

Character of the Pressure Group of Hometown Associations: Case of Cankiri – Turkey

Gürbüz Özdemir¹

Abstract

The hometown associations are the first formal structures established by the immigrants as citizens in the city. The hometown associations had realized significant buffer functions in the first periods of their establishment. Along with the differentiations of their purposes, they left out their buffer functions and gained a "pressure group" character which gather their citizens around common interests and affect the political processes in order to obtain these interests. Within this framework, an ampiric study was carried out in Cankiri City center in order to understand and put forth this characteristic of hometown associations. First of all, the conceptual framework was introduced related to the subject. Later the findings of the questionnaire, which was applied to the members of the five county hometown associations in Cankiri City center and a member of the Parliament, Provincial Council members and Municipal Councilors, were tabulated and interpreted with the aid of SPSS programme. As a result it was seen that the Hometown Associations are a potential "pressure group" through the case of Cankiri.

Keywords: Citizenship, Hometown Association, Buffer Mechanism, Interest Group, Pressure Group

Introduction

The basic actor of democratic life is the "individual". Another actor, which is as important as the individual, is "formed groups". Formed groups emerge as a result of the idea that individuals will not be able to reach their expectations individually. These structures show themselves in different types depending in different conditions such as the social, political, cultural, economic.

¹ Assistant Professor. Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, Cankiri Karatekin University, Cankiri, 18100, Turkey. Phone:0090376-213-2626, E-mail: gurbuzozdemir@hotmail.com, gozdemir@karatekin.edu.tr

While they are generally emerging as “informal” in rural areas, they mostly appear as “formal” in urban settings. However, as these different structures are in constant contact with each other, stability is out of the question, but mutual transitions between them are in question. The most important factor that prepares and unveils the conditions for transitions between formed groups and initiates the first transition is social movement such as “immigration”.

One of the important structures that formed in the transition process of immigration urban settings is “citizenship”. Citizenship is a set of informal relations that was discovered in the urban settings as a defensive reflex for immigrants against the change in the transition process. The informal citizenship relations were transformed to “hometown associations” which has a formal structure as a result of urbanization over time. Hometown associations, in their first establishment period, functioned as a shelter and a buffer as in the case of citizenship phenomenon. However, as they become a part of the urban settings, they started to take on different meanings for the citizens, and the number and importance of the hometown associations gradually increased. In particular, upon recognizing their common interests with fellow citizens, they transformed into an “interest group”. They have gained the potential of becoming a “pressure group” which tries to affect the political power/bureaucracy by engaging in politics in order to obtain the interests of their group. In short, the hometown associations have become a “pressure group” which has the potential to be a political actor that can contribute to the democracy within this concept of the buffer mechanism.

Many studies have been done and continue to be made related to political parties, which are the most important actors of democratic life. Again, there are lots theoretical and empirical studies about pressure groups, which are the important actors as political parties in democratic life. Within this concept, the studies related to the associations such as “TÜSİAD (Turkish Industry & Business Association)²”, which are strong pressure groups, are forefront.

There are few or no empirical studies related to hometown associations as pressure groups that are strong in local politics but have low effects in the whole country. Thus, this study is carried out in order to contribute to the literature on the “pressure group” characteristics of hometown associations.

² For a sample study, please see: Emini 2013.

1. Conceptual Framework

1.1. Social Structures and Change

Throughout history, people came together and formed groups either by pushing a social process (social conflict theory)³ or on their own volition (rational choice theory⁴) in order to reach their expectations (Aktan, Ay and Çoban 2007, 3). For that reason coming together/alignment as an activity is always a phenomenon that appears in any environment where there are people. The formed groups which have functional relations between them are formed by individuals that came together and are outstanding actors of especially democratic life today (Dursun 2011, 208). Related to the formed groups, there are many types from informal structures -such as a congregation- to formal structures consisting of interest and pressure groups. While some of them are emerging as informal in the rural areas, an important part of them shows itself as formal in urban conditions.⁵ However these structures are not constant. There can be transitions between them as they can change based on social movements which were formed as a result of social, financial developments, etc.

A change in social structures can trigger new changes and movements whose effects last for many years. For example, the Industrial Revolution, which was an important change in the history of mankind, was the beginning of many changes and movements after it. In this process, radical changes have been recognized in the social structures of many European countries, particularly in Great Britain. Cities, especially, were in the center of these movements with the opportunities they offer, particularly employment. Parallel with the developments in cities, In the country, the desire to reach fixed income, better education prepared the ground for the social movement.

The interaction between urban and rural had started the immigration process by making the urban settings the center of attraction (Richerson and Robert 2008; Es and Ateş 2004, 206-207).

³ See: Oberschall 1978, pp.291-315.

⁴ See: Lohmann 2008, Hedström and Stern 2008.

⁵ For typologies, pls see: Aktan, Ay and Çoban 2007, 2-3.

While the social organization in rural settings is defined as an informal community structure, the organization in urban is defined by the formal society's notion of the community-society distinction put forth by Tönnies. Due to this structural difference, the immigrants, the immigration, the new and versatile change wave entered which would have shocked them (Tönnies 2002 and 1944, 712, 713, 743; Hurma 2003, 29). For that reason immigration is not just a change of physical environment and population mobility after urbanization. Both two cases emerged as integrated processes that had the potential to change the social structure with their financial, political aspects. In the started process, new urban values have the power to completely transform the rural life style and organization type (Lerner 1964, 60; Türkdoğan 1996, 112; Kurtoğlu 2004, 57). Therefore, the change has not finished with immigration and has continued as a source of versatile developments in individual and social criteria in the urban environment.

A similar process in Europe has been experienced in Turkey since the 1950s. Moreover, as the immigration in Turkey was continuous, the change was recognized in such a period of 20-30 years while it took a couple of centuries in Europe. For that reason, the immigrants who were already penniless entered an inextricable spiral (Sezal 1992, 115-117). They were in a quandary on the one hand, keeping the old values, and on the other hand, dealing with urban values. When the first shock was over and the opportunities provided by the city began to be enjoyed, the first steps were taken towards the urbanization process which recognized versatile manner in financial, social, cultural (Kıray 1998, 103; Hurma 2003, 89). In short, urbanization, on the one hand has excluded the rural setting and on the other hand, rural structures slowly have started to transform the immigrant into a city dweller. Despite all this, the rural environment could not break the bond with the immigrant that it forced and the urban setting could not include the immigrant completely (Keleş 1998, 64-69; Erkut 1991, 52).

1.2. Buffer Mechanism

The change that started with immigration and continued in the urban environment unveiled the structure of "the city in transition" which had the same pre- and post-industrial urban properties simultaneously (Sjoberg 1965, 329).

In these cities, the structures which provide adaptation to the city defined as "buffer mechanism" were almost discovered by themselves with a natural orientation. Buffer mechanism is defined by Kıray (1964, 7) as given below:

“Relatively, in faster and more extensive change states, some institutions and their correlations, which cannot be seen in both basic structures but appear in the formation and enable integration, appear or old institutions gain new functions. This situation arises as each institution, its correlation or all the values related to these cannot change at the same time, at the same speed and cannot become a new structure at the same period. We define these newly appearing institutions, their correlations, values and functions which do not belong to each of two social structures that provide a change without crisis and prevent disintegration with the term buffer mechanisms.”

