



REPUBLIC OF TURKEY

YEDİTEPE UNIVERSITY

INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND GOVERNANCE

**“LOCAL ADMINISTRATION POLICIES” ON THE BASIS OF TURKEY’S
LOCAL ELECTIONS (2014): A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF RULING –
MAIN OPPOSITION PARTIES**

Postgraduate Thesis

By

Yılmaz Başar ÖZER

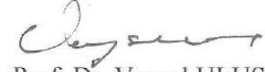
Thesis Supervisor

Assistant Professor Doctor M. Deniz TANSİ

Istanbul, 2016

APPROVAL DECLARATION

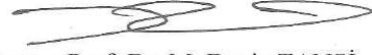
Approval of the Institute of Social Sciences


Prof. Dr. Veysel ULUSOY
Head of Social Sciences

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Local Administrations and Governance.


Prof. Dr. Meral ÖZTOPRAK
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Social Sciences.


Assoc. Prof. Dr. M. Deniz TANSI
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Assoc. Prof. Dr. M. Deniz TANSI



Prof. Dr. Meral S. ÖZTOPRAK



Prof. Dr. Oktay UYGUN

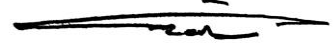


PLAGIARISM DECLARATION

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last name : YILMAZ BAŞAR ÖZER

Signature :



ABSTRACT

In countries such as Turkey, where political parties and electoral systems are observed to impact the national political programs, negative or positive influence on local politics is purported to be the probable consequence. It has been observed that localization, which is coming more into the forefront especially in line with the recent developments, increments the importance of local administration structures, where concepts such as accountability and improvement of service quality have become the homesite for democracy.

As for the social requests emanating from daily needs, while result-oriented services carried out via the local governments have turned out to be more valuable because of the principle of affinity to the citizen, the existence of a ruling party and an opposition party that will inspect this ruling party, which in turn, will accelerate public administration through structural reforms is deemed among significant factors in determining local policies.

Under these circumstances, the objective of this study is to determine the contributing causes in implementing or targeting to implement local administration policies from the ruling and main opposition parties' perspectives within the scope of the 2014 Local Elections, in addition to the historical development of the local administrations.

Key Words: Local Administrations, Public Policy, Political Parties, Political Party Programme, Election Statement, Local Election 2014, Ruling Power, Main Opposition, Electoral Systems, Turkish Public Administration, European Union

ÖZET

Türkiye gibi siyasi partiler ve seçim sistemlerinin ulusal siyaset programlarını etkilediği görülen ülkelerde, yerel siyasetin olumlu veya olumsuz etkilenmesi muhtemel bir sonuç olarak ortaya konulmaktadır. Özellikle son yıllarda yaşanan gelişmeler doğrultusunda ön plana çıkan yerelleşme, hesap verebilirlik ve hizmet kalitesinin iyileştirilmesi gibi kavramların, demokrasinin inşa alanı haline gelen ve yerel siyaset anlayışının canlandığı yerel yönetim yapılarının sahip olduğu öneme ivme kazandırdığı görülmektedir.

Günlük ihtiyaçlar kapsamında ortaya çıkan toplumsal talepler konusunda, yerel yönetimler aracılığıyla yürütülen sonuç odaklı hizmetler vatandaşla yakınlık ilkesi sebebiyle daha değerli hale gelirken, yapısal reformları oluşturarak kamu yönetimine ivme kazandıracak olan iktidar gücü ve bu gücü denetleyecek olan muhalefet gücünün varlığı yerel siyaset politikalarının belirlenmesi konusunda önem arz eden unsurlar arasında ele alınmaktadır.

Ortaya konulan durumlar altında bu çalışmanın amacı, yerel yönetimlerin tarihsel gelişmelerinin yanı sıra 2014 Yerel Seçimleri kapsamında iktidar ve ana muhalefet partisi perspektifinde yerel yönetim politikalarının hangi unsurlar altında uygulandığı veya uygulanmasının hedef haline getirildiğinin incelenmesidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yerel Yönetimler, Kamu Politikası, Siyasi Partiler, Siyasi Parti Programı, Seçim Beyannamesi, Yerel Seçim 2014, İktidar, Ana Muhalefet, Seçim Sistemleri, Türk Kamu Yönetimi, Avrupa Birliği

FOREWORD

Political parties, which are essential compounds of parliamentary government structures under unitary state structure in the light of democratic principles, and ruling and opposition parties' mentalities on public administration within the scope of their party programs, as well as local administration policies in 2014 Local Election Declarations are scrutinized in this study, titled as "Comparison of the Ruling – Main Opposition Parties within the scope of 'Local Government Policies' in the light of 2014 Local Elections in Turkey".

