TiPSE

The Territorial Dimension of Poverty and Social Exclusion in Europe

Applied Research 2013/1/24

Work Package 2.4

Case Study Report

Metropolitan Region of Izmir, Turkey

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The ESPON TiPSE Project:

The TiPSE project has been commissioned by the European Observation Network for Territorial Development and Cohesion (ESPON) programme. It is concerned with the issue of poverty, and processes of social exclusion in Europe.

One of the key challenges for the EU, in its pursuit of social, economic and territorial cohesion, is to address regional or local concentrations of poverty and social exclusion. In terms of practical governance, this remains a national responsibility within the context of EU strategic guidance. In practice, regional or local administrations are often in 'the front line'; implementing national policies to ameliorate deprivation and exclusion. At a higher level, the EU defines its role as identifying best practices and promoting mutual learning.

Poverty and social exclusion are essentially relative concepts, arguably only meaningful within a specified geographical context. This underlines the essential roles to be played by observation, measurement, and careful data analysis, as preparations for intervention. The TIPSE project aims to support policy, both by enhancing the evidence base and by identifying existing good practice.

A central objective of the TiPSE project is to establish macro and micro-scale patterns of poverty and social exclusion across the ESPON space. This will be achieved by compiling a regional database, and associated maps, of poverty and social exclusion indicators. Such quantitative analysis of geographical patterns is considered a fundamental part of the evidence base for policy.

In addition, in order to better understand the various social and institutional processes which are the context of these patterns, a set of ten case studies are to be carried out. These will be more qualitative in approach, in order to convey holistic portraits of different kinds of poverty and social exclusion as experienced in a wide variety of European territorial contexts. The principal goal for these investigations will be to bring forward clear illustrations of the social, economic, institutional and spatial processes which lead to poverty and social exclusion in particular geographic contexts.

The selection of case study areas has been carried out with careful regard to the wide variety of geographic, cultural and policy contexts which characterise Europe. The ten case studies are also intended to highlight a range of different 'drivers' of poverty and social exclusion, including labour market conditions, educational disadvantage, ethnicity, poor access to services and urban segregation processes. A second objective of the case studies will be to identify policy approaches which can effectively tackle exclusion, and thus strengthen territorial cohesion.

The TiPSE research team comprises 6 partners from 5 EU Member States:

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABPRS	–	Address Based Population Registration System
GDP	–	Gross Domestic Product
GVA	–	Gross Value Added
MRI	–	Metropolitan Region of Izmir
NARKENT	–	Narlidere Urban Regeneration Project
OECD	–	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
SBS	–	Level Measurment Exams
TOKI	–	Turkish Housing Development Administration
TUIK	–	Turkish Statistical Institute
YOK	–	Council of Higher Education

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Executive Summary

Despite the improvements in income distribution, Turkey is still a relatively unequal country compared to OECD countries and most of the developing economies (Duman, 2008). At the same time, income and education are highly correlated in the country: a wide gap divides the educational levels of the poorest and richest socio-economic groups. In the Izmir case study we investigate the relationship between poverty/social exclusion and education in two interconnected directions. First, by examining education inequalities between people and social groups at different levels of exposure to poverty and social exclusion, i.e. assessing the consequences of poverty and social exclusion on education attainment and performance. Second, by examining the degree to which the education system helps to reproduce (or instead, to decrease) social inequalities, i.e. by assessing the consequences of education disparities on social inclusion prospects. Both tasks are carried out under the lens of the specificities of the metropolitan region of Izmir, especially the economic performance and the conditions in the labour market, the spatial structure of inequalities and the coexistence of population groups with different origin.

Yilmaz (2005) argues that in Turkey, the environment of integrated poverty, which, for many decades made it possible for the urban poor to integrate into urban society with the help of informal activities as well as informal housing, is getting transformed under the destructive effects of the neo-liberal oriented structural adjustment programs and weakening social solidarity bonds. Henceforth, it is possible to observe a certain decline in the integrating capacity of the informal activities as well as in the protective capacity of family supports.

Rising unemployment in Turkey has been an issue since decades (Filiztekin, 2009). The unemployment rate was not higher than 3% in the 1960s but increased to about 8% in the 1980s and to slightly above 9% in the 200s. Moreover, different Regions and Provinces experience different unemployment rates On the other hand, the large presence of informal activities in the economy mean that long term unemployment is not the most significant causal factor of poverty and social exclusion. Poverty of employed people is a major concern.

Adaman and Keyder (2005) stress that while the single most important reason for social exclusion in Turkey is poverty, there are also cultural and political dimensions of exclusion. Based on a review of the Turkish literature, they propose the following typology of vulnerable groups:

- Children and young people, to whom the effects of poverty are transferred from the spatial and economic exclusions of their families
- The elderly and especially those who are not insured by any of the social security schemes
- The disabled
- Migrants

- Exclusion due to gender or sexual orientation
- Exclusion due to religious affiliation (especially concerning discrimination against Alevis)
- Exclusion due to ethnic origin (especially concerning discrimination against Kurds, Romani and non-Muslim groups such as Jews and Greeks)
- Exclusion due to other reasons, such as nomadic life, drug addiction, imprisonment and irregular employment.

The Metropolitan Region of Izmir is not among the poorest regions of the country, but some of the patterns and trends evident in other parts of Turkey are also manifested there. Ongoing transformations in the labour and housing market, especially those altering traditional informal arrangements, are of significant relevance concerning poverty and social exclusion. Despite the general reduction of income and education inequalities over time, clear signs of intergenerational persistence of inequalities exist, together with indications of polarization between social groups concerning educational level and opportunities.

The case of Izmir raises questions about poverty and social exclusion in conditions of rapid and continuous urbanization. In this perspective, Izmir experiences conditions that are dissimilar from the rest of European cities. However, some recorded trends are also relevant in other parts of Europe, especially in what concerns massive immigration flows, transit and shadow populations and the negative relationship between poverty and education.

1 The regional context

With 4.061.074 inhabitants in 2013, population density of 311 per square kilometres and comprising 30 Districts, the Region of Izmir (see Figure 1) is one of the most densely populated areas in Turkey. The metropolitan area of Izmir is in fact the third biggest metropolitan city in Turkey, after Istanbul and Ankara and the most significant metropolitan area on the shoreline of the Aegean Sea. Eleven Districts (Balçova, Bayraklı, Bornova, Buca, Çiğli, Gaziemir, Güzelbahçe, Karabağlar, Karşıyaka, Konak and Narlıdere), with a total population of 2.8 millions, constitute the administrative unit of the Metropolitan Municipality, i.e. the urban core of the metropolitan area.
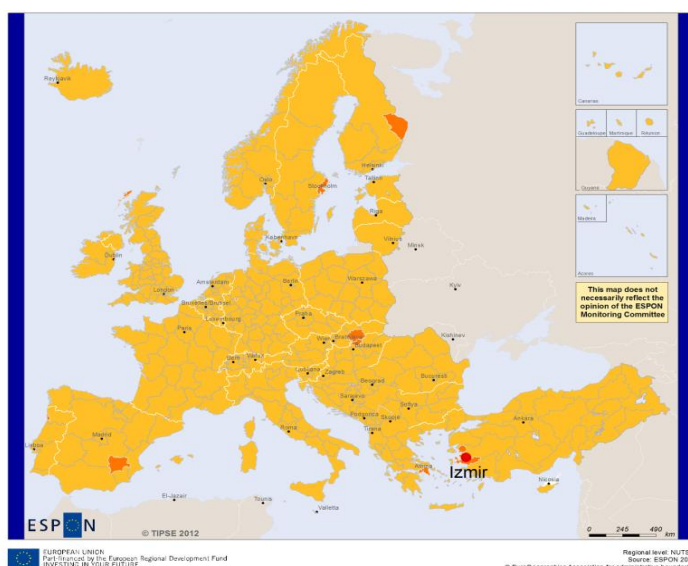

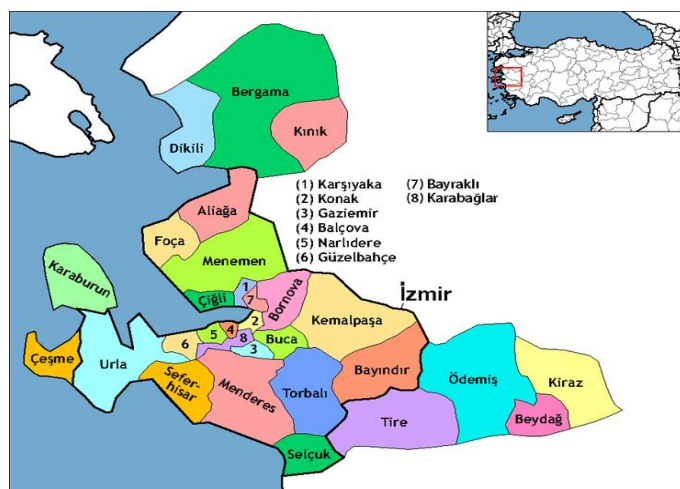**Figure 1: Izmir in the context of the ESPON space**

Figure 2: The municipalities of the region of Izmir

Source: Wikipedia

Because of its historical significance as a major port in the Aegean Sea, Izmir has received high levels of investments in urban infrastructure since the seventeenth century (Sonmez, 2007). Ever since, Izmir has attracted significant capital flows and immigrant workers from rural areas of Turkey. Internal migration has been more massive since the 1970s, while more recently dislocated people from South-Eastern Turkey contributed for an important part of the population increase.