Buffer structures which function as a shelter for social transformation in transition cities, highly prevent the extinction of the communal values of rural areas in the urban areas and help to bypass the change balanced and without crisis (Tekşen 2003, 63). Thus, they guide the unclaimed immigrants in the urban areas and help them to regain the sense of belonging and support them by forming a communal togetherness which is almost a yearning for the rural environment in the urban environment. It is possible to separate these structures into two parts: the first and last periods of the immigration process. During the first period, the “traditional family/pioneer family” structure was at the forefront; later, structures such as “citizenship/hometown associations” were seen to be effective (Bal 1997, 439). There are also transitions between these structures. Particularly, the migrant clusters in the slums entailed changes in buffer structures in the process and provided the transition from pioneer families to citizenship relation. On the other hand, the increasing consciousness of citizenship prepared the ground for institutionalization by strengthening the ties between the immigrants (Kurtoğlu 2005, 5; Gökçe 1994, 286). Eventually, a spirit of urban community has developed that will make the individual immigrant significant and allow the immigrant to integrate within it (Kurtoğlu 1994, 367-369; Güneş-Ayata 1991, 96).

1.3. Hometown Associations

“Hometown Coffeehouses” are important places which fulfill many functions in transition cities. They have been effective in the transition of buffer structures from traditional family/pioneer family to citizenship and in the organization of citizenship at the same time.

Besides these functions they fulfill, they functioned as the headquarters for training the social/political leader cadres of the citizens (Kurtoğlu 2004, 198-202). Furthermore, as it was the unique public space where citizens came together, it became the only environment where politicians were in contact with the citizens and, it prepared the infrastructure of the transition of the citizenship from informal to formal (Tekşen 2003; 132). Then the citizenship relations which institutionalized in the coffeehouses tended to the formal structures such as association/foundation and resulted in the hometown associations. Therefore, the hometown associations were the first formal structures founded on technical grounds with the aim of enjoying their own culture in the city and providing social solidarity (Toumarkine and Hersant 2005; 10; Toksöz 1983, 366).

The hometown associations, particularly in the first periods of their establishment, had functioned as buffers -which saved people who did not know each other from being a mass in the city- and provided integration with the city by saving their values (Toksöz 1983, 368). With the buffer functions they conduct, hometown associations proved that are not temporary in the city and can subsist by saving their values. Thus, they provided a significant contribution to the smooth and balanced adaptation of the citizens, the new members of the city (Yılmaz 2008, 15-18; Tekşen 2003, 63). Upon recognizing these functions, more protective and passive rural reflexes were used. Today, however, there are hometown associations which are not satisfied with the more urban and active classical buffer functions (Selek and Köseoğlu 2005, 5). In the new process, the basic aims of the regulations of hometown associations such as solidarity and assistance are preserved and there is actually differentiation in their aims. Moreover they have started a process that enables the citizens to be an effective part of the city and provide active participation in decision making processes. From now on, they obtained a potential which will reflect the relationship between immigration and development and being an actor from the city and contributing to the democratization by undertaking many functions within this framework (Narlı 2002; Narlı and Narı 1999). Besides, as buffer mechanisms formed in the transition cities to meet the short term needs have lost their importance with urbanization and left their place to new structures, the phase that hometown associations reached is a natural result. (Sjoberg 1965, 329; Kurtoğlu 2004, 55).

In the new process, the hometown associations are attempting to contribute both to their members and to the city of which they are a part of by carrying out activities in fields such as education, economy, and politics.

Asides from this, they succeeded in fulfilling new functions such as financial activities to solve financial problems of the citizens (Yılmaz 2008, 18), socio-psychological functions that they recognizing with the trust they gained, cultural functions that will ensure the preservation of traditional values (Güneş-Ayata 1991, 99) and even functions of favoritism that help “bidding” (Yılmaz 2008, 22). Again, they have efficient activities such as providing scholarship, part time/full time employment, and health screening. Thus, they reached a situation that can recognize activities with economic multipliers such as assisting investment to the city in which they live from the shelter position. Moreover, they have made serious contributions to the development of a “homeland” with the continuously held organizations as an expression of longing for the motherland. Especially since the mid-1980s, the hometown associations had made contributions to various services such as allocating power and water to the villages (Toumarkine and Hersant 2005, 16-17; Özdemir 2013, 950). They have close relations with central/local authorities, public institutions and even private sectors in this context (Kurtoğlu 2012, 149-154). In short, the hometown associations have converted a community facing the danger of being a mass in the city to a power that can say “we are in the city as well” and participating actively in the city life, and has a say in decision making processes by gathering with their communal identities under their symbolic powers (Bal 1997, 431; Yılmaz 2008, 115).

The hometown associations, although they are not political organizations, have become an actor that have to resort to them by politicians through the fulfillment of new functions and the power they have. The parties with constantly losing votes are aware that they cannot ignore hometown associations. In order to get their support and solve losing votes, they have made efforts to contact the hometown associations. They try to participate in the activities of each hometown association that they can reach even if they are not hometowner directly. For that reason, the hometown associations have become a center of attraction for different parties that they visit frequently. When the parties address the public, they need to declare their connection with the hometown associations and their stance with them. Moreover it is known that many political party followers are simultaneously members of hometown associations (Özdemir 2013, 951; Narlı ve Narlı 1999). This situation has brought about evaluating and meeting the expectations of the citizens easily.

The hometown associations that perceived this opportunity have gained the a potential of a "pressure group" which tries to benefit from parties -that see them as votes- and the political processes to the end and to use pressure when required to obtain an interest/uneared income (Kurtbeyođlu 2005, 144).

On the other hand, it is hard to say that the members cannot always reach their interests and expectations in the relation of hometown association-politics (Yılmaz 2008, 115). Nevertheless, the citizens prefer to see their associations as a mean to obtain a common interest rather than a buffer mechanism. For that reason, the association-politics relation is recognized at a level where interests are forefront rather than partisan ground. It is interesting that the association authorities, even if they are members of a party, declare that the party-association relation is an interest relation more than a partisanship. For that reason "association centers" are open for everybody who comes for electioneering (Genç 2008). In the elections, they initially support initially their citizens among the nominees whichever party it is. The parties are obliged to consider this sensitivity while determining the nominee (Narlı 2002). Moreover, as the leaders of the hometown associations are active and extroverted, they can contact with all parties and find a place for themselves. Here, it is possible to say that the hometown associations undertake an actor role which recruits staff for politics. Aside from this, the party-association relation is a process which is born or gains momentum from largely externalization of this potential (Genç 2008).

Kurtođlu (2012, 154) sees the level of association-politics relation as an important source of "biding the unearned income"⁶. In his opinion, due to the mode of operation of politics, the hometown associations come closer to the bidding as they come closer to the politics, particularly parties. The basic reason to reach this level is that the new urbanites have more needs and expectations than the old urbanites. Because, the higher expectation of interest/uneared income, the higher the need to contact with the politics that is a source of interest/uneared income and affect them (Yılmaz 2008, 22, 23; Schüler 1999, 83). The different dimensions of decision making processes lay in the backdrops of hometown associations making interest purposed pressures easily. The relation to decision making processes for bidding unearned income is not a unilateral relation but it is an "exchange. According to the public choice theory, among the actors in the exchange, the politician expects vote, the bureaucrat expects prestige, the voter expects benefit and pressure groups expect unearned income. All maximize their interest in public services without taking any risks (Aktan 1993, 134).

⁶ For "biding unearned income" notion please see: Aktan 1993.

There is no doubt that citizenship is not the only decisive factor for providing political participation and making political preferences for new urbanites. As the urbanization increases and the individual adapts to the city, different factors step in as well as citizenship. For that reason, citizenship is only one of many political concept, but one of the most important. The relation between citizenship and political processes emerges as strong as it can, especially, in election periods. The hometown associations, which have a higher socioeconomic level, use this relation stronger (Bal 1997, 431). In short, the hometown associations have gained “an interest group” characteristic by passing the buffer character today. They have gained a characteristic of “pressure group” potential which transfers the expectations of citizens in the system and tries to affect the process through the mediation between politics and citizens in order to obtain an interest (Narlı and Narı 1999; Narlı, 2002; Kurtoğlu 2012, 155).