In addition to the public support, party programs and election statements bear great importance in the democratic parliamentary system -where the legitimate ruling power is designated as a result of elections. The relevant party programs and election statements announce the promised objectives to be fulfilled when in power, which, in turn, reveals the significance of the ruling power in line with the past and current developments. Further, these programs and statements also purport the heed of the opposition's power in terms of inspecting and legitimately monitoring the ruling power. Within the scope of this study, the approaches of the current ruling party and main opposition, which emanated as a result of the 2011 General Elections in Turkey, which is undergoing the European Union candidacy process, will thoroughly be evaluated, comparing how their perspectives changed in the 2014 Local Election Statements.

I acknowledge with gratitude, my debt of thanks to my esteemed advisor, Assistant Professor Dr. M. Deniz TANSİ, who provided me continuous guidance during the preparation phase of this thesis without refraining his assistance, as well as support; Professor Dr. Meral S. ÖZTOPRAK, our head of department, who always inspired me to have an academic career; Assistant Professor Dr. Hande Tek TURAN, an academic in the Department of Public Administration; Assistant Professor Dr. Barış Gençer BAYKAN; and my dear family, who have always supported me in life.

CONTENTS

APPROVAL DECLARATION	ii
PLAGIARISM DECLARATION.....	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
ÖZET	v
FOREWORD	vi
CONTENTS.....	vii
LIST OF TABLES	x
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
ABBREVIATIONS	xii
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. LITERATURE.....	5
3. METHODOLOGY	16
4. CHAPTER 1	19
4.1. Historical Development Process of Local Administrations in Turkey	19
4.1.1. Local Administrations in Turkey before 1980	20
4.1.1.1. Local Administrations in the Ottoman Period	21
4.1.1.2. Local Administrations in the Tanzimat Era.....	24
4.1.1.3. Local Administrations in the Republic Period	26
4.1.1.4. Local Administrations between the Years 1960 - 1980	28
4.2. Local Administrations after the Year 1980.....	30
4.3. Local Administrations and Turkey in the Period of European Union Candidacy	37
4.3.1 European Charter of Local Self-Government and Turkey	41
4.3.2. Model Implementations in Turkey within the scope of the EU Candidacy Process: Regional Development Agencies and City Councils	45
4.3.2.1. Regional Development Agencies.....	45
4.3.2.2. City Councils	49
5. CHAPTER 2.....	53
5.1. Comprehension of Political Parties in Historical Process and Political Parties in Turkey	53
5.1.1. Definition of Political Parties and Properties of the Turkish Political Parties...58	
5.1.1.1. Properties of the Turkish Political Parties	60

5.2. Ruling Power in the Light of Political Parties –The Understanding of Opposition	62
5.3. Electoral Systems and Turkish Implementations.....	67
5.3.1. Implementation of Electoral Systems in Turkey	68
5.4. An Overview of Ruling and Opposition Parties in Turkey after the Year 2000...	72
6. CHAPTER 3.....	78
6.1. The Local Administration Policies of the Ruling and Main Opposition Parties Within the Scope of the 2014 Local Election Statements.....	78
6.1.1. The Concept of Local Administration Policy	78
6.2. The Ruling Party's (Justice and Development Party) Understanding of Local Administration	81
6.2.1. The Public Administration Understanding of the Ruling Party (AK Party) within the scope of its Party Program	82
6.2.1.1. Central Administration.....	82
6.2.1.2. Local Administrations.....	83
6.2.1.3. Public Personnel Administration	85
6.2.1.4. Security	86
6.2.1.5. Fight against Corruption	86
6.2.1.6. The Understanding of Social Policies.....	87
6.2.1.7. Education and Health.....	87
6.2.1.8. Culture and Arts – Science and Technology.....	89
6.2.1.9. Urbanization, Housing, Traffic, and Environment	90
6.2.1.10. Family and Social Serves.....	91
6.2.1.11. Youth, Sports, and Women.....	92
6.2.1.12. Working Life.....	93
6.2.1.13. Social Security	94
6.2.2. Reconstruction in Administration and the 59 th Government Program (AK Party)	94
6.2.3. 2014 The Ruling Party within the scope of the 2014 Local Elections Statement: AK Party	98
6.2.3.1. Participatory Municipalism.....	100
6.2.3.2. Cultural Municipalism	104
6.2.3.3. Social Municipalism	107
6.2.3.4. Environment-Friendly Municipalism.....	110

6.2.3.5. Service Municipalism	113
6.3. The Local Administrative Mentality of the Main Opposition Party (Republican People's Party – CHP)	123
6.3.1. The Understanding of Public Administration within the Scope of the Main Opposition Party's (CHP) Party Program.....	124
6.3.1.1. The Modern Public Administration Reform	125
6.3.1.2. Transparent, Fair, and Rational Public Procurement Reform.....	126
6.3.1.3. Local Administration, Decentralization.....	127
6.3.1.4. Local Administration Reform	128
6.3.1.5. Metropolitan Governments	132
6.3.1.6. Public Personnel Reform	134
6.3.1.7. Urban Development.....	135
6.3.2. 2014 The Main Opposition Party within the cope of the 2014 Local Election Bulletin: CHP.....	137
6.3.2.1. Physical Development	139
6.3.2.2. Economic Development.....	144
6.3.2.3. Political Development.....	148
6.3.2.4. Social and Cultural Development	149
7. EVALUATION and RESULTS	152
REFERENCES	164