After the industrialization period of the city in the 1960s, Izmir has attracted migrants from other parts of Turkey, in the midst of the outburst of urbanization in Turkey (Unverdi et al., 2007). However, the number of jobs and housing units was inadequate for these migrants and, thus, the informalization process of housing and job opportunities started to emerge (Sonmez, 2007). The inner areas of Izmir are still the primary location for work-places and housing of migrating groups. Since the 1960s, the city expanded along certain development axes. This made newly built dwellings available to the already established residents, including those of the inner areas of the city, while the new incoming population started to move in to the inner city areas. It is thus during recent decades that Izmir was transformed to a regional metropolis, as the population of the city increased from 554,000 in 1970 to 1,489,817 in 1985 and then to slightly above 4 millions in 2012. Rapid urbanization resulted in inadequate housing and urban infrastructure, especially for the newcomers.

The Region of Izmir is not included in the ESPON metropolitan regions typology, while it is considered a predominantly urban region (see Table1). The analysis below follows the Turkish Statistical Institute TUIK in considering the whole region as one "Metropolitan Municipality", i.e. identifying the NUTS III Region with the Metropolitan Region of Izmir (MRI).

Table 1: ESPON CU typology and classification of the region of Izmir

Typology	Classification of the Region of Izmir
1. Urban-rural regions	Predominantly urban region
2. Metropolitan regions	-
3. Border regions	Border region (Programme area – external border programmes)
4. Islands regions	-
5. Sparsely populated regions	Not a sparsely populated region
6. Outermost regions	Not an outermost region
7. Mountainous regions	-
8. Coastal regions	-
9. Regions in industrial transition	Region with internal industrial structural change

The regional per capita GDD (at current prices) was $2,722 in 1987, very close to that of Istanbul (22,810) and compared with a significantly lower $1,629 at the national level. After 14 years of economic development, the comparative position in MRI was quite similar with a per capita GDP (at current prices) of $3,215, now slightly above Istanbul ($3,063) and again almost 50% higher than the national average ($2,146) (see Figure 3). Between 2004 and 2011, MRI was found between the 5th and the 6th position among all NUTS II Regions of the country regarding the per cap-

ita Gross Value Added (GVA), which varied between 1.21 and 1.29 times higher than the respective national figure. The regional economic structure of MRI shows a certain deindustrialization tendency, as the share of manufacture in the total regional GVA fell from 30.4% in 2004 to 26.9% in 2011, albeit exhibiting some level of stabilization after reaching a minimum in 2009 (see Figure 3). The share of the service sector was already at 63.6% in 2004 and increased further to 69.8% in 2011. The regional share of the service sector is slightly higher than the national figure. Not surprisingly, the share of the agricultural sector in the formation of the GVA remains low throughout the period. In terms of employment, in 2013 about 846,000 people were employed in the service sector, 481,000 in manufacture and 187,000 in agriculture.
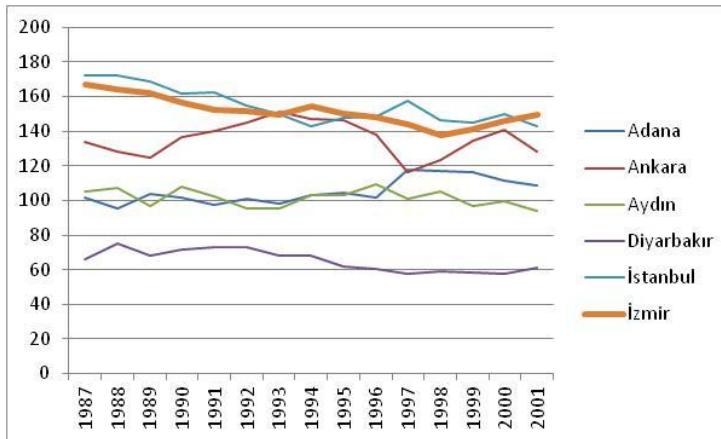
Figure 3: Evolution of regional per capita GDP, 1987-2001. Turkey = 100

Tourism has a special position in the regional economic structure. In 2012 MRI accommodated 771,163 tourists, 15.5% more than in 2009. Turkish tourists, although a minority in the aggregate number of arrivals, increased in the same period by 26%. However, these figures are somewhat less impressive if one considers that the overall increase of tourist arrivals in Turkey in the same period reached 24.2% (23.9% for Turkish citizens).

Figure 4: Regional GVA at current prices by economic activity, 2004-2011

Source: Turkstat

According to TUIK data, the regional unemployment rate fell from 16.2% in 2009 to 15.4% in 2013. At the same time both activity rate and employment rate improved rapidly from 46.6% to 55.9% and from 39.0% to 47.3% respectively. On the other hand the unemployment rate of 15.4% is one of the highest among the regions of the country and well above the Istanbul and Ankara rates (11.2% and 10.2% respectively). The size of unemployment is quite higher in the 15-24 age group for which MRI stands in the second position in the country with a rate of 26.9% (in comparison with the national rate of 18.7%). But the situation is even more alarming concerning female unemployment. Despite performing well in the female activity rate, MRI presents the highest female unemployment rate in Turkey with 22.5%, more than double the national average.

Another dimension of the conditions in the regional labour market rate has to do with the level of unemployment across groups of different education skills. MRI presents the highest unemployment rate across all Turkish regions among active persons with secondary education (18.7% in 2013, compared with the national average of 12%). Although the difference is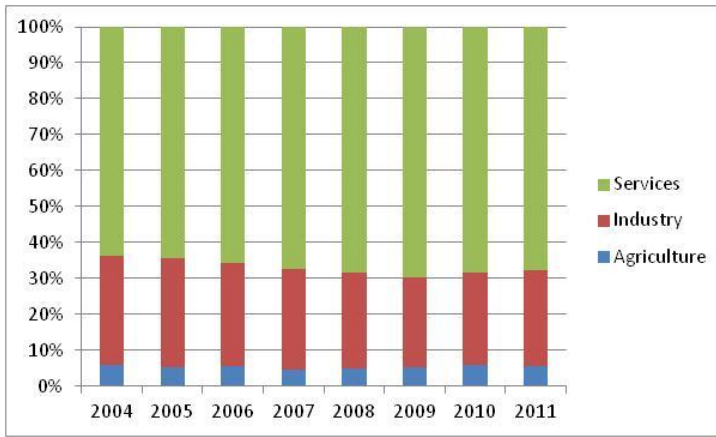 smaller, the regional unemployment rate is also higher than the national in the case of higher education graduates (13.2% and 10.3% respectively). On the contrary, the regional unemployment rates for those with less education skills are not very dissimilar from the national scores. Thus, the increased unemployment in Izmir seems to be connected with the inability of the regional labour market to employ people of middle and higher educational attainment. This is a special disadvantage for a region with the third higher percentage of higher education graduates and a higher than the national percentage of secondary education graduates (see Figure 5).

Some characteristics of the employed population in MRI remind that poverty and social exclusion do not only concern the unemployed. The percentage of people in employment not registered in any form of social security was 30.4% in 2013. This figure is below the national average (36.7%) but at the same time twice higher than in Ankara or Istanbul.
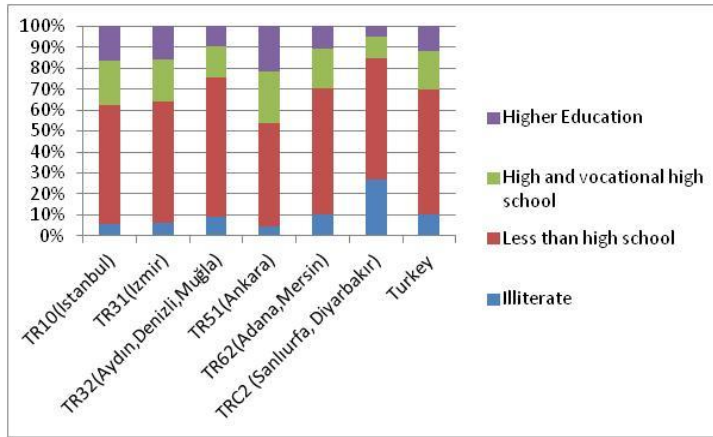
Figure 5: Working age population by educational level, 2013

Source: Turkstat

Moreover, it is worth to mention that unregistered workers increased by 2.7 percentage units between 2008 (one year after the implementation of a social security reform in Turkey) and 2013. Working people with poor education skills are by far more likely to be excluded from the social security system, as the rate is 5.8% for higher education graduates, 16.3% for high school and vocational high school graduates and raises at 43.9% for those with lower than secondary education and even to 81.8% for the illiterate.

