THE NEW FORM OF THE PUBLIC-CIVIL SOCIETY RELATIONS AND THE WELFARE STATE

ABDURRAHMAN BABACAN*

ABSTRACT

As the field of activity becomes narrower in local governments, it is easier and less costly to reflect the preferences of people. Since the distance between society and administration is closer, the local government formed qt political and administrative levels produces more effective results in terms of democratic efficiency. In this new administrative form, which can also be expressed as "local governance", the local government in an autonomous structure, assuming more responsibility to cooperate with the central government, private sector and other actors (development agencies, NGOs, etc.) At this point, while focusing on the needs and disadvantages, it is necessary to understand that NGOs hold basic responsibilities in terms of cooperating with local governments in various forms such as local education, provision of social services, empowerment of solidarity and protection of freedoms. After the collapse of welfare politics, the importance of cooperation between government and civil society has emerged. It is then necessary to talk about the increasing importance of civil society as a prominent actor in the field of social welfare, in the sense that having the basis for providing services without being exposed to the conditions of bulkiness, inefficiency and red-tape. The cooperation mechanism, recently revealed in Sultanbeyli within the context of Syrian refugees, is a good example which brings Sultanbeyli Municipality, Sultanbeyli Governorship, the Ministry of Family and Social Policy and some important non-governmental organizations together as project partners.

Keywords: Central Government, Local Government, Local Governance, Civil Society, Welfare Policy, Sultanbeyli.

ÖZ

Merkezileşme yerine daha dar bir faaliyet alanında işlev yürüten yerel yönetimler, bu alanlarda yaşayan bireylerin tercihlerini yansıtmak açısından daha kolay ve daha az maliyetli hizmetler sunmaktadır. Toplum ve yönetim arasındaki mesafe daha kısa olduğundan, yerel hükümet siyasi ve idari seviyede demokratik etkinlik açısından daha etkili sonuçlar üretmektedir. "Yerel yönetişim" olarak da ifade edilebilen bu yeni idari formda yerel yönetim anlayışı, merkezi yönetimle, özel sektörle ve diğer aktörlerle (kalkınma ajansları, STK'lar vb.) işbirliği yapmak suretiyle, özerklik ve verimlilik açısından daha fazla sorumluluk alan bir formda ifade bulmaktadır. Bu noktada insan ihtiyaç ve dezavantajlarına yönelirken, STK'ların yerel yönetimlerle işbirliği içerisinde, yerel eğitim, sosyal hizmet, sosyal dayanışmanın güçlendirilmesi ve insan haklarının korunması gibi temel işlevlere sahip olduğunu belirtmek gerekir. Refah politikasının çöküşünden sonra, hükümet ve sivil toplum arasındaki işbirliğinin önemi gittikçe artmaktadır. Bu bakımdan, hantallık, verimsizlik ve bürokratizm gibi merkezi hükümetlerin dezavantajlı koşullarına maruz kalmadan hizmet sunma temeline sahip olma anlamında, sivil toplumun önemi gittikçe artmaktadır. Bu bağlamda Sultanbeyli sınırları dâhilinde mülteciler için oluşturulmuş ve Sultanbeyli Belediyesi, Sultanbeyli Kaymakamlığı, Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı ve bazı önemli STK'ları proje ortakları olarak bir araya getiren önemli bir işbirliği mekanizması, buna iyi bir örnek teşkil etmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Merkezi Hükümet, Yerel Hükümet Sivil Toplum, Refah Politikası, Sultanbeyli.

** Dr. Ögr. Üyesi, Medipol Üniversitesi, Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi Bölümü.

Public Management in New Form: Local Governance

Especially in recent years, importance of local government began to increase in terms of both functionality and good governance. Because of structural advantages, local governments are more functional and innovative in creating interactive processes with the society. Being the closest unit to the public, it is a structure that can operate a more efficient and faster mechanism to solve problems correctly and provide efficient services for ensuring economic, social and cultural diversity. Since the 1980s, international development agencies have also promoted localization for countries as an effective strategy for development. Especially in low-income countries, the issue of development brings new ideas on mechanisms and form of governance. In this context, localization is defined as transfer of all kinds of administrative responsibilities to administrative bodies other than the central government. So the authority and initiative areas of the local governments have widened, and localization reforms have been accelerated recently.

