development Goals. *International Studies Review*. 13(1), pp.122-132. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2486.2010.01003.x>.

Gweshengwe, B. & Hassan, N. H. (2020) Defining the characteristics of poverty and their implications for poverty analysis. *Cogent Social Sciences*. 6(1), pp.1-5. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2020.1768669>.

Harris, J. (2014) 'Development Theories.' In Bruce Currie-Alder et al. (eds.) *International Development: Ideas, Experience, and Prospects*. [Online] Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.35-49. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199671656.001.0001> [Accessed 1 June 2024].

Hicks, D. A. (1997) The inequality-adjusted human development index: A constructive proposal. *World Development*. 25(8), pp.1283-1298. DOI: [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0305-750X\(97\)00034-X](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0305-750X(97)00034-X).

Hooghe, L. & Marks, G. (2001) Types of Multi-Level Governance. *European Integration Online Papers*. 5(11).

Hooghe, L. & Marks, G. (2003) Unraveling the Central State, but How? Types of Multi-level Governance. *American Political Science Review*. 97(2), pp.233-243. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055403000649>.

Horner, R. (2020) Towards a new paradigm of global development? Beyond the limits of international development. *Progress in Human Geography*. 44(3), pp.411-617. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132519836158>.

İL İDARESİ KANUNU 1949. Available at: <https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/mevzuat?MevzuatNo=5442&MevzuatTur=1&MevzuatTertip=3> [Accessed 1 June 2024].

Keefer, P. & Khemani, S. (2005) Democracy, Public Expenditures, and the Poor: Understanding Political Incentives for Providing Public Services. *The World Bank Research Observer*. 20(1), pp.1-28. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/wbro/lki002>.

Krishnaji, N. (1997) Human Poverty Index: A Critique. *Economic and Political Weekly*. 32(35), pp.2202-2205. DOI: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4405793>

Kulipossa, F. P. (2004) Decentralisation and democracy in developing countries: an overview. *Development in Practice*. 14(6), pp.768-779. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/0961452042000284003>.

Kutlay, M. & Öniş, Z. (2024) Governance crises and resilience of authoritarian populism: 2023 Turkish elections from the perspective of Hirschman's 'exit, voice, and loyalty'. 24(2), pp.383–403. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683857.2024.2315652>.

Laderchi, C. et al. (2003) Does it Matter that we do not Agree on the Definition of Poverty? A Comparison of Four Approaches. *Oxford Development Studies*. 31(3), pp.243-274. DOI: 10.1080/1360081032000111698.

Lal, D. (1997) *The poverty of 'development economics'*. London: Institute of Economic Affairs.

Lee, J. (2022) Foreign Aid, Development, and US Strategic Interests in the Cold War. *International Studies Quarterly*. 66(1), pp.1-14. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqab090>.

Lipton, M. (1977) *Why Poor People Stay Poor: Urban Bias in World Development*. Canberra: Australian National University Press.

Lucas, R. E. (1988) On the mechanics of economic development. *Journal of Monetary Economics*. 22(1), pp.3-42. DOI: [https://doi.org/10.1016/0304-3932\(88\)90168-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/0304-3932(88)90168-7).

Marks, G. (1993) 'Structural Policy and Multilevel Governance in the EC' in Cafruny, A.W. & Rosenthal, G. G. (eds.) *The State of the European Community*. [Online] Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, pp.391-411. Available at: <https://www-degruyter-com.libproxy.ucl.ac.uk/document/doi/10.1515/9781685856540/html#contents> [Accessed 1 June 2024].

Masset, E. & García-Hombrados, J. (2021) Sensitivity matters. Comparing the use of multiple indicators and of a multidimensional poverty index in the evaluation of a poverty eradication program. *World Development*. 137, pp1-17. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2020.105162>.

Miller, R. W. (2010) *Globalizing Justice: The Ethics of Poverty and Power*. [Online] Oxford: Oxford University Press. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199581986.001.0001> [Accessed 1 June 2024].

Mosley, P. (2012) 'Building blocks in a poverty strategy.' In Mosley, P. et al. (eds.) *The Politics of Poverty Reduction*. [Online] Oxford: Oxford University Press, Pages 50–77. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199692125.001.0001>.