The age structure of MRI reveals an old dependency rate of 12.3% (10.8% in Turkey) and a child dependency rate of 27,6% (37.6%). While the total dependency rate is thus quite lower than the national average (and than in Ankara and Istanbul), this is because of a quite older regional age structure, nonetheless with a median age of no more than 33.6 years. At the same time, MRI is characterized by a comparatively low proportion of families with 5 or more members (see Figure 6).

Internal migration is still continued in MRI as in the rest of Turkey which is a country still undergoing urbanization (Uzun et al., 2010). The most recent data on 2010-2011 internal migration flows show that Izmir received more than 110,000 incomers in this period, or 4.5% of the total internal migration flows around the country. Although not among the most important destinations, Izmir shows positive net internal migration rates, gaining almost 75,000 residents between 2008 and 2011, representing 1.9% of its 2011 population (the respective rates were 3.5% in Ankara and 2.1% in Istanbul). As in the rest of Turkey, the investigation of the age structure reveals a relatively young incoming population: 18.6% of the 2011 newcomers belonged to the 0-14 age group and 44% to the 15-29 age group. Poverty seems to be much more widespread among internal immigrants, especially for nuclear families that migrated recently (Interview with I.S.).

Official 2011 census statistics provide a general picture of comparatively low rates of housing deprivation in MRI. About 19,000 households (1.6%) had no piped water system and about 69,000 had no toilet inside their dwellings, placing MRI in a better than the average national position but well below Istanbul. Eight thousand household

(0.6%) lived in dwellings without kitchen. The average number of persons per room was 0.9, compared with the national 1.1. Almost 2/3 of the households lived in owner-occupied dwellings, while the percentage of renters (26.5%) is close to the national average. As in the rest of Turkey public housing in MRI is rather marginal. The percentage of households living in dwellings that are not owner-occupied but for which they do not pay rent are likely to be connected with forms of accommodation or squatting that might conceal conditions of inadequate housing. The 2012 ratio of doctors to total population was 1:591 a cross Turkey. MRI figures among the regions with better performance, presenting a ratio of 1:448.
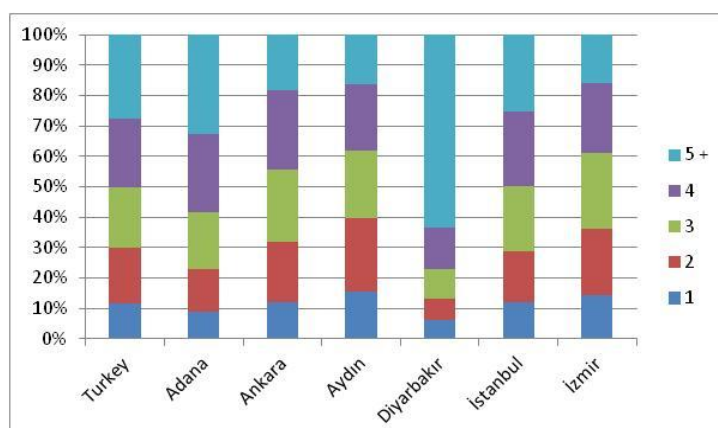
Figure 6::Household size distribution, 2011

Source: Turkstat

Urban development in recent years is indicated by the figure of building construction. According to the 7,567 construction permits for residential permits were granted in 2013, regarding a total floor space of about 5.5 million square meters in 39,380 housing units. This gives a rate of 1,341 square meters and 9.7 new housing units for every 1,000 residents. From a comparative perspective housing development in MRI is lower than at the national level and in the two bigger metropolitan regions of Ankara and Izmir (see Table 2). This means that despite having quite lower in-migration rates, Izmir faces similar housing pressures with the two other metropolitan regions.

Table 2: Housing development in the three bigger metropolitan regions of Turkey, 2013

	Floor space		Housing units	
	m²	per 1,000 residents	no	per 1,000 residents
MRI (TR310)	5,445,364	1340.87	39,380	9.7
MR Ankara (TR510)	14,721,097	2917.91	78,192	15.5
MR Istanbul (TR 100)	21,727,004	1534.34	153,182	10.8
Turkey	127,689,378	1665.49	810,817	10.6

Source: Turkstat

The constantly increasing population caused an urban pattern that extends beyond the natural borders of the basin of the historical city (Unverdi et al., 2007). Settlements extend outwards to every direction, mainly along linear development corridors, resulting in disjointed urban areas.

Izmir is not a highly segregated city and in general different social groups are exposed to each other both in residential areas in public space (interview with I.S). However, survey findings in the inner areas of Izmir indicate that these areas are locales at which urban poverty concentrates and that one of the important dynamics of this pattern is migration. They also point out that these areas attracted rural migrants since the 1970s, together with the tendency of the more affluent native household to relocate to suburban areas at the coastal zone. Consequently today, 76% of the households residing in these areas had migrated from another place in the country, especially from the eastern regions of Turkey. Before the 1970s, the region that contributed to migration most was the Aegean region, including the province of Izmir. Yet after the 1980s, the south-eastern region of Turkey became the major contributor.

Sixty-seven per cent of the population of these areas hold informal and marginal occupations and are employed in workplaces close to their neighbourhood. Thirty-three per cent of the total workers have jobs in small scale manufacturing—primarily, in textile, shoe or leather production – and also in marginal services, such as domestic services and street vending. Forty-seven per cent have no social security. Many children living in these areas work since the age of 12. These young workers hold jobs mostly in small-scale production manufacturers. This also suggests that teenagers stop their school education usually around the age of 15, which adds to the lack of social security for the labour force. This prevents further the chances of educating and then integrating these young workers to the formal labour force. Today, initiatives and projects aiming to upgrade the physical structures of the central city, especially close to the touristic points, menace to dislocate the less privileged from the area.

On the other hand, the conditions of poverty and social exclusion at the outskirts of the city, where touristic destinations and affluent peri-urban areas develop amongst the dynamic *Gecekondu* (meaning "landed overnight" in Turkish, Uzun et al., 2010) neighbourhoods are possibly more complex. Gecekondu areas developed in the urban fringes and particularly on government-owned land, as housing opportunities in the inner city were no longer enough for the internal migrants. They are usually overcrowded, unsafe, temporary, unhygienic and probably illegal (Uzun et al., 2010). Examples of spontaneous architecture and spatial "planning, gecekondus were then turned into 'squatter towns' surrounding cities. Legalization rules were adopted in the early 1980s as a method to improve housing and settlement conditions, but the results were generally poor, apart from sporadic transformations. Moreover, ongoing urban development means that the relative position of Gecekondus at the outskirts of the city altered, bringing the problem in the urban cores (Kaya & Zengel, 2005, cited by Uzun et al., 2010). In some cases local communities resist the rehabilitation plans that are promoted by local authorities.

Both in the inner city and in the periphery internal migrants tend to concentrate in residential areas according to common places of origin (interview with I.S., Unverdi et al., 2007). This kind of congregation helps to maintain strong family and community

ties. At the same time, intergenerational social mobility brought about important transformations in the squatter areas, with new apartments being added to the vernacular housing stock. After legalization of irregular constructions in the early 1980s, the model adopted by the Turkish Housing Development Administration in collaboration with local authorities, replaces slums with new high-rise housing units, while giving to squatters and needy people living in other parts of the cities the opportunity to buy only one housing unit with affordable and long-term payments (Uzun et al., 2010). If one adds in the picture the infrastructure and social services provision by the state, prospects for social inclusion have been improved.

2 Characteristics of social exclusion and poverty: patterns and processes

Using the 60% threshold, TUIK calculates the at-risk-of-poverty rate in Turkey at 25.0% in 2006 and 22.7% in 2011. The respective figures for the greater Ege Region (TR3), comprising MRI, are 23.1% and 17.1%. (Table 3). In the context of the TIPSE project (using an area based model of disaggregation) the at-risk-of-poverty rate in MRI is estimated at 17.3%, rather above Istanbul (6.6%) and Ankara (12.2%).