Rapid urbanization along with the increasing migration wave on the global scale, following the Industrial Revolution, requires efficient, accurate and effective management processes. Many of the economic, social, technical and financial problems bring new obligations for administrations that require solution perspectives within this context. This emerging process has revealed multi-actor governance, increase in emphasis on local governments and new elements such as private sector on the one hand and pressure groups and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) on the other.

With the evolution of the classical bureaucracy into a cumbersome and slow mechanism, an approach has been developed which is characterized by the concept of "governance", aiming at maximum level of citizen participation in public services. Maintenance of dependence and solidarity among the organizations and interaction between public, quasi-official and private actors at different levels of society and determination of the rules based on trust and negotiation are main characteristics of governance (Fenger and Bekkers, 2007: 15-16).

The term governance, used in the sense of managing together, aims at generating a sort of effective and responsible management structure based on cooperation through involvement of all the relevant partners. With this form of government, various social actors will share power. Two important elements are seen as tools in spreading and well-functioning of governance: participation and the NGOs (Kayıkçı, 2007: 170).

Hence governance, popularized in terms of efficiency and productivity in provision of public services, promotes involvement of performance-based actors like private sector, local administrative units and NGOs, instead of traditional public administration based on central and hierarchical division of labor (Commission of the European Communities, 2001). Besides, the "European Charter of Local Self Government" adopted by the Council of Europe in 1985 and the "European Urban Charter" adopted by the Conference of European Local and Regional Authorities in 1992, emphasize the need for structuring local governments for all candidate countries. Thus, in the new administrative form, also expressed as "local governance", the local government, in an autonomous structure, takes on more responsibility cooperating with the central government, private sector and other actors such as development agencies, NGOs, etc.

Within this framework, the necessity for local governments to have an autonomous entity with their own budget has been the epicenter of institutionalization. Thus, democratic institutionalization, the heart of this approach, would try to sort out this issue. That is why local governments have been regarded as one of the main institutions of democracy. Even so, the approaches in recent years have begun to establish a close reciprocal relationship between democratic character of the political system in a country and existence of local governments (Wickwar, 1970: 74). In this approach, meeting political, economic, social and cultural demands can be more easily achieved in local governments than in central governments. This is because; as the field of activity becomes narrower in local governments it is easier and less time consuming to reflect the preferences of people. Since the distance between society and administration is less, the local government form in political and administrative levels produces more effective results in terms of democratic efficiency (Citci, 1996). In Hill's (1974: 22-24) statement, participation in political process is more intense and straightforward in local governments than in centralized forms of management.

In essence, the relationship between local government and democracy in political theory has been an issue that Anglo-Saxon thinkers (Locke, Hume, Mill) have mainly emphasized. The first municipal-style local organization model emerged in England in the 19th century. Hayek, one of the strongest theorists of liberal tradition, stresses that the most important element after the private sector for a democratic society is the local government (Keleş, 2006: 50). Besides, strong local governments with high democratic

standards provide significant contributions to the development of democracy throughout the country. There is no country in the world where local governments are powerless, but democracy has developed (Aykaç, 1999: 12). Because as Richards (1983: 167) points out the fact that the geographical and social distance between local elections and local voters is less then it will ensure both a genuine electoral process and an effective public control, as envisaged by democracy theory.

In establishing such a structure, value-based management constitutes a key role in involving the society to the management mechanism in a fairer, more transparent and more participatory manner. In the form of an administration where a new conceptual frame, comprised of efficiency, freedom, resilience, participation, transparency, accountability, justice, merit, competence and consultation, dominates the whole field. Thus, the administrative units will have to transform their mentalities and structures towards a human-oriented one. This requires local governments adjust their understanding and practice directly in favor of their service partners meaning a sort of harmonization of social-municipal, human-oriented and right-based understanding of local government in practice. As the post-industrial society creates new forms of poverty in which the dimension of human needs are deepened and diversified, an integrated and compact strategy has become an obligation in creating mutually complementary strategies and policies. Migration, rapid but unhealthy urbanization, changes in family structure, demographic transformations, increase in population and unemployment rates, emergence of new sociological and socioeconomic fragilities such as lonely people, single mothers and drug addiction require that the understanding and practice of governance to be revised according to the new realities and situations. And this revision should contain a right-based, value-centered and human-focused understanding of administrative practice and a sort of complementation of civil society. In this sense, the interest of municipalities to humanitarian problems within their borders shows that they are moving towards a new understanding of public administration.