1.4. Interest and Pressure Group

The formal structures which are a type of social structure generally occur under urban conditions. One of the most common ones among formal structures is “interest groups”. The interest group is defined as “groups acting together to obtain material or spiritual interest” (Daver 1993, 236). According to Truman (1993, 33), interest groups can be defined as groups that, based on one or more shared attitudes, engage in influencing political decision-making, in order to successfully implement certain political goals or values.⁷ Another formal structure often confused with interest group is “pressure group”. There are some differences between these two concepts. It is accepted that if the interest group starts to affect the political process directly/indirectly to obtain interest, it turns into a pressure group. Kapani (2002, 193), defines the pressure group as “the organized groups gathered around the common interest that try to affect particularly the political power/bureaucracy in order to recognize them”. Daver (1993, 236) also exposes a clear distinction between them in the same way; “when the interest groups start to be effective on government and political power in various ways in order to recognize their wishes, they become pressure groups”.

⁷ For detailed information related to the topic please see: Heywood 2002, Yoho 1998, Woerndl 1992, Wilson 1981, Salisburg 1975, Laswell & Kaplan 1950.

The term pressure group is a generic term that is ascribed to any kind of group or organization that seeks to influence the government in order to adopt or change a particular policy. There are a number of different varieties of pressure groups. Pressure group body, organized or unorganized, that actively seeks to promote its articular interests within a society by exerting pressure on public officials and agencies. Pressure groups direct their efforts toward influencing legislative and executive ranches of government, political parties, and sometimes general public opinion (Key1964).⁸

As it can be understood from the definitions of concepts, the basic feature that characterizes the pressure group is the pressure and effects on political power/bureaucracy of the members. In other words, an interest group, getting organized, turns into a "pressure group" when it starts to affect the decision making processes with various ways directly/indirectly in order to obtain interest. Whereat, every interest group is not a pressure group but every pressure group is an interest group (Mackenzie 1955, 135-137; Salisburg 1975, 173; Akad 1976, 63-84).

The pressure groups are as strong as the political parties in today's democratic life. Moreover, they act more effectively in some cases (Kubalı 1971, 558; Gürbüz 1981, 89). The main goal of the political parties is seizing political power, but the aim of the pressure groups is "biding the unearned income" by affecting the political powers. As the decisions related to the production and distribution of public goods and services are taken by political processes rather than the free market, the pressure groups oppress the political processes, particularly, in the election periods in order to obtain the unearned income formed by the state. These oppressions often pan out. For that reason, the importance of pressure groups is increased as the state starts to determine the social and financial spaces besides the political space (Akad 1976, 9, 65-66). There are different classifications related to the pressure groups. The most common classification based organization criterion is as follows⁹: 1) Anomic pressure group, 2) Unorganized pressure group, 3) Organized pressure group, 4) Institutional pressure group. Whatever the classification, the pressure groups use some methods in their activities in political processes.

⁸ "Pressure group", The Columbia Encyclopedia.

⁸ For detailed information related to the classification please see: Meynaud, 1975, 15; Dursun 2011, 289-293; Aksoy 2008, 43-56.

⁹ For detailed information related to the topic please see: Ay 1998, Ay 2003.

The types of these methods and their influence powers are shaped according to the qualifications such as the number of members of the group, financial advantages, and form of organization, social position, leadership and autonomy status.¹⁰ Within this framework, normal methods such as persuasion are used as well as illegal methods such as threat and bribery. Its effect is increased proportionally with the use of the mass media (Kuzu 1985, 88-96; Bayramođlu 1985, 6). These methods generally appear as follows formats when they tend to the political processes:¹¹ persuasion methods such as lobbying, contraction with the political parties, threat, and bribery, influencing the public opinion and raising public awareness, undermining the activities of the government, lockout, strike, boycott, protest and demonstration.

On the other hand, there are important differences between the pressure group and NGO which is a formal structure. While the main aim of the pressure group is private, although an NGO works for the special interests of its members, exceeding this manner, the social benefit is among the primary objectives. Furthermore, while "civility" is dominant in the form of NGOs, the pressure group cannot be always be civilian. For instance, many official institutions/establishments can be an "institutional pressure group although they are not an NGO (Özdemir 2013, 948; Özdemir 2011).

2. The Method of the Research

This study which seeks the "pressure group" qualification of hometown associations is "descriptive" research in terms of purposes and "applied (field research)" research in terms of tools. The basic data collection technique is "questionnaire". The questionnaire form consists of questions to understand "the pressure group qualification" of hometown associations - particularly and mainly, the relations of hometown association-politics – aside from questions those targeted at reaching the socioeconomic data.

The universe of the questionnaire is Cankiri hometown associations and the selected politicians at the national/regional level in Cankiri.

¹¹ Related to these methods please see: Abadan 1959, Akad 1976, Daver 1993, Kapani 2002.

The samples are the members of Ilgaz, Kızılırmak, Kurşunlu, Şabanözü and Yapraklı hometown associations in the Cankiri City Center and Cankiri Provincial Council members, Cankiri Municipal councilors and Members of the Parliament from Cankiri.

In order to determine the sample size of the questionnaire, interviews with the authorities of the five hometown associations stated above in the Cankiri City Center have been conducted. However, the exact number of members cannot be given as they stated that there are differences between the number of official and active members. For that reason, some troubles were encountered with regards to determining the questionnaire sample. The approximate numbers were accepted according to the interviews with the authorities. Within this framework, the total number of members of hometown associations questioned was accepted as 1500 people and the sample size was trying to form accordingly. Finally, the sample size (n) was determined as 75 people on the 95% level of confidence with ± 10 error. The 75 people which is the sample size were obtained by getting 15 people equally from each of the five hometown associations. Moreover, as the number of Cankiri Provincial Council members is 27 and the number of Cankiri Municipal councilors is 25, 15 people from each council was determined as the sample size. 30 people were chosen from the two councils by overseeing the balance among the parties. The survey was also applied to a Member of the Parliament of Cankiri.

Consequently, the questionnaire was applied to each of the determined number of hometown associations' members and politicians of Cankiri selected in national/regional level via "the method of Simple Random Sampling". Within this framework, the questionnaire was distributed face to face to 75 sample members from 5 associations, 15 from each and 31 sample politicians; 15 Provincial Council members, 15 Municipal councilors and one Member of the Parliament. Eventually, the questionnaire which was distributed to 106 people were completed individually and taken for preliminary assessment. The data obtained from the questionnaires was analyzed and the results were presented as number (Freq) and %age in the prepared tables.

3. Research Findings

In this section, the classified questionnaire data are given in tables and assessed within the context of our basic thesis. In the assessment of the data in the tables, the data related to the hometown associations¹² and politicians were not handled individually (ie. Each member of association or councils not respectively) but their average value was getting on in order not to exceed the size of the study.

However, in the assessment stage, when detailed information is needed, the data was handled individually. Moreover, some expressions were expressed in numbers as following: I strongly agree =1, I agree =2, I have no idea=3, I disagree =4 and I strongly disagree =5.