Table 3: At-risk-of poverty rate, 2011

	Poor population	AROP rate %
Ege (TR3)	1.660.000,00	17,1%
Istanbul	900.000,00	6,6%
West Anatolia (TR5)	967.000,00	13,5%
Turkey	16.932.000,00	22,7%

Source: Turkstat

Turkey is a country characterized by high income inequality, despite that the level of inequalities between the richest and the poorest groups have been constantly reduced since the 1960s. The Gini coefficient fell from 0.55 in 1963 to 0.40 in 2005. The richest 10% of the households earned 22.5 times more than the bottom decile in 1994. The ratio had decreased to around 13 times in 2005 and to 6.5 times in 2013 (Duman, 2008; OECD, 2013), still being the third highest among 34 OECD countries.

Yilmaz (2005) argues that in Turkey, the context of what he calls "integrated poverty", which, for many decades made it possible for the urban poor to integrate into urban society with the help of informal economic activities as well as informal housing, is getting transformed under the destructive effects of the neo-liberal oriented structural adjustment programs and weakening social solidarity bonds. Far from being some kind of idyllic integration process, the incorporation of migrant populations has been based on informality in the labour and housing markets and on cultural isolation from the established population of the city (Unverdi et al., 2007). Henceforth, it is possible to observe a certain decline in the integrating capacity of the informal activities as well as in the protective capacity of family supports.

Rising unemployment in Turkey has been an issue since decades (Filiztekin, 2009). The unemployment rate was not higher than 3% in the 1960s but increased to about 8% in the 1980s and to slightly above 9% in the 2000s. Moreover, different Regions and Provinces experience different unemployment rates However, the large presence of informal activities in the economy mean that long term unemployment is not the most significant causal factor of poverty and social exclusion. Poverty of employed people is also a major concern.

Adaman and Keyder (2005) stress that the single most important reason for social exclusion in Turkey is poverty, yet there are also cultural and political dimensions of

exclusion. Based on a review of the Turkish literature, they propose the following typology of vulnerable groups:

- Children and young people, to whom the effects of poverty are transferred from the spatial and economic exclusions of their families

- The elderly and especially those who are not insured by any of the social security schemes

- The disabled

- Migrants

- Exclusion due to gender or sexual orientation

- Exclusion due to religious affiliation (especially concerning discrimination against Alevis)

- Exclusion due to ethnic origin (especially concerning discrimination against Kurds, Romani and non-Muslim groups such as Jews and Greeks)

- Exclusion due to other reasons, such as nomadic life, drug addiction, imprisonment and irregular employment

Poor people in deprived areas face additional difficulties in accessing education and according to survey data (Adaman and Kayder, 2005), the overall rate of education is alarming: more than one-fourth of the respondents are illiterate and only less than one-fifth have completed any stream of secondary education. One-fourth of the surveyed feel socially excluded due to their level of education. There are clear signals that the current level of poverty would in turn bring about a low level of human capital in the next generation.

The complex spatiality of poverty and social exclusion in Izmir is reflected on the dynamics of Gecekondu areas and the competition of different actors and various levels of the administration on the urban land. Legalization of Gecekondu areas was promoted as means to ameliorate living conditions there and arrane ownership issues. In the initial model adopted in the early 1980s Ownership titles were granted to former squatters upon certain prerequisites for reconstruction and payment of the required duties to the owner in a period of four years. According to Uzun et al. (2012) the initial model had several disadvantages. First of all, it led to the preservation of many slum areas, without actual amelioration of the living conditions. Second, after their legalization, several Gecekondus were gradually equipped with high-rise apartments and private buildings for non-residential uses (shopping centres, offices and business spaces), thus rewarding the new owners (and ex-squatters) who obtained the exclusive right to develop new constructions. Last but not least the legalization process raised expectations of potential squatters and did not prevent the generation of more Gecekondus.

Almost 188,000 applications for building permissions were made in the MRI Gecekondu areas until 1987, compared with 73,000 for jointly-owned land properties (Unverdi et al., 2007). Between 1985 and 1987, slum reclamation projects affected one-fourth of the built environment and half of the residential area. Furthermore, it was in the same period that large scale constructions by cooperations began to

substitute for the small scale housing production. However, as Unverdi et al. argue, while this was a crucial step towards physical and legal integration, it did not result in social integration as well. After 1990 the migratory wave of people unwillingly dislocated from South-Eastern Turkey was added in the social tissue of the Region.

A new legalization and regeneration model was proposed and implemented two decades after the first legalization process, in order to solve the above mentioned difficulties. The cornerstone of the new model is the establishment of a public non-profit entity under the name Turkish Housing Development Administration (TOKI).TOKI was granted ownership titles to public land where Gecekondus have been settled and the right to sell and rent land and buildings. The key idea is to build a sustainable regeneration model by enabling TOKI and local authorities to accomplish upgrading projects on these areas without facing financial difficulties. The constructed houses remaining after allocation to the right holders (i.e. the squatters) would be sold to other buyers in a good price, especially when the land is situated close to city centres, in proximity with places of touristic attraction etc.

The model has two variants, either constructing new housing units for the squatters in the same area of the Gecekondus (slum owners are moved to temporary houses during the upgrading process) or removing the squatters from their dwellings to other vacanta areas. In the latter case the illegal settlement area is purified after an evacuation process by the responsible local authority and then transferred to TOKI.

A successful example of implementation is given by Uzun et al. regarding the regeneration of the Çarsi Quarter in Erzincan, Anatolia. However, a study about the case of Narlidere District on the seashore of Izmir (Arslan, 2013) gives a more critical view on slum clearance. The Ikinci Inönü neighborhood in Narlidere was developed as a Gecekondu. The Narlidere Urban Regeneration Project (NARKENT) was launched in the mid-1990s through an "urban cooperative system" in order to remove the Gecekondu, to create a liveable urban environment, to make it possible for the Gecekondu to integrate with the city and to enable those with low-income to access adequate housing. The housing cooperative that undertook the project would be able to construct new residential buildings for its own members, after completing the blocks for the slum owners.

However, Arslan's survey reveals that the dwellers of the NARKENT blocks are generally dissatisfied with the living conditions in their new dwellings, while they feel that they were excluded from the planning process. Only 18% of those that remain in the Gecekondu state they would choose NARKENT if it was to buy a house. Moreover, a public campaign advertising the newly built housing units that is addressed to potential middle class residents with the construction of the Erdal Inönü Street tend to isolate the Gecekondu and the NARKENT project form their surroundings in both social and physical terms.

Other regeneration projects mentioned by Unverdi et al. (2007) reveal different aspects, contradictions as well as good practices adopted by the involved authorities. For example, in the case of Uzundere in Konak district, the regeneration project aiming at relocating 1,845 families from the degrading Kadifekale neighbourhood, includes a specific intervention in order not to interrupt traditional activities of the relocated people, by establishing a mussel processing unit and a bazaar. On the con-

trary, while home-owners of Kadifekale receive a compensation for their property by which they can purchase their new dwellings in Uzundere, no similar arrangement exists for renters who thus have to rely on the intentions of their home-owners. The situation is perhaps more alarming in the case of the Ege neighbourhood in Konak district, where the Roma residents are given the chance to move in a remote area which they do not approve or in the case of Ornekkoy neighbourhood in Karsiyaka where Roma residents possess no legal titles of their houses and are not taking compensations, having to rely on subsidized mortgage to purchase new properties. A positive initiative of the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality has to do with the mobilization of elected neighbourhood representatives (*Mukhtars*) (who form a parallel administrative structure separated from the Municipalities and based on national legislation), by offering training in governance and service provision.

Apart from internal migrants of different origin in Turkey and the Roma people, poverty and social exclusion affect immigrants and asylum seekers coming from other countries, usually in their effort to cross Turkish borders and continue their journey to European countries. The size and the characteristics of this population seems to be hidden in the official statistics and no reliable estimates can be made at the regional level. Only since the beginning of the crisis in Syria in 2011, over 500,000 Syrians have sought protection in Turkey, according to Government estimates, while UNHCR expects a much bigger inflow (UNHCR, 2014, Table 4).