Norberg-Hodge, H. (2022) 'Localisation: The World Beyond Capitalism' in Alexander, S. et al. (eds.) [Online] *Post-Capitalist Futures: Paradigms, Politics and Prospects*, pp.129-140. Available at: [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-16-6530-1\\_12](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-16-6530-1_12).

Nussbaum, M. C. (2013) *Creating Capabilities: The Human Development Approach*. Boston: Harvard University Press.

OPHI (2023) Global Multidimensional Poverty Index 2023: Unstacking Global Poverty – Data for High-impact Action. Available at: <https://ophi.org.uk/Publications/GMPI14-2023> [Accessed 1 June 2024].

Öniş, Z. (2009) Beyond the 2001 financial crisis: The political economy of the new phase of neo-liberal restructuring in Turkey. *Review of International Political Economy*. 16(3), pp. 409-432. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09692290802408642>.

Öniş, Z. (2012) The Triumph of Conservative Globalism: The Political Economy of the AKP Era. *Turkish Studies*. 13(2), pp.135-152. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683849.2012.685252>.

Öniş, Z. (2019) Turkey under the challenge of state capitalism: the political economy of the late AKP era. *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*. 19(2), pp. 201-225, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683857.2019.1594856>.

Paxton, F. (2022) With a Little Help from Their Friends: The Consequences of Populists in National Government for Policymaking in Local Government. *Government and Opposition*. 57, p.630-655. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/gov.2021.11>.

Permanyer, I. (2013) A Critical Assessment of the UNDP's Gender Inequality Index. *Feminist Economics*. 19(2), pp.1-32. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13545701.2013.769687>.

Petersen, K. (2020) The early Cold War and the Western welfare state. *Journal of international and Comparative Social Policy*. 29(3), pp.226-240. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/21699763.2013.855129>.

Plaatjie, S. R. (2013) Beyond Western-Centric and Eurocentric Development: A Case for Decolonizing Development. *Africanus*. 43(2), pp.118-130. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.25159/0304-615X/2306>.

Ranis, G. et al. (2011) Human Development: Beyond the Human Development Index. *Journal of Human Development*. 7(3), pp.323-358. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649880600815917>.

Romer, P. M. (1986) Increasing Returns and Long-Run Growth. *Journal of Political Economy*. 94(5), pp. 1002-1037. DOI: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1833190>.

Romer, P. M. (1990) Endogenous Technological Change. *Journal of Political Economy*. 98(5), pp.71-102. DOI: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2937632>.

Romer, P. M. (1994) The Origins of Endogenous Growth. *Journal of Economic Perspective*. 8(1), pp. 3-22. DOI: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2138148>.



Rukmana, D. (2014) 'Quota Sampling' in: Michalos, A.C. (ed.) [Online] *Encyclopedia of Quality of Life and Well-Being Research*. Dordrecht: Springer. Available at: [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-0753-5\\_2393](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-0753-5_2393).

Santos, M. E. & Villatoro, P. (2019) The Importance of Reliability in the Multidimensional Poverty Index for Latin America (MPI-LA). *The Journal of Development Studies*. 56(9), pp. 1784-1789. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00220388.2019.1663177>.

Santos, T. D. (1970) The Structure of Dependence. *The American Economic Review*. 60(2), pp.231-236. DOI: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1815811>.

Saymaz, I. (2023) 'Kılıçdaroğlu'nun kaybettiği 13. Seçim', *Sözcü*, 06 November. Available at: <https://www.sozcu.com.tr/kilicdaroglunun-kaybettiği-13-secim-wp7853139> [Accessed 1 June 2024].

Sayın, A. (2024) 'Erdoğan-Özel görüşmesiyle ilerleyen normalleşme süreci devam eder mi?', *BBC News Türkçe*, 13 June. Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/turkce/articles/c8wv5vl9dgpo> [Accessed 15 June 2024].

Sen, A. (1995) 'Functionings and Capability' in Sen, A. (eds.) *Inequality Reexamined*. [Online] Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.39-55. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/0198289286.001.0001> [Accessed 1 June 2024].

Sen, A. (1999) *Development as Freedom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Srinivasan, T. N. (1994) Human Development: A New Paradigm or Reinvention of the Wheel? *The American Economic Review*. 84(2), pp.238-243. DOI: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2117836>.