Table 1 - General Information about the Participants

Status	Value	Gender		Age					Education Status				Income Status		
		Male	Female	18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56+	Primary	Secondary	High	University/Higher	High	Middle	Low
The Association Member	Freq	75	0	5	8	24	38	0	3	12	34	26	19	36	20
	%	100	0	6,7	10,7	32	50,7	0	4	16	45,3	34,7	25,3	48	26,7
The Politician	Freq	30	1	0	2	6	13	10	0	6	11	14	19	12	0
	%	96,8	3,2	0	6,5	19,4	41,9	32,3	0	19,4	35,5	45,2	61,3	38,7	0
Total	Freq	105	1	5	10	30	51	10	3	18	45	40	38	48	20
	%	99,1	0,9	4,7	9,4	28,3	48,1	9,4	2,8	17	42,5	37,7	35,8	45,3	18,9

All the members of five associations that the questionnaire applied in the Cankiri City Center were exclusively "male". A male-dominated result is not just particle to Cankiri. Because the places such as associations and coffeehouses in Turkey are generally male places (Kurtoğlu 2004, 197). The distribution of politicians that the questionnaire applied in the Cankiri City Center is 96,8% "male" and 3,2% "female". Provincial Council members are all "male" in these. Moreover the 93,3% of Municipal Councilors (14 people) are "male" and 6,7% of them (1 person) are "female". The Member of Parliament (1 person) that the questionnaire applied is "male". These findings are appropriate results to the general male-dominated political structure of Turkey. The association members are mostly 45 years old and over and high school/university graduates and have middle-income.

¹² In this section, the terms of hometown association/s will be expressed as "association" and the members of Provincial Council, Municipal Councilors and Members of Parliament will be expressed as "politicians".

The politicians are also mostly 45 years old and over and high school/university graduates and have high-income.

Table 2 - General Situation Related to the Immigration

Status	Value	Place of immigration				The duration of settlement in new place				Reason for immigration			
		other city	county	burg	village	1-5	5-10	10-15	15+	finding a job	family problems	education	other
The Association Member	Freq	3	16	19	37	9	13	8	45	43	3	17	12
	%	4,0	21,3	25,3	49,3	12,0	17,3	10,7	60,0	57,3	4,0	22,7	16,0

The association members that settled down to Cankiri City Center with the immigration mostly immigrated in order to find “a job” and “education” from “village/county” “over 15 years” ago. Although association members have been living for more than 15 years in the Cankiri City center and have a middle-class qualification (Table 1), in other words the reasons for emigration largely disappeared today, the awareness of citizenship continues through the associations. This finding is an indication of the transformation of the associations with differing objectives to a structure which fulfills different functions from the “buffer mechanism” that exposes in the transition societies.

Table 3- Situation after Immigration

Status	Value	The first contact person/people in the city					The biggest problem encountered				Who helped to solve the problem				
		realitives	villagers	association	foreign	other	accommodation	unemployment	health	other	My family	neighboring	villagers	association	other
The Association Member	Freq	28	16	18	4	9	24	34	5	12	19	8	6	23	19
	%	37,3	21,3	24	5,3	12	32	45,3	6,7	16	25,3	10,7	8	30,7	25,3

The association members had the first contact with “realitives/villagers” in the role of “pioneer family” and “associations” when they immigrated to Cankiri City Center. These findings are parallel results in the context of “buffer mechanism” that exposes in transition cities after immigration. The most significant problems after immigration are financially based problems such as “unemployment” and “accommodation”.

Another important finding is that the effective actors, in solving the problems which were faced after immigration, are “families (19 people)” and “associations (23 people)”. Both two results are appropriate to the process after immigration and have the character to make the buffer mechanism concept meaningful.

Table 4 - Association Membership Situation

Status	Value	Are you a member of the association			What is the reason for the association membership				
		yes	no	no comment	not to be alone	finding a job	to achieve common interests	unity	other
The Association Member	Freq	75	0	0	11	10	22	31	1
	%	100	0	0	14,7	13,3	29,3	41,3	1,3
The Politician	Freq	19	11	1	0	0	0	24	7
	%	61,3	35,5	3,2	0	0	0	77,4	22,6
Total	Freq	94	11	1	11	10	22	55	8
	%	88,7	10,4	0,9	10,4	9,4	20,8	51,9	7,5

The questionnaire given association members are members of different associations such as city, county and village associations, but all of them are members of a county association. 61, 3% of the politicians are a member of an association. The main reasons to become an association member are “unity” and “to not be alone”. In fact, the reason “to obtain common interest” which emerges later depending on the urbanity process, is also among the reasons to become a member. In our opinion, the existence of this reason is a result of the associations fulfilling different functions (such as politics) in short time with their differing targets and structures and its recognition by the people that immigrate to Cankiri and their tending to the associations. When it is perceived from the perspective of the politicians the reasons for membership, “unity” is first. This situation is, again an appropriate result to the context of “buffer mechanism” which is valid in the initial arrival to the city.

Table 5 - The Relation between Association Membership and Interest

Status	Value	The association represents the common interests of the citizens					The association works actively in solving problems					I reached my interests by being a member of the association				
		1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
The Association Member	Freq	23	30	14	5	3	24	28	16	6	1	15	30	14	15	1
	%	30,7	40	18,7	6,7	4	32,0	37,3	21,3	8,0	1,3	20	40	18,7	20	1,3
The Politician	Freq	6	14	2	7	2	1	17	3	10	0	-	-	-	-	-
	%	19,4	45,2	6,5	22,6	6,5	3,2	54,8	9,7	32,3	0	-	-	-	-	-
Total	Freq	29	44	16	12	5	25	46	19	15	1	-	-	-	-	-
	%	27,4	41,5	15,1	11,3	4,7	23,6	43,4	17,9	14,2	0,9	-	-	-	-	-

The aim "to obtain common interest" was among the reasons for becoming a member of the association (Table 4). This finding was assessed as the associations start to fulfill different functions in a short time besides its role as a buffer function.

The data in Table 5 which introduces the present situation has the ability to verify this finding. Then, the 70,7% of association members gave a "positive" answer to the statement "The association represents the common interest of citizens". In the first membership the reason of "to obtain common interest" with a proportion of 29,3%, and today as the increase of this proportion upto 70,7% is a clear indication of associations' differing themselves functionally. Moreover, the 69,3% of the members gave a "positive" answer to the statement "The association works actively in solving problems" and again 60% of the members gave a "positive" answer to the statement "I reached my interests by being a member to the association". The politicians replied "positively" to the statement "The association represents the common interest of citizens" with a proportion of 64,6% and the statement "The association works actively in solving problems" with a proportion of 58%. Briefly, these results are the findings which show that the associations have reached a level that gather the members around "common interests" and carry out functions to obtain an interest by exceeding their buffer functions. In this respect the associations give the appearance of "interest group".

Table 6a – Association- Politics Relation

Status	Value	The association must be related to the politics directly/indirectly and affect the politics in order to recognize its aims and obtain common interests					The association is active to obtain the interests of the members and affects the politics				
		1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
The Association Member	Freq	13	40	8	10	4	22	29	16	7	1
	%	17,3	53,3	10,7	13,3	5,3	29,3	38,7	21,3	9,3	1,3
The Politician	Freq	1	12	5	11	2	0	18	5	8	0
	%	3,2	38,7	16,1	35,5	6,5	0	58,1	16,1	25,8	0
Total	Freq	14	52	13	21	6	22	47	21	15	1
	%	13,2	49,1	12,3	19,8	5,7	20,8	44,3	19,8	14,2	0,9

Most of the associate members and politicians have the same idea that the associations represent the "common interests" of the citizens (Table 5). As a natural result of this, the members ask their associations to contact with politics and affect politics which is one of the appropriate ways of obtaining interest/unearned income without taking any risks.

When the advantages such as the numerical majority of the masses that they represent and large domains are taken into consideration, it is natural for members to ask their associations to have the possible maximum effect and affect the politics as an actor with common interests in the elections (especially local elections) (Kurtbeyoğlu 2005, 125-131). The association members confirmed this determination by giving a "positive" answer largely with a proportion of 70,6% to the statement "The association must be related to the politics directly/indirectly and affect the politics in order to recognize its aims and obtain common interests".