Irregular non-citizens can be apprehended by the police or Gendarmerie and held briefly in police custody before being taken to a "guesthouse for foreigners" (Global Detention Project, 2010). The following two passages from interviews with a 20-year-old man and a 33-year-old man from Baghdad (Human Rights Watch, 2008, p. 60) are quite indicative of inhuman conditions and violent treatment:

Table 4: UNHCR 2014 planning figures for refugeses and asylum seekers in Turkey

TYPE OF POPULATION	ORIGIN	Dec 2013		Dec 2014	
		Total in country	of whom assisted by UNHCR	Total in country	of whom assisted by UNHCR
Total		1,053,690	1,053,520	1,373,390	1,373,390
Refugees	Afghanistan	4,520	4,520	4,200	4,200
	Iraq	14,350	14,350	23,600	23,600
	Syrian Arab Rep.	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,300,000	1,300,000
	Various	7,350	7,180	8,850	8,850
Asylum-seekers	Afghanistan	7,970	7,970	10,460	10,460
	Islamic Rep. of Iran	5,880	5,880	9,040	9,040
	Iraq	9,600	9,600	11,470	11,470
	Various	4,020	4,020	5,770	5,770

Source: UNHCR, 2014 (adapted)

> "In the Izmir jail there was no food and they would beat you to get you
> to admit that you were Iraqi. There were about 100 people held in a

narrow room (…). They hit me with police clubs. Every day they beat me".

"We were held underground for two weeks. There were a lot of people there. We couldn't breathe. There were different nationality groups: the Moroccans, the Pakistanis, the Palestinians. The police feeding would take place once per day. The bigger groups took all the food. The police laughed at us."

Turkey maintains a large network of secure "guesthouses" for the administrative detention of asylum seekers and irregular migrants, including guesthouses in all major cities (Global Detention Project, 2010). Various international bodies have argued that while legislation does not provide for detention, the type of accommodation carried out by authorities amounts to a clear deprivation of liberty and that the facilities used for this purpose operate as detention centres. People who apply for asylum after being detained, instead of upon arrival in the country, often remain in detention for more than six months. It is reportedly difficult for non-citizens to apply for asylum while in detention as they are denied or have limited access to interpreters and lawyers, have no access to NGOs, and are unaware of their rights.

The Turkish authorities seem to make use of indefinitie detention until they force detainees to accept self-deportation, by contacting their families and having their tickets paid by them (Humand Rights Watch, 2008). On the other hand, continuous and in several cases fatal migratory flows from Turkey to Greece indicate that other asylum seekers may live for some time in marginal living conitions around the city, trying repeatedly to avoid apprehension and to escape via informal networks and remaining invisible in official statistics.

3   Analysis of underlying processes and trends

This chapter is devoted to a description of the Turkish education system, its weaknesses and strengths and transformation tendencies, proposing some critical comments. As the Turkish education system is highly centralized and focusing in the last section, on the Izmir case

The Turkish national education system has its roots at the Ataturk reforms dated from the 1920s. It is regulated and controlled by the state and specifically under the supervision of the Ministry of National Education. According to the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey, everyone has the right to receive education. The formal education system is divided into three categories, i.e. the primary schools, high schools, and universities. Until 1997, there was also middle school category, which was merged with primary schools at that year, to be separated again in 2012. The compulsory education increased from five to eight years. In 2001 the government passed a law raising compulsory education from eight to twelve years covering high school; however, this reform was enacted only very recently, in April 2012.

In 2011 there were 60,165 schools at the national level, with 25,429,670 students and 880,317 teachers (at a ratio of 1 teacher per 29 students). About 1.5 million students graduate from Turkish high schools at an annual basis. About 95% of students attend public schools, but inadequacies of the public system increasingly motivate middle-class parents to seek private education. Except for the Open Education Faculty (*Açıköğretim Fakültesi*) at Anadolu University, entrance to tertiary education is regulated by a common national examination, ÖSS, after which high school graduates are assigned to university according to their performance.

The average schooling years in Turkey have increased from 2.7 years in the 1960s to 5.3 years in the 2000s. Moreover, until recently children would start school at around the age of 80 months or between 6 ½ to 7 years but this was lowered to 66 months in 2012 (National Education Statistics, 2012-2013). These aggregate figures bring Turkey slightly above the developing countries. On the other hand, despite some convergence, Turkey's average schooling years are 4.47 years less than the average of the developed countries. OECD statistics reveal that in 2010 less than one in three adults aged 25-64 had the equivalent of a high school diploma (31%), much lower than the OECD average of 74% and the lowest rate across OECD countries. Among the current generation (aged under 25), upper secondary graduation rates stood at 54%, again well below the OECD average of 84% (Clark & Mihael, 2012). Girls are nine percent less likely to complete high school than boys.

The Turkish government spending on education as a percentage of GDP (about 4% in the period 1987-2005) is significantly behind any of the OECD countries and it has been stagnant for a long time, thus reducing the possibilities for any further convergence in the near future (Duman, 2008). At the same time, the government is restricting its spending on primary and secondary education while keeping high levels of relative spending on tertiary education, facing the danger to restrict education oppor-

tunities for the less affluent while increasing education opportunities for the more affluent part of the population.

According to TUIK, a total number of 2,314,000 children were estimated to not attend school in 2006. About 860,000 early school leavers belonged to the age group between 6 and 14 and other 1,454,000 in the 15-17 group. Girls represented the majority with 57.5%. 1,311,000 early school leavers lived in urban areas of the country. By 2012 there were clear signs of improvement as the total number had decreased by more than one million to 1,297,000 (319,000 between 6 and 14 and 978,000 between 15 and17) and girls represented no more than 51.6%. The improvement was more rapid in urban areas where the decrease raised at 51%, compared with 34% in rural areas. Engagement in economic activity is the most important factor explaining school dropout among boys (49.5%), while for 60.5% of the girls dropout was connected with engagement in household duties.

Recent legislative changes and reforms adopted by the ruling AKP party have been highly controversial. The contention usually takes the form of a struggle between those supporting the secularist Ataturk tradition and the religious conservatives (Clark & Mihael, 2012). The AKP policy is describes as an amalgam of Islamic conservatism and neoliberalism (Yucesan-Ozdemir & Ozdemir, 2012).For example the division of the primary education circle in three stages is presented by the government as a means to improve opportunities for vocational training, but opponents argue that a period of only four years of schooling before entering vocational programmes is inadequate. Similarly, certain concerns are formulated on the government's intention to facilitate families to keep their children at home (by implementing home school for children after four years of schooling) and the expected consequences on girls' education attainment. The tension is widely felt and opposition to AKP reforms is expressed in MRI with its strong secularist tradition (interview with D.O.).

Primary education

Primary education in Turkey lasts for 8 years and is compulsory and free of charge at the public schools. Until recently there was a single primary school offering education for 8 years, but after the recent reform (which increased compulsory education from 8 to 12 years), primary education is separated in five years of primary schools and three years of junior high school (considered as primary education in the Turkish system. Primary education diplomas are awarded to the graduating students.

When students start studying the 6th grade, they start preparing themselves for the national level placement test (SBS). At the end of 6th, 7th and 8th grade, students take this exam and finishing the 8th grade, they select which high school they would like to study at, according to their performance in their SBS exams. As a matter of fact, several different choices are available.
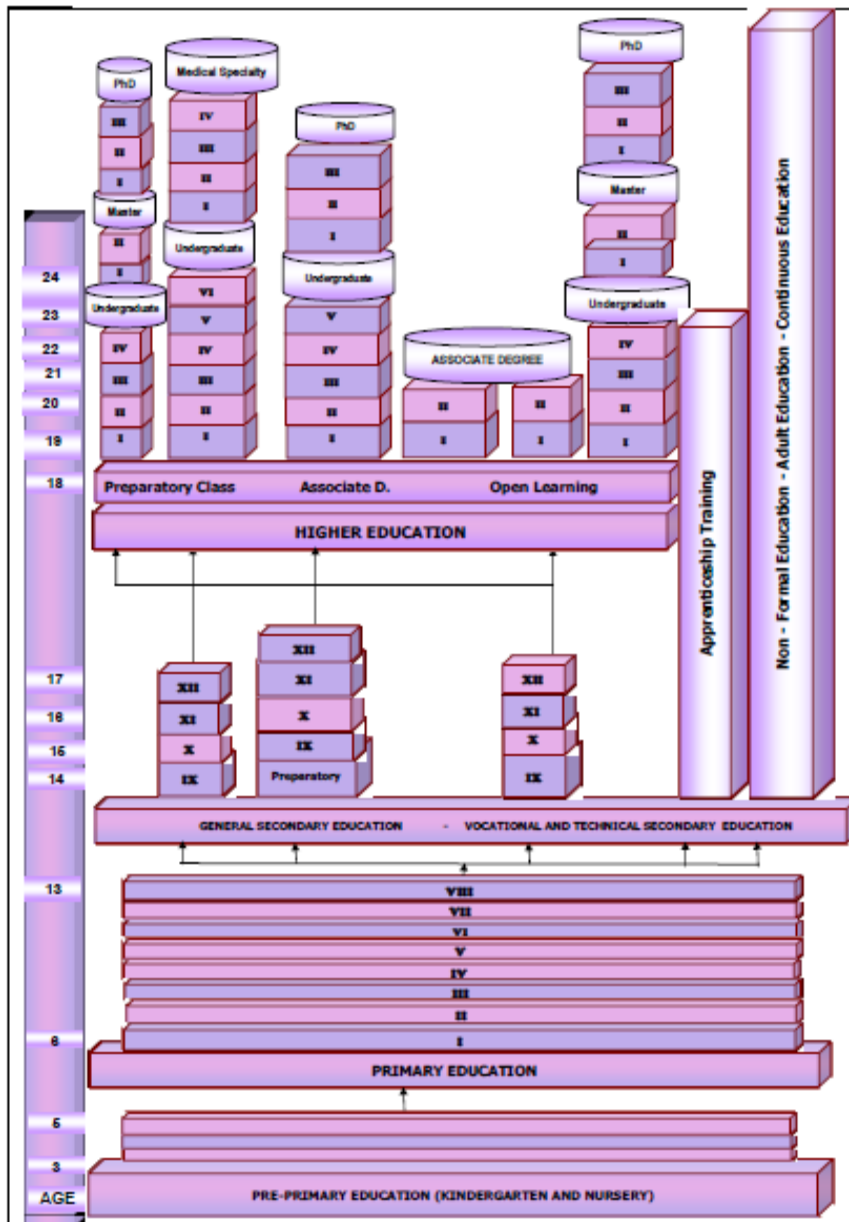
Figure 7: Structure of the Turkish educational system