The Increasing Role of Civil Society

The supervisory and cooperative role of the civil society is finding its place in the new conceptual framework of public administration. In doing so, it needs to deepen the understanding of the content and nature of civil society. In this direction, a new way of thinking towards the conceptualization

of the NGO, representing a wide range of fields from voluntary organizations working in different fields to think tanks, from social movements to citizen initiatives, unions and professional chambers; issues of human rights and freedoms, environment, youth, education, health, disabled people, development, etc., is critically important for social development and democratization, as well as social benefit. In other words, while focusing on the needs and disadvantages, it is necessary to understand that NGOs have basic responsibilities in terms of cooperating with local governments in various issues such as local education, provision of social services, empowerment of solidarity and protection of freedoms.

The notion of civil society, as Davies (2003) stated, points to a collective behavior that has not been exposed to force. In other words, it is a conceptual framework corresponding to the field of actions-behaviors based on volunteering rather than enforcement. Civil society, in a sense corresponding to opposition to the political sphere, is defined as common interests of the citizens not represented by the political sphere, in a way that is related to the state but independent of and external to it (Yıldız, 2004: 89; cited by Aslan, 2010).

In addition, civil society is a broad field that encompasses all forms of collective activity originating from social development and practice (Erdoğan, 2005: 669). In this context, a perspective on cooperation has gained importance in recent years in terms of building a complementary process between local governments and NGOs. The emphasis on human-oriented and right-based approach to basic sociological realities such as immigration, disability and poverty has deepened and diversified the understanding of local government and concept of civil society.

Historically from Aristotle to the tradition that continues with "natural law" in modern society, the concept of civil society has been used interchangeably with the state. Civil society was recognized as an area in which individuals were equipped with a range of rights and obligations in public sphere. The definition of civil society also constitutes the basic framework of the social contract thinkers of the 18th century. Both Locke and Hobbes' theories refer state and civil society as alternative to "state of nature". The main point that Hobbes and Locke have stressed is the civil-noncivil society contrast, rather than the civil society-state contradiction. In Hobbes's opinion, it is clear what civil society theory means: state society or opponent of the "state of nature". However, a small but significant difference emerges in

Locke's mind, which has been the first indication that the concept of civil society will take on a new dimension. Although Locke did not strictly distinguish the political corpus (state) and the civil society yet, he had begun to draw the main theme of the liberal state-civil society problem: the state does not intervene civil society; rather takes necessary steps to protect it (Akal, 1990: 35-37; cited by Akbal, 2011).

As such, Keane (1993: 50-52) mentions four phases in development of civil society and its relation with the state. According to him, classical civil society-state separation arises in the first phase. While pursuing to justify the centralized, sovereign and constitutional state, he also emphasizes the importance of the development of independent "societies" against state's authority in this phase. In the second phase, the claim is that the independent "societies" have a legitimacy to defend themselves against the state. At this phase, the dominant theme has been based on the perception that the civil society is against the state. In the third phase, the state antagonism of civil society begins to weaken. In this context, freedom of civil society is regarded as something that paralyzes itself and produces conflicts, therefore civil society seems to require a more rigorous state regulation and control. In the fourth phase, the point has been concentrated on the condition that regulatory state power will suppress the civil society; thus accordingly, the importance of preserving a pluralistic, self-organizing and self-directed civil society has to be underlined. The main theme here is to protect civil society against state sovereignty. Mardin (1983: 19-20), in a clearer stance, also states that it is important to note that civil society can be defined as a stage of civilization and that this approach emphasizes the necessity of a social system that can be liberated from the political sphere.