Thus they expressed their "expectations" largely. On the other hand, the politicians significantly (41,9%) showed that they accept this expression. They also gave a "negative" answer to the same expression at the same proportion (42%). It is possible to assess the reach of this negative idea at the important level as the politicians do not want the associations to affect the politics or tamper them. While the expectations were at this level, the actual situation was higher than the expectations of both members and politicians. Since the 68% of association members and 58,1% of the politicians gave "positive" answers to the statement "The association is active to obtain the interests of the members and affects the politics". In the observations/interviews obtained in this framework, it is understood that some associations are mostly closed but only active and open during election periods. It is possible to assess this determination as supporting the actual situation that the associations are trying to recognize essentially their nuncupative targets (such as politics). Moreover, some members, during the interviews, expressed that they have founded associations to say "we are in the city as well".

On the other hand, when compared, the "positive" answer (58,1%) of the politicians to the expression that presents the actual situation is higher than the "positive" answer (41,9%) of them to the expression that presents the expectation. That means although the intervention of the associations to the politics is not accepted and when compared the positive answer (68%) that presents the actual situation is lower than the members, the politicians actually have accepted the intervention of associations to the politics. This result shows the effect of associations on politics clearly.

Table 6b – Association- Politics Relation

Status	Value	What is the level of relation of the associations with the central/local authorities					The association has an effect on politics		
		Continuous	With all/ if the subject matter is the interests of the members	Just in local / if the subject matter is the interests of the members	Just in local/ continuous	Insufficient	yes	no	I have no idea
The Politician	Freq	3	10	7	2	9	18	8	5
	%	9,7	32,3	22,6	6,5	29	58,1	25,8	16,1

When the question “What is the level of relation of the associations with the central/local authorities?” was asked in order to understand the different aspects of the relation between associations and politics, the 32,3% of the politicians answered as “with all/if the subject matter is the interests of the members”, and 22,6% of them answered as “just in local/if the subject matter is the interests of the members”. An important proportion (29%) thinks that there is a relation between associations and politics but find it “insufficient”. In order to show the further dimension of the relation, the question “Does the association have an effect on politics?” was answered by most of the politicians (58,1%) as “Yes, it does”. The “positive” answer of the politicians in the same proportion (58,1%) to the expression “The association is active in obtaining the interest of the members and affects the politics” in Table 6a supports this result in the context of cross-examination.

Table 6c – Association- Politics Relation

Status	Value	Does the association have a contribution in your selection			What kind of contribution is that	
		yes	no	I have no idea	They declared that they will vote for me	Voluntary contribution to the campaign
The Politician	Freq	16	8	7	10	6
	%	51,6	25,8	22,6	62,5	37,5

Again the question “Does the association have a contribution in your selection?” asked to the politicians in the context of association-politics relation was answered as follows: 51,6% “yes”, 25,8% “no” and 22,6 “no comment”. Within this framework, when it is thought that 61,3% of the politicians- especially local politicians- are members of an association, it is a low probability that they do not cooperate and ask for support from at least his own association and directing the members in the nomination phase. Thus, especially the ones who replied as “no comment” did not give clear answers for the reasons such as “not to fall into a difficult situation”.

In our opinion, there are some politicians who had the support of associations on their selection among the ones replied as “no comment”. On the other hand, the members (51,6%) who thought that the associations contributed to their selection and said “yes” answered the question “what kind of contribution is that?” as “promise to vote” (62,5%) and “voluntary contribution to the campaign” (37,5%) which verifies this assessment. This finding is a situation which should not be hidden but should be compensated naturally in terms of democratic politics.

Table 7 - Association- Nominations in the Elections

Status	Value	The association should be active on the nomination of a citizen in the elections					The association has a role on the nomination of the citizen in the elections (particularly in local elections)				
		1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
The Association Member	Freq	11	26	13	19	7	13	19	21	15	7
	%	14,7	34,7	17,3	25,3	9,3	17,3	25,3	28	20	9,3
The Politician	Freq	3	6	4	15	3	1	12	2	13	3
	%	9,7	19,4	12,9	48,4	9,7	3,2	38,7	6,5	41,9	9,7
Total	Freq	14	32	17	34	10	14	31	23	28	10
	%	13,2	30,2	16	32,1	9,4	13,2	29,2	21,7	26,4	9,4

The association members want their associations to contact the politics and to be effective in politics (Table 6a). As a result of this, it seems natural for the members to nominate their citizen and be active on this issue in the elections (especially in local elections) (Çiçek 2009, 148, 149). However, there is no clarity in this issue (Table 7). Because, the expression “the association should be active on the nomination of a citizen in the elections “to expose the “expectation” of the members on this issue was replied “positive” in the proportion of 49,4%. In fact, the emergence of “expectation” in this proportion seems to be low for the cities like Cankiri where citizenship is effective in local politics. On the contrary, the “negative” reply to the same question in the proportion of 34,6% is remarkable. Thus, it will be useful to handle this finding with the answers in the previous tables (particularly Table 6a, 6b, 6c). This situation can be considered as “yes” to contact with politics and be effective but should be cautious on the nomination. Since, it is possible to get a message which indicates the encouragement of the micro nationalism but staying away from such kind of risky activities which will be harmful for social unity.

Again, the question "the association has a role on the nomination of the citizen in the elections (particularly in local elections)" was directed to the members in order to understand the "actual situation" and the answers were as follows: 42,6% "positive", 29,3% "negative", 28% "I have no idea". The emergence of the results related to the actual situation as (49,4%) low strengthens the assessment as it should be cautious in nomination and should avoid such kind of risky ventures that will be harmful for social unity. Furthermore, as the proportion of the members who said "I have no idea" is high, it indicates that some members have questions in their minds and are hesitant about the nomination of the citizen. Or from a different angle, in fact it puts forth the understanding of whatever happens, let the citizen be the nominee is false.

Both expectation and actual situation emerge low related to the nominating among the citizens against the "positive" idea of 68% that the associations are active in politics for the interests of the citizen and affect politics in Table 6a justifies these assessments.

On the other hand, while the 29,1% of the politicians accept the effectiveness of associations in their nomination in the elections which expresses the "expectation", the 58,1% "negative" is another remarkable finding. The statement of "the association has a role on the nomination of the citizen in the elections (particularly in local elections) in order to understand the "actual situation" was replied as 41,9% "positive", 51,6% "negative". It is possible to assess these results in two ways. The first one is as it was expressed in the previous assessment, "yes" to contact with politics and be effective but should be cautious on nomination and avoid the activities which will be harmful for social unity. The second one can be assessed as the politicians do not accept the intervention of the associations in the nomination process. However, although all negative approaches and some reservations, significant association members and politicians have declared that the associations, as a political actor, are not content with affecting the politics, and they are effective in the nomination process.

Table 8 - The Pressure Group Character of Hometown Association

Status	Value	I have information about the groups of interest or pressure					The association cooperates with the parties in the interest of the members and directs the members					The association pressures on politicians and officials				
		1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
The Association Member	Freq	32	37	0	0	6	8	33	9	19	6	12	28	10	18	7
	%	42,7	49,3	0	0	8	10,7	44	12,0	25,3	8	16,0	37,3	13,3	24	9,3
The Politician	Freq	12	17	2	0	0	3	10	3	13	2	2	11	2	15	1
	%	38,7	54,8	6,5	0	0	9,7	32,3	9,7	41,9	6,5	6,5	35,5	6,5	48,4	3,2
Total	Freq	44	54	2	0	6	11	43	12	32	8	14	39	12	33	8
	%	41,5	50,9	1,9	0	5,7	10,4	40,6	11,3	30,2	7,5	13,2	36,8	11,3	31,1	7,5

The 92 % of association members and 93,5 % of the politicians expressed that they have information about interest and pressure groups. This determination is quite important for the reliability of the answers to the question which queries the relation between association and pressure group. The first statement that was addressed to understand the pressure group character of associations was "The association cooperates with the parties in the interest of the citizen and directs the members" and 54,7% of the association members gave a "positive" and 33,3% of them gave a "negative" feedback. 42% of the politicians gave a "positive" and 48,4% of them gave a "negative" feedback to the same statement.