Source: National Education Statistics, 2011-2012

Secondary education

The secondary education system includes General High Schools, Anatolian High Schools, Science High Schools and Vocational and Technical High Schools. From 2005-2006 on the duration of secondary education has been increased from three to four years. In General High Schools (lycee), apart from general education aiming at preparing students for tertiary education, foreign language courses (English, French or German) are offered. A religious education lesson, depending on the present government's policy, is often optional, and is actually a comparative study of religions rather than only of Islam.

Anatolian high schools were established for the purpose of teaching students at least one foreign language. The educational period covers 5 years, with a one year preparatory course. Apart from foreign language lessons, the normal lycee program is

implemented, with science and mathematics lessons given in English. In General and Anatolian high schools, students have to choose which field they would like to study at for their further education, in the beginning of 9th grade. The available options are Science and Math, Social Studies, Turkish and Social studies, Foreign Languages. At the end of grade 10 students may change their selection.

Students with highest performance in the SBS exams are accepted at the Science high schools. These schools offer education focused on the fields of Mathematics and Science. In the Vocational and Technical high schools the tuition period is five years including a one-year preparatory course. Students are taught at least one foreign language in addition to the lessons included in the Science Lycees. The programs in these lycees include training in fields such as computer science, engineering, computers, medicine, architecture and journalism. In 2011-12, there were 4,756,286 students enrolled in secondary schools. Of those, 2,666,066 (56%) were enrolled in the general secondary stream (Clark & Mihael, 2012).

At the end of high school (finishing the 12th grade), students take the National University Entrance Examination (OSS) which allow them to continue their studies at a two-year vocational higher education, open/distance education programs or a four-year undergraduate programme at a University. Students have unlimited opportunities to retake the test. People at any age who would like to attend university can take the test, provided they have graduated from high school. Students in high schools where the general program is applied may choose to attend branches which specialize in the natural sciences, literature and mathematics, the social sciences, foreign languages, art or physical education. Those students have the possibility to select a major related to their branch. If, however, they apply for a different field than their branch they lose points. Science High Schools only offer the science branch.

About 130,397 (3%) of all secondary students were enrolled at private schools. Students in private schools have better performance than those in public schools. Taking additional private courses is a widespread practice for the preparation before the OSS. Roughly 1/3 of the secondary education students continue to the university every year. Those who do not succeed have the opportunity to continue in the private universities, where tuition fees are applied. In order to increase their possibilities for tertiary studies Turkish students choose to take extra courses in private preparatory schools. Studying in these schools is of course restricted to those who have the economic potential to pay the applied fees, thus limiting equal access to tertiary education for students from different social backgrounds (interview with D.O).

Tertiary education

The Council of Higher Education (YOK) is responsible for the planning, coordination and supervision of higher education. Formally, university education is open to anybody with a high school degree and sufficient scores from the national entrance examination. The centralized test is seen as an equalizing factor, but a recent survey of students taking the college entrance exam has shown that students from high-income families, with more educated parents, and from larger cities are more likely to be placed in higher education (Hakatenaka, 2006, cited by Duman, 2008).

There are 174 universities and academies in Turkey; 103 of them are State Universities (five technical universities, two of which are institutes of technology and one fine arts university), and 66 private foundation universities (seven of which are two-year granting institutions), four military academies and one police academy. Nine Universities are located in MRI.

An Önlisans Derecesi or Diplomasi (Associate Degree) is awarded after the successful completion of two-year university studies. Courses leading to the Lisans Diplomasi require a minimum of four years' university study. Courses last for five years in Dentistry and Veterinary Medicine and for six years in Medicine. In the academic year 2006-2007 year there were 200,000 students in two-year colleges and 230,000 students in four-Year faculties.

Non-formal education

The objective of non-formal education is to provide knowledge and skills to citizens who have never entered the formal education system or are at any level of it or have left at that level. Non formal education may accompany formal education or be independent of it. Non-formal education activities are thus considered important for life-long learning and training. According to TUIK data, the Region of Izmir, following the national trends, experienced recently a remarkable increase both in the number of non-formal education courses (from 396 in 2009 to 3,810 in 2011) and in the number of enrolled participants (from 28,303 in 2009 to 164,656 in 2011). Municipalities are among the major institutions that organize and offer non-formal education courses (interview with I.S.).

The improvements in the aggregate educational outcomes in Turkey have, in part, resulted from the general increase in living standards (Naqvi, 2013).
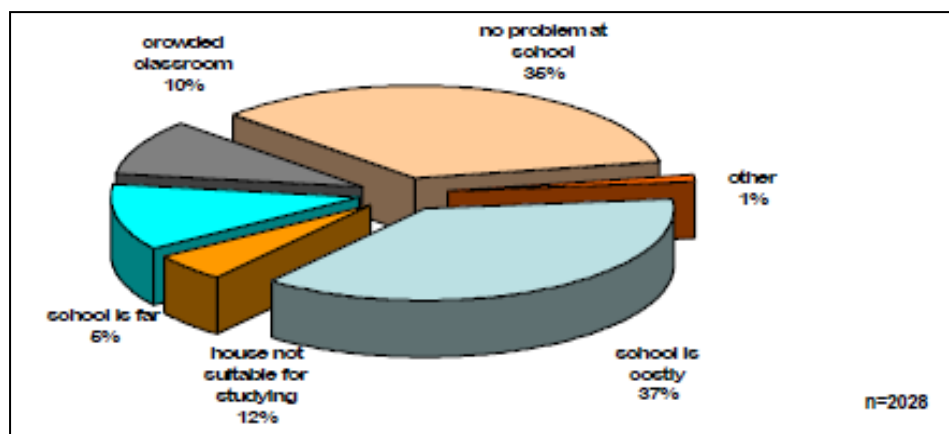

Figure 8: Problems of children attending school in slum areas of Turkish metropolitan areas

Source: Müderrisoğlu 2005 (survey results)

Thus, the socioeconomic background mattered less for students' results in 2009 than it did in 2003. Furthermore, inequalities among students in school performance tend

to decrease from primary to secondary education, possibly because of the absence of an early-tracking system (Hanushek et al., 2005). Despite these successes, certain challenges remain. The performance of Turkey's average 15-year-old is still one full year (or 40 PISA points) behind the OECD average and a student's socioeconomic background remains a far more important determinant of educational outcomes in Turkey, than it does in other OECD countries. Around 25 percent of the Turkish 15-year-olds do not read well enough to be able to analyze and understand what they are reading and are therefore considered by the OECD to be "functionally illiterate". However, this rate has been declining at a fast pace since 2003, when the equivalent proportion was 36 percent. Many students from poor families join the workforce by the age the time they reach 13 or 14 and thus drop out of the last years of primary education in order to supplement the family income (Müderrisoğlu, 2005).

The Region of Izmir performs better than the national average concerning the average schooling years and gender inequalities in education (Tomul 2006). However (as in other parts of the country) significant educational inequalities exist within the region. For example, according to the Address Based Population Registration System (ABPRS) data, in 2011 people aged over 15 with less than primary education counted for 20.4% in the District of Kiraz and only 3.0% in the District of Seferihisar. On the other edge of the spectrum, the percentage of those with university degree ranged between 1.2% in the District of Torbali and 36.6% in the District of Karşiyaka. Figures 9 and 10 (next page) represent the different patterns of distribution of the lowest and highest educational skills in different parts of the region, with various socioeconomic structures, migration rates and positions in the metropolitan tissue. Higher concentrations of illiterate people over 15 years are observed at the metropolitan periphery and in the Konak district in the central city. Higher concentrations of higher education graduates are observed in the Karsiyaka district and in the coastal zone of the metropolitan region.