Along with these evolutionary explanations, another dimension is about the sorts of civil society theories and their structural relation with democracy. The *pluralist theory*, which assumes that the state (political society) and civil society are two totally separate entities, advocates for the civil society organizations to become more effective to expand the sphere of freedoms in the social life. According to this approach, by activating interest groups originating from civil organizations, rights and freedoms can be guaranteed, for which interest groups must be active and completely separate from the state (Hirst, 2011: 60-71). Likewise, the main purpose of the *minimal statist* theory, which emerges as the product of the liberal right, is to minimize the influence of the central state authority over the social life. According to this

view produced by the New Right, the idea that the self-generated order and the organized order are not separate from one another, but different in terms of their structural and functional aspects and purposes (Hayek, 2011: 199-215). Contrary to the first two, the *participatory* civil society theory, derived from the left-wing politics, argues that the state should not be eliminated or demoted but has to be demilitarized, so that society settles in its own way. This approach attempting to democratize the state-civil society relationship instead of opposing the state's authority over society envisages a perspective in which the state and civil society are in a nested structure and civil sphere has an embedded relationship with the political sphere concomitantly (Korkut, 2007).

The Changing Nature of Social Policy: Public-Civil Society Cooperation and Sultanbeyli Case

Historically as the most active institution against poverty, state's role has been structurally transformed in recent years. With the increase of localization in public administration, as intermediary institutions between public and society the role of NGOs on social solidarity and cooperation is getting stronger. Hence, welfare politics has increasingly been performed by subnational and supranational institutions, local governments, civil organizations and religious structures. This is important because it shows a transformed mentality according to new dynamics. It is therefore essential to recognize that the public-civil society relationship and cooperation are not just some kind of a technical processes. A conscious awareness on cooperation for ensuring citizen participation in a wide range of field such as the Constitution establishment process[1], education[2], health, culture and environmental politics has begun to rise on this base.

However, in many developed countries throughout the years, the basic approach was concentrated on functionality of central governments. The welfare policies, implemented after the Great Depression and the fall of Europe in post-World War II, have been formulated in the broadest sense as the provision of basic needs and services to be undertaken by central

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1 Until recently, such basic issues were considered in an understanding form that was only accepted within the political sphere and therefore automatically excluded the civil cooperation perspective.

2 For an interesting and stimulating example of the cooperation vision that central governments have developed with the civil actors on the field of education, see: Erken, A. 2016. Negotiating Politics, Informal Networks and the Ford Foundation Projects in Turkey during the Cold War. *International Journal of Turcologia*. Vol. 11. Issue 21. pp. 5-22

governments. Hence, the scope of welfare practices in Europe has expanded considerably over years, on basis of this understanding. While Sartori (1996) sees this mode as a demand for social welfare and social security by a New Right claim for the Western people who have acquired individual freedoms, Marshall (1965) calls that process as occurrence of the welfare rights along with civil and political rights; that is, the development of social rights as a whole. Parameters of social rights include job security, and fight against poverty, social exclusion, gender discrimination and harassment, unfair working conditions and child labor in favor of social justice, social protection, social security and social welfare, which are now considered as important elements of the European Union social policy. However high inflation and unemployment rates associated with the 1973 oil crisis resulting in economic crises in different European countries pushed them to abandon the generous social welfare practices so that the welfare state had begun to decline. The main criticisms were high-tax financing of poverty policies, bureaucratic centrality of welfare policies and social costs of the welfare practices (Rosanvallon, 2000: 62). As a way out, it has been offered that part of the welfare practices should be transferred to the civil society and local units, in a form that the local governments and NGOs would take more responsibility and initiative in provision of social services. Thus, it would open a new way for the new actors without being exposed to the conditions of bulkiness, inefficiency and bureaucratism. This approach has been based on the view that the new situations can be overcome by the synergy between the flexibility of NGOs and historical experience of the state. Namely, a sort of division of labor on welfare practices between civil society, local organizations, central government and other units takes place together with the historical experience of countries, as well as solidarity culture, and economic, social and human resources. This new process is related with the changes that have taken place in the management understanding form in recent years which, at last, have highlighted the importance of the local administrations and pointed to the importance of public-society cooperation/interaction at the local level (Öner, 2001: 58).