Again the statement that was directed in the context of pressure group was "The association oppresses to the politicians/authorities in the interests of the members" and the feedback of the members was 53,3 % "positive" and 51,6% "negative. The feedback from the politicians was 42% "positive" and 51,6% "negative".

These results expose a "negative" appearance as strong as a "positive" approach in the context of a pressure group. Particularly, it is remarkable that the "negative (48,4%-51,6%)" responses are higher or significant against the "positive (42%-42%)" opinions of the politicians that they replied to both statements. This situation can be assessed in different ways. The first one is that the notions such as "cooperation, direction and pressure" mentioned in the questions are perceived negatively especially by the politicians, thus a "negative" approach is adopted.

The second one is that they gave a “negative” response, as they hesitate from being expose of the secret “association-politician relation” which arises from the nature of the pressure group and/or in order to give a message of “we are not exposed to a pressure” or “we recognize our responsibilities, no one can pressure us”. Otherwise, it is impossible for a structure which became a political power to not cooperate with the politicians and to not affect their decisions and to not direct the members even though it is limited with the elections (İnat 2006, 131). In short, the responses of association members as “mostly” and of politicians “significantly” “positive” to the questions to understand the “pressure group” character of the associations point the “pressure group” character of the associations (Kurtbeyoğlu 2005, 144).

Table 9 - The Association Uses the Methods of Pressure Groups and Reaches its Target

Status	Value	The associations try to obtain interest with the methods such as political pressure, lobbying, using the media and raising public awareness					The pressure and activities pan out and the association obtains the common interests				
		1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
The Association Member	Freq	5	36	11	17	6	10	29	12	18	6
	%	6,7	48	14,7	22,7	8	13,3	38,7	16	24	8
The Politician	Freq	0	14	2	13	2	0	13	1	15	2
	%	0	45,2	6,5	41,9	6,5	0	41,9	3,2	48,4	6,5
Total	Freq	5	50	13	30	8	10	41	13	33	8
	%	4,7	47,2	12,3	28,3	7,5	9,4	38,7	12,3	31,1	7,5

It is concluded that most of the members have the tendency to see the associations as “pressure group”(Table 8). Within this context, there are some statement in Table 9 to determine whether the associations use the methods of pressure groups or not. Among these, the members responded as “I strongly agree/I agree” (54,7%) and “negative” (30,7%) to the question “The Associations try to obtain interest with methods such as political pressure, lobbying, using the media and raising public awareness”. Despite the positive approach of the majority, the negative respondents have a significant proportion as well. While assessing this critical result, the detailed data will be useful. Here, when we look at the responses of each association, there seem to be different results among the associations. This statement was responded to by the Association of Kızılırmak as 40% “agree” and 53,3% “disagree”. Again, the association of Şabanözü responded 40% “positive” whereas 33,3% “negative”. Even though the other associations have “positive” opinions, these “negative” responses affected the total score and the “positive” opinion was relatively low.

In short, the general approach to the mentioned statement is “positive”, but the “negative” opinion due to the differences among the associations should be taken into account. The basic reason for this difference among the associations is that the members assess their associations according to their performances and respond accordingly. In our opinion, the members of the association with higher performance responded positively. It is possible to say that the negative respondents are the members of low performance associations. On the other hand, in the assessment of Table 8 related to the politicians, it was mentioned that there is a tendency to see the associations as “pressure group” significantly. Even though the “negative” responses (48,4%) of the politicians to the statement about whether the associations use the methods of pressure groups, the significant “positive” opinion (45,2%) verifies this finding.

On the other hand, when it is looked at the statement of “The pressure and activities pan out and the association obtains the common interests” to determine whether the previous statement was understood or not, it is possible to reach parallel results. The 52% of the members agree with this statement. The proportion of disagree is 32%. The only difference according to the previous statement is that the half (1,3%) of the proportion of 2,7% who agreed with the previous statement was included with the respondents of “I have no idea” and the other half was included to the respondents of “ I disagree”. When we look at the same statement from the aspect of politicians, 41,9% positive response is seen. The proportion of disagreements is 54,9%.

Consequently, the findings related to the politicians in Table 9 overlap –with a little difference- with the result of the expression “The association cooperates with the parties in the interest of the citizen and directs the members” in Table 8. For that reason the assessments related to the opinions of the politicians as “the pressures of the associations do not result” are valid here as well.

When the results of both expressions are handled together; the members of the association in general have the tendency to see their associations as “pressure group” which represent the interests of the members by exceeding their buffer functions, contact with the politics and pressure on it and use of vehicles such as media and public awareness to pressure and reach their objectives (Table 5, 6 (a, b, c) and 7).

Despite the negative opinions of the politicians, they accept that the associations have significant relations to the politics and reach their objectives and interests by providing support by using pressure methods.

Conclusion and Assessment

The immigration phenomenon have brought many changes in the social, financial, cultural and even political fields in Turkey. The most affected by this change are the people who emigrated from rural to urban areas. The immigrants discovered "buffer mechanisms" as a "shelter" in order to solve the problems faced in this process. Particularly, citizenship and "hometown associations" which are the formal structure of citizenship are the prominent structures among these mechanisms. The hometown associations gathered the citizens and recognized very important buffer functions for them. Asides from this, they have transformed a structure which fulfills different functions in a short time by improving themselves continually with the effect of urbanization process. In particular, they have had an appearance of "interest group" which represents the common interests of the citizens and fulfills many activities in order to obtain these interests. Moreover, they have had a position of potential "pressure group" which tries to affect the political/bureaucratic field in order to obtain the common interests of the citizens.

An empirical study was conducted in the Cankiri City Center in order to understand and demonstrate both the point that hometown associations have reached and the characteristic of a "pressure group".

Within the framework of this study, a questionnaire was distributed to the members of five county hometown associations in Cankiri City Center, Provincial Council members, Municipal Councilors and members of parliament. The results of the questionnaire were tabulated and assessed within the scope of our basic thesis. It is tried to reach some general results related to the characteristic of pressure group of hometown associations based on the basic findings obtained from Cankiri sample:

- 1) The immigrants had the first contact with "realitives/villagers" in the role of "pioneer family" and later "hometown associations" when they immigrated to the Cankiri City Center. This finding consists of results appropriate to the concept of buffer mechanism. It is expressed in the questionnaire findings that the most significant problems after immigration are "unemployment" and "accommodation".

This situation matches the generally faced problems after immigration as well. Another remarkable finding here is that the hometown associations are effective in solving the problems which are faced after immigration. This result has the characteristic that will make the phenomenon of buffer mechanism meaningful.

2) The association members had an immigration process which depends on 15 years or more and mainly immigrated from villages for economic purposes, such as finding a job. This process unveiled the citizenship relations in the urban settings and resulted with the hometown associations. This finding is also appropriate to the general immigration picture of Turkey. Today, this picture has started to change in general, so the reasons for emigration largely disappeared, thus the problems related to immigration were mainly solved. Despite this, awareness of citizenship has continued up to now. This situation is an indication of the transformation of the hometown associations to a different structure that they not only recognize their buffer function but also fulfill different functions (such as politics) by exceeding it. The politicians, mostly members of a hometown association, verify this assessment. Moreover, within this context, the members of hometown associations declared that they had contributed to the selection of the politicians by “participating voluntarily in the campaign” and/or by “ensuring votes”.

3) The basic reason for the foundation of the hometown associations is determined as to function as a passive buffer against the problems faced after immigration. The immigrants became members of the hometown associations mainly for this objective. However, when the findings related to this topic were reviewed, the justification “to obtain common interest” which expresses the activity, is among the reasons to become a member as well.