The ratio of children to teachers in MRI (school year 2011-2012) is somewhat better than the ratio in Istanbul in both primary (19.0 against 28.2) and secondary (18.4 against 28.7) schools. As in most other parts of the country (but not in Istanbul) the structure of secondary education comprises more Vocational/Technical than General Schools. However 53% of secondary education students attain General Schools (compared with 56% in the country). The ratio of female to male students in secondary education is 0.93 (0.92 in Istanbul and 0.88 in Turkey). This performance might be explained to some extent by the comparatively small average household size in MRI, as Duman (2010) found that girls in larger families are less likely to attend school, because of the need to provide child labour. On the other hand, the percentage of girls especially in the General Schools of the secondary education is in MRI rises at 52%, compared with 48% at the national level.
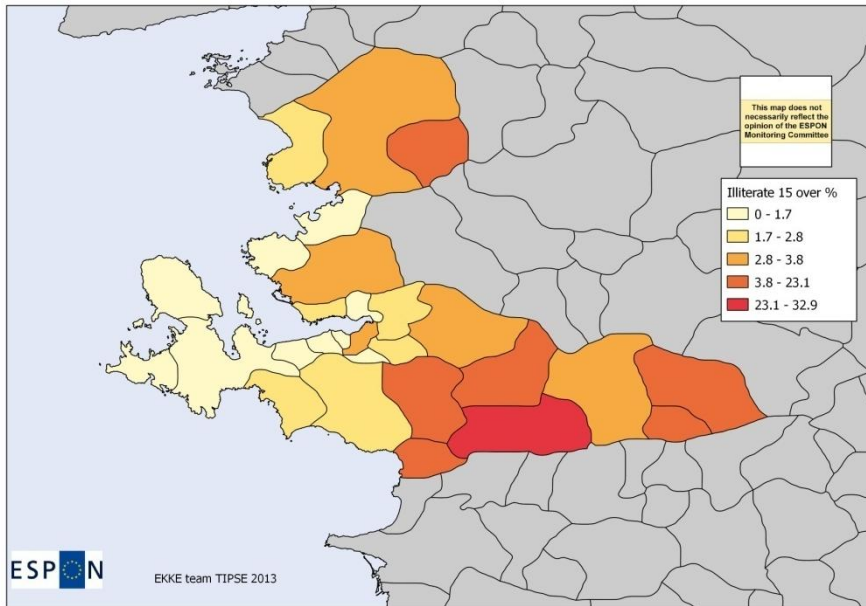
Figure 9: Illiterate persons (%) by municipality. Region of Izmir, 2011
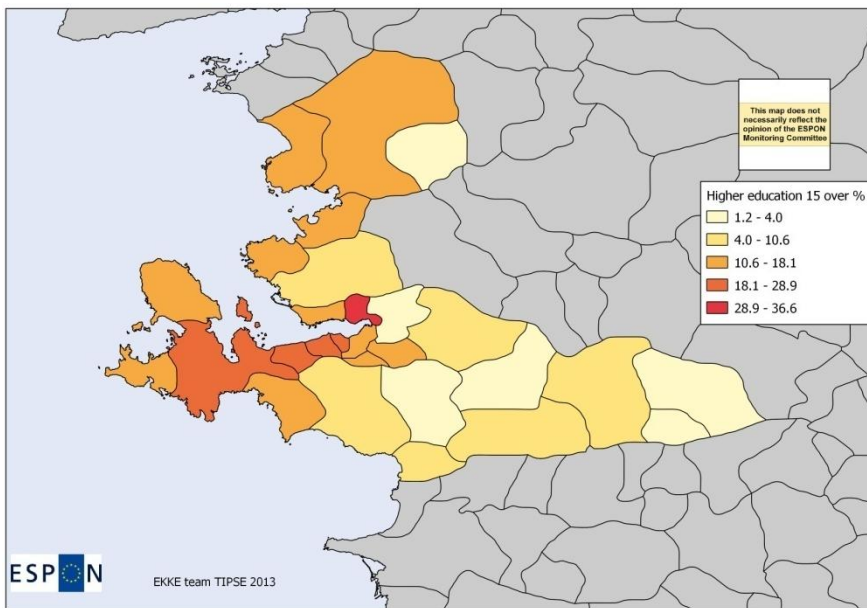
Data source: ABPRS

Figure 10: Persons with higher education (%) by municipality. Region of Izmir, 2011

Data source: ABPRS

Concerning non-formal education, the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality has been active in organizing vocational training courses in four education centres. Another programme is addressed to women with uncompleted school career, many of whom come from South-Eastern Turkey and live in the deprived areas of the city.

Income and education are highly correlated in Turkey (Duman, 2008). Thus, different educational attainment groups enjoy unequal income levels. The average earnings of university graduates have increased from 3.4 times that of people with primary school degrees in 1987 to 4.5 times in 2005. Disparities are summarized in Table 5.

Table 5: Educational attainment of the richest and the poorest quintile in Turkey (%)

Education level	1987		2005	
	Poorest 20%	**Richest 20%**	**Poorest 20%**	**Richest 20%**
Below Primary	34.50	6.01	31.22	4.89
Primary	53.01	39.03	56.24	34.76
Lower Secondary	8.24	9.89	8.11	8.52
Higher secondary	3.50	26.71	3.93	24.10
Tertiary	0.75	18.36	0.50	27.73
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Duman, 2008 (adapted)

The wide difference between the educational level of the lowest and the richest quintile is evident. But even more interestingly, while there is a clear improvement in the educational skills of the richest 20%, in the same period of almost two decades the educational skills of the lowest 20% remain stagnant. In fact, while the share of those with less than primary education among the poorest fell from 34.5% to 31.2%, the share of those with tertiary education did not increase (and actually fell from an already low 0.75% to a mere 0.5%). This reveals not only that schooling levels contribute significantly to income differences, but also that the improvements in income distribution are not followed by similar improvements in educational attainment.

As Duman (2008) also points, the private return (defined as the discount rate that equalizes the present value of the private costs and benefits generated by an increase in the schooling of a representative individual) on primary schooling declined to 19% in 2005 from 22.5% in 1987, while the return on primary and secondary education (23% from 17%) converged. The return on tertiary education remained stable and quite higher than at about 28%.

Together with the increasing share of tertiary education in the overall public expenditure on education, the situation seems to be one of polarized education chances, with the more affluent part of the society gaining more from their participation in higher education and the less affluent facing reduced opportunities to benefit from education and to gain access to higher educational levels. Additionally, as Karahasan and Uyar (2009) have shown intra-regional inequalities regarding tertiary education are significantly higher than for primary and secondary education. The intergenerational transmission of inequality is more probable when access to tertiary education is restricted and this is even more important in regions with high and continuous migratory inflows that reproduce successive "second" generations.

4   Validity of European wide data from local perspective

The maps on risk of poverty and/or social exclusion that were produced in the context of the TIPSE project reveal some of the important characteristics of poverty and social exclusion in Turkey (in comparison with the rest of the countries in the ESPON space), as well as among the Turkish regions. Thus, it is quite evident that Turkey scores high in at-risk-of-poverty rate among European countries, but at the same time disparities between the Turkish regions are noteworthy. At-risk-of-poverty rate increases significantly as one moves from Istanbul and the coast of the Aegean to the Eastern and especially the South-Eastern part of the country. Despite its location, MRI is not among the most privileged regions as it belongs to the second among five ranks.
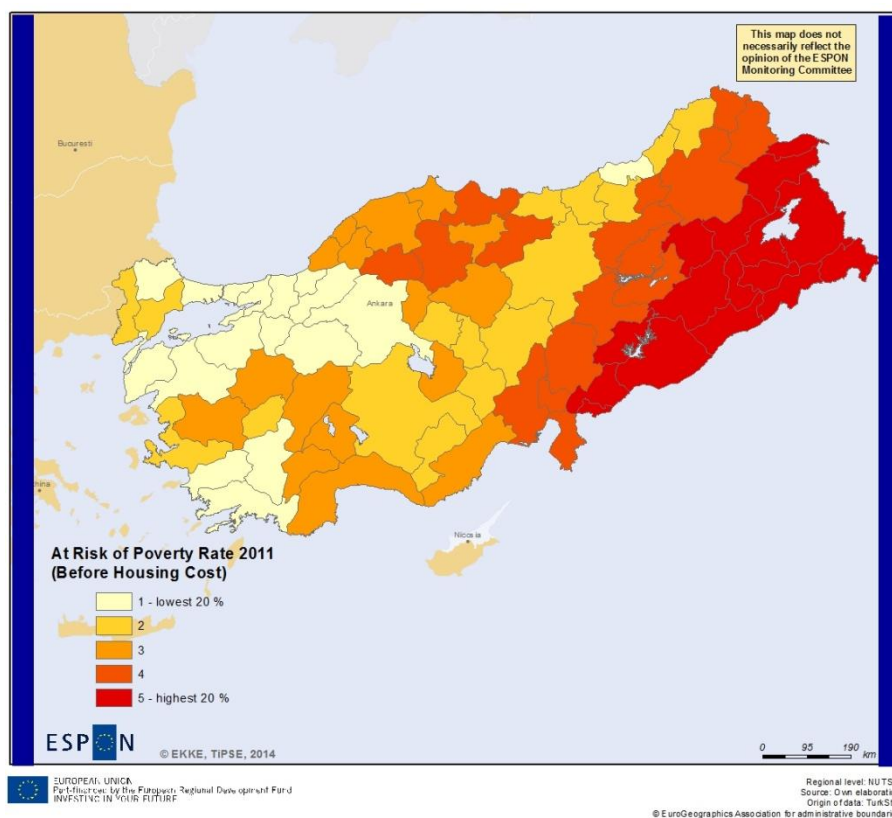