The need to participate in administrative process in an organized way is the result of the problems that arise in representative democracy, and this is one of the explanations as to why NGOs are important. In this context, various professional associations, trade unions, foundations, associations, other voluntary organizations and local governments have noticed the importance of cooperation and collaboration in various fields (Güneş, Tekgül, 2005:

337). And it reveals that the interaction between NGOs and local governments is directly related to democracy and participation on the one side and the provision of services on the other.

In this context, for instance in the UK, social services departments within local governments maintain development policies, social welfare, child care, charity and other social affairs in cooperation with non-governmental organizations (Local Government Association, 2008). Relevantly, according to the guidance of the UK central government on local governments, NGOs play a key role in strengthening local accountability, provision of local services to users and achieving success in terms of organizational structure. By this means, local governments benefit from the expertise and initiatives of non-governmental organizations, so that they can better serve the people (Communities and Local Government, 2008). In this sense, as a fact and conception, in which citizens and groups can use their legal rights in line with their interests, fulfill their obligations and reconcile differences, *governance* aims at constitution of a society-centered management form, based on public-private sector-NGO cooperation (Bayramoğlu, 2002: 85-87). Particularly by the 1980s, it can be seen an intensification has arisen on the part of academic studies that directly links local governments with civil society. According to Magnusson (1986: 5), local governments belong to private sphere not public ones; that is, they are not part of the state but part of civil society. Today, local governments, especially municipalities, are considered as natural elements of civil society and it is assumed that they play an important role in democratic development of society in general and smooth-functioning of democracy via institutions and rules. Local government is not only a way of meeting the common needs of people living in a city, but also the maintenance of the tradition of civil society against the central state mentality and practice (Tekeli, 1993: 25).

The introduction of partnership perspective has considerable consequences. Non-governmental organizations, operating at the local level may recognize and involve in the local dynamics where public institutions cannot. Likewise, specialized services, which are difficult to be practiced by public institutions, can be provided by non-governmental organizations with sufficient knowledge and experience in the relevant field. When NGOs have the ability to represent service users in the field of social services (people with disabilities, elderly people, urban poor, children, etc.), they can take on an effective and positive role in all decision-making processes in creation,

monitoring and evaluation of policies. Additionally, this partnership will increase innovation and creativity as new resources will be available, hence risks can be reduced and external threats can be more easily eliminated.

It is useful to refer to the concept of social capital in terms of the efficiency of civil society and proper functioning of the state. The establishment of a civil society perspective in sense of qualification and diversification of social capital builds a strong resistance against social diseases. Because social capital is a by-product of religion, tradition, common historical experience and institutions and other factors that often go beyond government control; public policies will fail to increase the impacts of social capital comprised of shared values. Two examples of how states can bring about serious negative effects on social capital when they begin to take action are; France in late Medieval Age and the Soviet Union after the Bolshevik Revolution. Both cases are examples of lack of a robust civil society structure as a result of state domination and concession-based relations in social sharing, which undermine all parameters of horizontal trust and cooperation in society (Fukuyama, 2001). Thus, it will be possible to see the importance of civil society in terms of a country's development dynamics, which will give its results in long-term social cooperation vision.

As an important example, within this framework, it is worth to discuss a recent project led by the Sultanbeyli, a district in İstanbul, Municipality together with Sultanbeyli Governorship, the Ministry of Family and Social Policy and some important non-governmental organizations as project partners. In this context, The Association for Solidarity for Refugees and Asylees (Mülteciler Derneği) was established in 2014 within the borders of Sultanbeyli district, in order to find solutions to the problems of Syrians who have left their countries and in need of international protection. The Association works in partnership with private sector organizations, other non-governmental organizations and public institutions in order to support all the basic needs of refugees and to ensure their rapid integration into the society. In this regard, main activity areas consist of housing, health, social service, education, culture, law and employment. Vice President Mehmet Ali Kılıç states that along with great numbers of volunteers, there are 155 professional employees in the association comprised of translators, teachers, instructors, doctors, health care workers, lawyers, economists, social service experts, psychologists and sociologists (Kılıç, 2018).