This situation is a clear expression that the hometown associations have the potency to represent the interests of members from the moment they are established. Today, the members and the politicians have the idea that the associations generally represent the interests of the members and work actively towards the solution to the problems. And also, within this context, a significant portion of members have declared that they reached their interests by being a member of an association.

4) The politics is known as the risk-free process for obtaining an interest/unearned income.

As a natural result of it, as the members of the hometown associations think that associations represent their interests, they mainly positively respond to the associations' having active relations with politics. Moreover, the associations are expected to be active in the nomination process in the elections. On the other hand, the politicians think that the associations mostly represent the common interests of the citizens. Nevertheless, associations' having relations with politics in order to obtain interests is assessed positively. In the actual situation parallel to the expectations, it is understood that the associations have relations with politics and they try to influence the parties, especially in the elections. The members gave responses to the question "What is the level of relation of the associations with the central/local authorities?" such as "with all the politicians/ if the subject matter is the interests of the members", "just in local / if the subject matter is the interests of the members" and there is a relation but it is "insufficient" which verify this finding. In order to demonstrate this relation, it is an important finding that the politicians mostly expressed that the associations were effective in their selection.

Despite these findings, the ratio of people who disagree with the statement that the associations are active in the nomination process is significant. It is possible to assess the response of this situation as "yes" to contact with politics but should be cautious on the nomination but avoiding risky activities which will be harmful for social unity. In short, most of the members and politicians and/or an important part of them think that the hometown associations gather the members around their interests, conduct activities for obtaining interests thus influence the politics via having relations with them by exceeding their buffer functions.

5) The association members and politicians expressed that they mostly have information about the interest and pressure groups.

This determination is important for the reliability of the responses of the members to the statement regarding the relation between association and pressure group. Within this context, the members of associations declared that the associations pressured the authorities to obtain and protect their interests, yet cooperated with the parties for the interests of the members including the nomination and directed the members about this issue. On the other hand, politicians responses confirmed that the hometown associations pressured the authorities. However, a different result was obtained in the statement "The association cooperates with specific parties/nominees and directs the members.

When both results were assessed together, as the statement that the hometown associations pressured the authorities, this statement received positive response by the politicians. However, we think that as the conflict of interest between association and politics and directing the members within this framework are the privacy of the politicians and they are recognized secretly and in order not to be exposed, the politicians responded negatively. Otherwise, the positive responses given to the previous expression will be very meaningless. In short, when the responses related to the relation of hometown associations with politics and the character of pressure group are assessed together; both the association members and politicians have generally a “positive” approach.

6) With absolute majority, the members responded to the question whether the associations used the tools and methods of pressure groups as “yes” which confirms the characteristic of pressure group of hometown associations. The members again responded to the statement of “The pressure and activities (such as lobbying) pan out and the hometown association obtains the common interests” as “positive” with the absolute majority again. The politicians who think that the hometown associations have the pressure group characteristic responded (60%) that the hometown associations used the methods of pressure groups. Although the ratio of disagreeing respondents (44,4%) to the statement of “The activities of the hometown association such as pressure, lobbying and public awareness gives political results and, it obtains its interests” is significant, the ratio of agreeing respondents is 55,5%. In short, the politicians accept that the associations generally pressure them and name them as a pressure group. However, they try to express that their pressures are ineffective.

As a result, a questionnaire was applied to the members of 5 county associations in the Cankiri City Center and politicians from Cankiri in at the national/local level to reveal the relation of hometown associations with politics and the characteristic of pressure groups.

The responses given to the questionnaire support our basic thesis that the hometown associations transform to a “pressure group”. The questionnaires have meaningful results which show that the hometown associations evolved into a “pressure group” as a political actor from buffer mechanism.

These results are an important indicator of the perception of the associations as an important actor of today's democratic life. In short, through the example of Cankiri county associations, it is seen that the hometown associations generally represent the common interests of the members, evolve in a "pressure group" by contacting with the politics and politicians in order to obtain these interests and they reach their aims by using pressure methods such as lobbying, media and public awareness.

References

- Abadan, N. (1959), "Devlet İdaresinde Menfaat Gruplarının Rolü", AÜSBF Dergisi, V.14, no.1, pp.233-248.
- Akad, M. (1976), Baskı Gruplarının Siyasal İktidarla İlişkileri, İstanbul: Fakülteler Matbaası.
- Aksoy, N. (2008), Sivil Toplum ve Baskı Grupları, İstanbul: Kaknüs Yayınları.
- Aktan, C. C. (1993), "Politikada Rant Kollama", Amme İdaresi Dergisi, V.26, no.4, pp.119-136.
- Aktan, C. C., Ay H., & Çoban H. (2007), "Siyasal Karar Alma Sürecinde Çıkar Grupları", In: C. C. Aktan & Dileyici D. ed. Modern Politik İktisat: Kamu Tercih, Ankara: Seçkin Yay.
- Ay, H. (1998), Vergi Politikaları ve Baskı Grupları, İzmir: İrfan Kültür ve Eğitim Merkezi.
- Ay, H. (2003), "Baskı gruplarının Gücü ve Siyasal Karar Alma Sürecine Etkileri", In: Aktan, C. C. ed. Yasal Soygun ve Rant Kollama, İstanbul: Zaman Kitap.
- Güneş-Ayata, A. (1991), "Gecekonduarda Kimlik Sorunu, Dayanışma Örüntüleri ve Hemşehrilik", Toplum ve Bilim, no. 51/52, pp.89-101.
- Bal, H. (1997), Kentsel Toplumda Anomi, Yabancılaşma Olgusu, Kente Göç Edenlerin Alternatif Çözümü: Hemşehri Birlikleri, Ankara: Toplum ve Göç, Sosyoloji Derneği Yayınları
- Bayramoğlu, N. N. (1985), Amerika Birleşik Devletlerinde Lobi Faaliyetleri, Ankara: Dış Politika Enstitüsü.
- Çiçek, M. (2009), Hemşehri Derneklerinin Sosyo-Kültürel Uyuma Etkisi, Adana: Çukurova Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü.
- Daver, B. (1993), Siyaset Bilimine Giriş, Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi.
- Dursun, D. (2012), Siyaset Bilimi, İstanbul: Beta Yayınları.
- Emini, F. T. (2013), "Sivil Toplum Kuruluşlarının Politika Belirleme Sürecindeki Rolü: TÜSİAD Örneği", DPU Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi, no.36, pp.43-56.
- Erkut, G. (1991), "Kentleşme Sürecinin Sosyolojik Boyutu" In: Suher H. ed., Kentleşme ve Kentleşme Politikaları, İstanbul: Türkiye Sosyal Ekonomik Siyasal Araştırmalar Vakfı.
- Es, M. & Ateş H. (2004), "Kent Yönetimi, Kentleşme ve Göç: Sorunlar ve Çözüm Önerileri", Sosyal Siyaset Konferansları Dergisi, no. 48, pp.205-248.
- Genç, Y. (2008), "Kentın Sosyal Değişiminde Yöresel Kültürlerin (Hemşehri Dernekleri) Rolü", Yöresel Kültürler Sempozyumu, İzmit 2008.
- Gökçe, B. (1994), "Gecekonduarda Aileler Arası Geleneksel Dayanışmanın Çağdaş Organizasyonlara Dönüşümü", Dünyada ve Türkiye'de Güncel Sosyolojik Gelişmeler, Ankara: Sosyoloji Derneği Yayınları.
- Gürbüz, Y. (1981), Anayasalar, İstanbul: Filiz Kitabevi.