TÜRKİYE CUMHURİYETİ ANAYASASI 1982. Available at: <https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/mevzuat?MevzuatNo=2709&MevzuatTur=1&MevzuatTertip=5> [Accessed 1 June 2024].

TÜRKİYE CUMHURİYETİ ANAYASASINDA DEĞİŞİKLİK YAPILMASINA DAİR KANUN 2017. Available at: <https://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2017/02/20170211-1.htm> [Accessed 1 June 2024].

UNDP (1990) *HUMAN DEVELOPMENT REPORT 1990*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Available at: <https://hdr.undp.org/content/human-development-report-1990> [Accessed 1 June 2024].

UNRSID (2010) *COMBATING POVERTY AND INEQUALITY: Structural Change, Social Policy and Politics*. Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development. Available at: <https://socialprotection-humanrights.org/resource/combating-poverty-and-inequality-structural-change-social-policy-and-politics/> [Accessed 1 June 2024].

VALİLİK VE KAYMAKAMLIK BİRİMLERİ TEŞKİLAT, GÖREV VE ÇALIŞMA YÖNETMELİĞİ  
2011. Available at:  
<https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/mevzuatmetin/yonetmelik/7.5.15030.htm> [Accessed 1  
June 2024].

Walter, R. (1972) *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Baltimore: Black Classic Press.

Wang, Z. & Suijan, G. (2022) Politics of Poverty Governance: an Introduction. *Journal of Chinese Political Science*. 27(2), 205-219. DOI: [10.1007/s11366-022-09804-4](https://doi.org/10.1007/s11366-022-09804-4).

Wolff, J. & de-Shalit, A. (2007) *Disadvantage*. [Online] Oxford: Oxford University Press.  
Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199278268.001.0001> [Accessed 1  
June 2024].

World Bank (2005) *Economic growth in the 1990s: learning from a decade of reform*.  
Washington: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Available at:  
[https://documents.worldbank.org/en/publication/documents-  
reports/documentdetail/664481468315296721/economic-growth-in-the-1990s-  
learning-from-a-decade-of-reform](https://documents.worldbank.org/en/publication/documents-reports/documentdetail/664481468315296721/economic-growth-in-the-1990s-learning-from-a-decade-of-reform) [Accessed at 1 June 2024].

World Bank (2024) *Poverty*. Available at:  
<https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/poverty/overview> [Accessed 1 June 2024].

Xu, H. et al. (2022) Formation of Relational Poverty Governance and its Impacts: How  
Chinese Local Governments Implement Poverty Alleviation Programs. *Journal of  
Chinese Political Science*. 27, pp.295-317. DOI: [https://doi.org/10.1007/s11366-022-  
09788-1](https://doi.org/10.1007/s11366-022-09788-1).

Yavuzyilmaz, H. (2021) When local becomes general: Turkey's 31 March 2019 elections  
and its implications for dynamics of polarization and sustainability of competitive  
authoritarianism. *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*. 23(4), pp.622-642. DOI:  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/19448953.2021.1888600>.

Yilmaz, I. & Bashirov, G. (2017) The AKP after 15 years: emergence of Erdoganism in  
Turkey. *Third World Quarterly*. 39(9), pp.1812-1830. DOI:  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2018.1447371>.

## Annex 1: Interview Guide

Section	Questions
<i>Introduction</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. How would you define poverty?</li> <li>2. What do you think about the current poverty alleviation strategies?</li> <li>3. Where do you locate local governments' role in overcoming poverty?</li> </ol>
<i>MPI</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Do you think the indicators and dimensions are enough to measure poverty in Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality? If not, what would you change?</li> <li>2. Do you think the flexibility and customizability of the tool would serve the ends of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality?</li> <li>3. What do you think about the normalized weighting system employed within the MPI?</li> </ol>
<i>Challenges and Opportunities</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. What do you think are the main challenges to constructing an MPI in Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality?</li> <li>2. What do you think would be the main opportunities of having an MPI in Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality?</li> <li>3. Do you think the information that the tool would generate help your department to take a more active role in poverty reduction?</li> </ol>
<i>Potential for Integration</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. How do you think MPI can be integrated into your department/office?</li> <li>2. Do you think other related departments and offices would be interested to take part in integration of MPI into Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality?</li> </ol>