Figure 11: At-risk-of-poverty-rate in Turkish NUTS II regions, 2011

Interestingly enough the map of regional poverty shows an almost identical pattern with the Turkish map on total dependency rate, as more remote areas show rates of even more than 70 per cent, while the rates in Western Turkey are generally between 40 and 50 per cent. Total dependency rate is in turn largely explained by the child dependency rate (as the old dependency rate is much more uniform across the country). Consequently, poverty in Turkey seems to be connected with high fertility rates, raising questions about the intergenerational transfer of inequalities that was also in-

dicated by the more focused analysis on MRI. However, MRI is an outlier because although it is not among the best Turkish regions in terms of at-risk-of-poverty rate, it has one of the lowest dependency rates.

One possible explanation for that might be found in the characteristics of the labour market. As it is indicated by the social exclusion mapping exercise of TIPSE, according to 2001 census data, MRI is characterized by a comparatively high unemployment rate for both the men and the women of the Region. Economic restructuring with further tertiarization might be a reason for that, together with the limited access to informal employment for internal migrants (access that is rather difficult to estimate).

A related explanation might have to do with educational skills. While MRI performs relatively well in that aspect, the previous analysis shows that returns on education are highly polarized between lower and higher education levels. Intra-regional inequalities might explain the seemingly paradoxical emergence of relatively high poverty rate and unemployment together with increasing per capita GDP.

In any case, what this contradiction makes clear is the need for a combination of quantitative indicators with qualitative data in order to uncover sub-regional differentiations dynamics of poverty and social exclusion. This is especially true for large and complex metropolitan regions undergoing significant demographic and socioeconomic transformations.

Especially in what concerns the relationship between poverty/social exclusion and education, the MRI case makes clear that education inequalities may extend well beyond what is indicated by the typical distributions in educational attainment levels. Indicators on education are more sensible when they account for differences among socio-economic classes, ethnic groups etc. and when they indicate the consequences of education inequalities on social integration and social mobility prospects.

Last but not least, the MRI case is a good example of hidden populations that are not represented in official statistics. Regarding undocumented immigrants and asylum seekers, the lack of data reflects lack of recognition.

5 Transferability of results

The Metropolitan region of Izmir can be considered as a particular case from a comparative European perspective. Several chatacteristics differentiate MRI from many other European metropolitan regions and and above all relatively high levels of income inequality, low average educational skills and large informal sectors in the labour and the housing market. However, there are specific lessons that can be learned from poverty and social exlusion patterns and trends in MRI.

1. MRI is a region characterized by high and continuous urbanization in an extended period of time. Internal migration continues to bring people with low income, low educational skills and poor integration prospects in the city and the suburbs. In fact, it is through successive internal migratory waves from various parts of Turkey that Izmir emerged as a metropolitan region. While integration in the past decades has been promoted by informal arrangements in the labour and the housing market, i.e. shadow employment and irregular housing at the scale of entire settlements, opportunities in both fields tend to be restricted for newcomers. The dynamics of poverty and social exclusion in MRI thus reveal the risks asssociated with massive population increase in metropolitan areas and the capacity of local and regional authorities to adopt integration policies and measures.

2. Education and poverty are highly interreleated. The case of Izmir reveals that not only poor people enjoy fewer chances for participating in education but also that general improvements both in the general education level and in the access to basic education are not sufficient, in the sense that they do not prevent polarization. The emphasis given on investments to tertiary education may prolong the distance between the more afflunet and the less affluent groups, if the access of the less privileged is not supported by adequate policies.

3. Centralized education systems do not necessarily prevent regional and sub-regional disparities in the average education level, not only becausee presence of adults with different socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds but also because inequalities among their descendants.

4. The case of MRI is crucial in identifying the existance of severely deprived social groups that remain invisible. Non-documented immigrants and asylum seekers face the risk not only to be detained, maltreated, tortured and deported but also the risk to disappear from official statistics. It is exactly these groups that are most vulnerable, lacking the resources to cover their basic needs and a supportive social environment, while being stigmatized and excluded from any form of political recognition.

5. As other metropolitan regions in Turkey, Izmir is a good example of the contradictions inherent in any attempt to regenerate urban areas marked by concentration of poverty and physical degradation. Regeneration projects may lead to gentrification of specific areas and dislocation of their previous redidents, while failing to make any substantial improvement in their living

conditions and integration prospects. Even worse, regeneration may in fact deteriorate the relative position of the deprived reidents, by destroying their social networks, employment opportunities and even their already limited access to social facilities The responsible administrative units and planning authorities must take into account these problems.

6. In this perspective, it seems crucial for local authorities to develop extended networks of service provision in collaboration with the state agencies and sub-local actors. The role of the latter is important especially when they are connected with established traditions of local representation.

6   Conclusions for policy development and monitoring

The case of Izmir raises questions about poverty and social exclusion in conditions of rapid and continuous urbanization. In this perspective, Izmir experiences conditions that are dissimilar from the rest of European cities. However poverty and social exclusion caused by massive migration flows is an issue of significance in a wide range of European cities, although in different rates. The challenge is to provide adequate services (education being one of the most crucial) in rapidly transforming parts of the urban/metropolitan tissue, without discriminating against newcomers.

Despite improvements in the average years of education and in the education prospects for children growing in poor socioeconomic conditions, inequalities persist. Inequalities are perplexed by issues of ethnicity (although this is not always recognized) and segregation. The challenge is to build a more comprehensive education system with a balanced spatial structure in conditions of reduced economic recourses transferred by the state.

Education provided by several institutions outside the formal education scheme is of great importance in a country where significant parts of the adult population possess poor education skills. This is even more important in areas where people with low skills concentrate. The challenge is to provide comprehensive non-formal education courses that improve social integration prospects, in collaboration with local authorities.

Despite the increase of compulsory education from 5 to 8 and then to 12 years, child labour remains an issue. Children are found to be working at home, on the streets, as apprentices and blue collar workers in small establishments and service/entertainment sectors (Müderrisoğlu, 2005). The challenge is to combine comprehensive education policies with social policy in order to combat conditions of poverty that force children to drop out, being unable to cover education costs.

Education inequalities between genders persist, especially in slum areas with high percentages of poorly educated adults. The challenge is to improve equal opportunities for men and women combating with material and cultural obstacles.

The Turkish education system is highly centralized but initiatives by local authorities have started to emerge in order to address local priorities and needs. The challenge is to facilitate and enrich local initiatives in order to meet the varied needs of local populations, while maintaining a comprehensive common core of education services.

Izmir is under major economic transformations. Its traditional significance in manufacturing is decreasing while banking, finance, trade and tourism activities contribute to the increasing share of the Region in the GNP. The challenge is to promote integration of people that are affected by economic transformations, especially those in informal activities.

Last but not least, Izmir is situated on the crossroads of international migration, accommodating an unknown number of people on the move, often entrapped in

various spaces of enclosure, including death traps. The challenge here is perhaps even broader but first of all it necessarily includes the recognition of immigrants as people with rights.

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Annex 1: List of interviewed experts

Institution	Role in dealing with poverty and/or social exclusion	Geographical/political level	Date	Has declared willingness to work with TIPSE?
Dokuz Eylul University	Associate Professor	Local	20/9/13	
D.O.	Former texcher in Izmir	Local	18/6/2013	