- Hedström, P. & Stern C. (2008), "Rational choice and sociology", In: Durlauf, S. N. & Blume, L. E. eds. *The New Palgrave Dictionary of Economics*, 2nd ed. [Online] Available: "<http://www.dictionaryofeconomics.com>" [Accessed 20 August 2013].
- Heywood, A. (2002), "The Group in Political Science", In: Roland, A. Y. ed. *Approaches to the Study of Politics*, Evanston, pp.38-51.
- Hurma, H. (2003), *Türkiye’de Kentleşme ve Göç Olgusunun Siyasal Katılıma Etkisi*, Muğla: Muğla Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü.
- İnat, Ş. (2006), *Sivil Toplum Kuruluşu Olarak Hemşehri Dernekleri ve Kentleşme Süreci (Antalya Örneği)*, Isparta: Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü.
- Kapani, M. (2002), *Politika Bilimine Giriş*, Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi.
- Keleş, R. (1998), *Yerinden Yönetim ve Siyaset*, İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi.
- Key, V. O. (1964), *Politics, Parties & Pressure groups*, 5th ed. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company
- Kıray, M. (1964), *Ereğli: Ağır Sanayiden önce Bir sahil Kasabası*, Ankara: DPT Yayınları.
- Kıray, M. (1998), *Kentleşme Yazıları*, İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları.
- Kubalı, H. N (1971), *Anayasa Hukuku Dersleri*, İstanbul: Kurtuluş Matbaası.
- Kurtbeyoğlu, T. (2005), *Kırıkkale Merkezinde Faaliyet Gösteren Hemşehri Dernekleri ve Bu Derneklerin İlin Sosyal, Kültürel ve Siyasal Yapısına Etkileri*, Kırıkkale: Kırıkkale Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü.
- Kurtoğlu, A. (1994), "İstanbul’un Nüfus Kompozisyonu ve Hemşehrilik Dernekleri: 1944–1989", *Dünyada ve Türkiye’de Güncel Sosyolojik Gelişmeler*, Ankara: Sosyoloji Derneği.
- Kurtoğlu, A.(2004), *Hemşehrilik ve Şehirde Siyaset: Keçiören Örneği*, İstanbul:İletişim Yay.
- Kurtoğlu, A.(2005), "Mekansal Bir Olgu Olarak Hemşehrilik ve Bir Hemşehrilik Mekanı Olarak Dernekler", *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, no.2, [Online] Available: "<http://www.ejts.org>" [Accessed 20 August 2013].
- Kurtoğlu, A. (2012), "Siyasal Örgütler ve Sivil Toplum Örgütleri Bağlamında Hemşehrilik ve Kollamacılık", *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi*, V.67, no.1, pp.141-169.
- Kuzu, B. (1985), "Kamu Yönetiminde Baskı Gruplarının Rolü ve Memleketimizdeki Duruma Kısa Bir Bakış", *İstanbul Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Mecmuası*, V.51, no.1-4, pp.65-136.
- Lasswell, A. O. & Kaplan, A.(1950), *Power and Society*, New Haven:Yale University Press.
- Lerner, D. (1964), *The Passing of Traditional Society*, London: The Free Press.
- Lohmann, S. (2008), "Rational Choice and Political Science", In: Durlauf, S. N. & Blume, L. E. eds. *The New Palgrave Dictionary of Economics*, 2nd Ed. [Online] Available: "<http://www.dictionaryofeconomics.com>" [Accessed 15 August 2013].
- Mackenzie, W. J. (1955), "Pressure Groups in British Government", *The British Journal of Sociology*, V.6, no.2, pp. 133-148. [Online] Available: <http://www.jstor.org> [Accessed 20 August 2013].
- Meynaud, J. (1975), *Politikada Baskı Grupları*, Trans. Tiryakioğlu S., İstanbul: Varlık Yay.
- Narlı, N. (2002), "İlksel Bağlar, Hemşehrilik, Gettolaşma", 6 June. [Online] Available: www.bianet.org [Accessed 13 April 2013].
- Narlı, N. and Y Narı (1999), "Türkiye’de Hemşehri Derneklerinin Siyasete Katılması ve Demokratikleşme Sürecine etkileri: Bursa Örneği", *Yeni Türkiye*, no.29, pp.176-184.

- Oberschall, A. (1978), "Theories of Social Conflict", *Annual Review of Sociology*, V.4, no.1, pp.291-315. [Online] Available:<http://www.annualreviews.org> [Accessed 20 August 2013].
- Özdemir, G. (2011), "Katılımcı Demokrasinin Öznesi STK'ların Sahip Olması Gereken Nitelikler", 9. Uluslararası Türk Dünyası Sosyal Bilimler Kongresi, Bakü 2011.
- Özdemir, G. (2013), "Tampon Mekanizmadan Siyasal Aktörlüğe Hemşehri Dernekleri", *Turkish Studies- International Periodical For The Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic*, V.8, no.6, pp. 943-959.
- Richerson, P. J. & Boyd R. (2008), "Migration:An engine for social change", *Nature* [Internet], 18/25 December, V.456, p.877-877. [Online] Available: "<http://www.nature.com>" [Accessed 10 July 2013].
- Salisbury, R.H. (1975), "Interest Groups", In: *Nongovernmental Politics Handbook of Political Science*, Greenstein F. & Polsby N.W. eds. Vol.4, Addison-Wesley Pres Inc. Reading. Mass.
- Schüler, H. (1999), *Türkiye'de Sosyal Demokrasi Particilik, Hemşehrilik, Alevilik*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Selek, C. and Köseoğlu Ö. (2008), *Hemşehri Derneklerinin Adapazarı'nın Sosyo-ekonomik Yapısına Etkiler*, Sakarya: Bilgi Kültür Merkezi.
- Sezal, İ. (1992), *Kentleşme*, İstanbul: Ağaç Yayınları.
- Sjoberg, G. (1965), *The Preindustrial City: Past and Present*, New York: The Free Press.
- Tekşen, A (2003), *Kentleşme Sürecinde Bir Tampon Mekanizma Olarak Hemşehrilik Ankara'daki Malatyalılar Örneği*, Ankara: DPT Yayınları.
- "Pressure group" titled concept, 6th ed. [Online] Available: "<http://www.encyclopedia.com>" [Accessed 17 August 2013].
- Toksöz, F. (1983), "Dernekler", *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul: İletişimYayınları.
- Toumarkine, A. and Hersant J. (2005), "Hometown Organisations in Turkey: an overview", *European Journal of Turkish Studies* no.2. [Online] Available: "<http://ejts.revues.org>" [Accessed 20 August 2013].
- Tönnies, F. (1944), *Cemaat ve Cemiyet Nazariyesi*, Trans. Fındıkoğlu Z.F., 1942- 1943 Üniversite Konferansları, İstanbul.
- Tönnies, F. (2002), *Community and Society: Gemeinschaft und Geselleschaft*, Trans. & Ed. By Loomis, C. P., New York: Dover Pulications, Inc.
- Truman, D. B. (1971), *The Governmental Process, Political Interests and Public Opinion*, 2nd ed., Berkley: University of California (Reprinted 1993).
- Türkdoğan, O. (1996), *Değişme, Kültür ve Sosyal Çözülme*, İstanbul: Birleşik Yayıncılık.
- Wilson, G. K.(1981), *Interest Groups in the United States*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Woerndl, B. (1992), "Interest Groups", In: Glatzer, W. et al., *Recent Social Trends in West Germany: 1960-1990*, pp.333-339, Frankfurt: Campus.
- Yılmaz, N. (2008), *Hemşehri Kimliği*, İstanbul: Beta Yayınları.
- Yoho, J. (1998), "Evolution of a Better Defitinition of Interest Group and Its Synonyms", *The Social Science Journal*, V.35, no:2, pp. 231-243.