There are seven basic categories in which the activities have been carried out. Under the housing category there is a guest house service where refugees can temporarily stay. During their stay, the housing unit of the Association searches for the possibilities for permanent housing. Besides, refugee women, living alone and suffering from socio-economic difficulties are settled in guesthouses where they can also temporarily stay. Under the health topic, the second category, the Health Center for Refugees, with a capacity of serving 500 patients a day, provides health services to refugees by Syrian doctors in various specialties. Under the social service category, the third one, socio-economic support, home care and elderly care services have been given in a systematic way through identification of needs, directing people to sources of aid and carrying out the follow-up of aid schemes. In a wide range area consisting of guidance and encouragement of children to education, prohibition of child labor, protection of women, prevention of youth and child from any sort of exploitations, and care for disabled and elderly people, what essentially intended is maximum level of provision and protection of social rights. The fourth category is employment issue. After carrying out an analysis on needs of labor market in Sultanbeyli and neighboring provinces, referrals are made to workplaces in need of labor in the light of professional information belonging to the refugees in the institutional database. And the vocational training process, taking into account the needs of the Turkish labor market, has nourished this process. The fifth category is on the legal dimension. The legal support desk within the Refugees Community Center within the Association, through regular trainings and seminars, guides the refugees to get information about their rights within the Turkish legislation and give practical legal support on cases of potential victimization. The sixth category is on education. Through education desk and Turkish language education unit, working under Refugees Community Center within the Association, educational counseling service on temporary training centers and formal educational system in Turkey and Turkish language education have been provided. And the last category is about cultural matters directly related with the mid-and long-term socio-cultural integration of the refugees. Preventing refugees to feel themselves under cultural pressure and informing them about the cultural codes of everyday life in Turkey are main purposes of the unit; and regular and periodic events are being held to ensure this. Besides, the initiated projects within the Association are; UNHCR Training Project, Women Support Center and Child Development Center, Social Support Center for Migrants, Social Assistance Software for Syrians, Health

Center for Refugees, Center for Rehabilitation and Psychological Support, Women Guest House and Services, Professional Skills Development Project, Vocational and Hobby Courses Project, and Strength Project (The Association for Solidarity for Refugees and Asylees Official Website).

So, the important question is that what kind of an administrative mechanism and division of labor take place in carrying out these works? Firstly, it is worth mentioning that the current president of the Association is also the current deputy mayor of the Sultanbeyli Municipality, Zafer Söğütçü. Kılıç (2018) says that, in this regard, they have a cooperative mechanism where the Municipality is leading the way and running along with the civil society actors in which the actual role on the field is in hands of civil actors. However, the Municipality provides personnel, vehicles, equipment, food and logistic support; conducts negotiations with the relevant official institutions for the acceleration of the bureaucratic processes and prepares the required infrastructure for international cooperation with relevant public and civil institutions. That is, with many partner NGOs that work together,[3] the Association carries out planning and execution on the field, while the Municipality is providing the financial and official infrastructure.

This is a recent good example of multi-dimensional picture on how a solution project could be developed, with the right planning, division of labor, support for and confidence in local governments, and the opening of space to NGOs, even in such a multidimensional social issue that transcends the boundaries and power of any unit.

Conclusion

The multi-faceted and dimensional challenges of our time need multiple actors engaging in the governance structures, especially at the localities. Either as a tool of reflecting people's will through democratic and participatory processes or simply alleviating the burden of social issues, regardless the forms they take, NGOs have proven to be still significant.

Recently since a massive flow of migration has emerged throughout the world, the social structures would have been over-stretched if not the NGOs came into play to alleviate this huge burden on the shoulders of public institutions. A noteworthy example to this case is the Mülteciler Derneği, operating in the Sultanbeyli district of Istanbul. The case not only demonstrates

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3   There are so many partner NGOs in the work carried out by the Association. All are listed in their website.

a good example of voluntary organizations that function as a provider of public goods as it was throughout the country's history; but also exemplifies a successful model of co-governance at the local level.

Together with the Municipality and the Governorship of Sultanbeyli which function as the public sources of mass information and sometimes financial intermediaries, this NGO has managed to function as the primary provider of the basic needs of refugees and asylum seekers in the district. The elimination of red-tape as well as efficient use of human resources, funds and other physical or non-physical capital is another gain of this well-functioning process. A model of co-governance for a huge social, economic and cultural issue has proved enormous potential in creating multi-dimensional gains, as in the case of Mülteciler Derneği.

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