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Prime Ministers of the Republic of Turkey and Ruling Parties after the 1980 Military Intervention.....	66
Table 2. Electoral Systems Applied in Turkey.....	71



LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. November 3, 2002 and July 22, 2007 General Election Results	76
Figure 2. June 12, 2011 General Election Results	76
Figure 3. June 7, 2015 and November 1, 2015 General Election Results.....	76
Figure 4. March 30, 2014 Local Election Results throughout Turkey.....	163
Figure 5. March 30, 2014 Local Election Metropolitan Municipality Distribution.....	163
Figure 6. March 30, 2014 Local Election Municipality Distribution on Provincial Basis....	163
Figure 7. March 30, 2014 Local Election Municipality Distribution on the Basis of District	163

ABBREVIATIONS

EU	: European Union
USA	: United States of America
EEC	: European Economic Community
AF	: Ahrar Fırkası (Party of Ottoman Liberals)
AK PARTY	: Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (Justice and Development Party)
ANAP	: Anavatan Partisi (Motherland Party)
ECLSG	: European Charter of Local Self-Government
BDP	: Barış ve Demokrasi Partisi (Democracy and Peace Party)
BGUS	: Bölgesel Gelişme Ulusal Stratejisi (National Strategy of Regional Development)
RDA	: Regional Development Agency
CHP	: Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (Republican People's Party)
EAP	: Eastern Anatolian Project
DEHAP	: Demokratik Halk Partisi (Democratic People's Party)
DOKAP	: Doğu Karadeniz Projesi (Eastern Black Sea Project)
DP	: Demokrat Parti (Democratic Party)
SPD	: State Personnel Department
SPO	: State Planning Organisation (Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı)
DSP	: Demokratik Sol Parti (Democratic Left Party)
DYP	: Doğru Yol Partisi (True Path Party)
FP	: Fazilet Partisi (Virtue Party)

GAP	: Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi (South-eastern Anatolia Project)
GAP- GİDEM	: Girişimci Destekleme ve Yönlendirme Merkezleri (Centres for Supporting And Guiding Entrepreneurship)
GRECO	: Group of States Against Corruption
HADEP	: Halkın Demokrasi Partisi (People's Democracy Party)
HDP	: Halkların Demokratik Partisi (Peoples' Democratic Party)
IMF	: International Monetary Fund
IPA	: Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance
KAYA	: Kamu Yönetimi Araştırma Projesi (Public Administration Research Project)
KOP	: Konya Ovası Projesi (Project on Plain Konya)
MEHTAP	: Merkezi Hükümet Teşkilat Araştırma Projesi (Central Government Organizational Research Project)
MHP	: Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (Nationalist Movement Party)
MP	: Millet Partisi (Nation's Party)
MSP	: Milli Selamet Partisi (National Salvation Party)
MP	: Member of Parliament
OIZ	: Organized Industrial Zone
RP	: Refah Partisi (Welfare Party)
SAP	: Social Aid Program
NGO	: Nongovernmental Organization
TGNA	: Turkish Grand National Assembly
TCF	: Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası (Progressive Republican Party)

- TMMOB** : Türk Mühendis ve Mimar Odaları Birliği (Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects)
- TODAİE** : Türkiye Ortadoğu Amme İdaresi Enstitüsü (Institute of Public Administration for Turkey and the Middle East)
- TOKİ** : Toplu Konut İdaresi (Housing Development Administration of Turkey)
- YÖK** : Yüksek Öğretim Kurumu (Council of Higher Education)



1. INTRODUCTION

In line with the new individual-oriented understanding of administration, public services carried out by local governments as the fundamental requirements of daily life, lead to the continuation of the integrated mechanism between the central and local administrations. Therefore, local governance structures, indeed, emphasize the importance of the fact that politics is being reduced from central to local organizations.

Along with the European Union (EU) harmonization process and globalization, political parties have become the main instrument, as the sine qua non of democratic life, in conducting regulations necessary for the resolution of challenges resulting from the developing world's increasing demands and public administrations' insufficiencies. In addition, the reconstruction process to contribute to the development of local governments in accordance with the principles of vicinity to the local government, governance, transparency, and accountability have become much important for political parties.

Applying various programs to make the democratic mechanism functional in general life, and empowering democracy is proportionally possible through political parties, should they promote themselves to the society successfully and impartially through their organizations.

Now that political parties' affinity to the society is rendered so much important in the name of the democracy and democratic governance mechanism, these parties' responsibilities to local governments have reached an unignorable dimension.

This unignorable fact in political life brings along certain regulations. Bringing a new dimension to the relations between politics and local governments, these current regulations also facilitate the balance between the two entities, meaning politics in general, and local governments. Thereby, these relevant regulations have ensured localization incontrovertibly take place in the political structure through amending politics from being state-centric into individual-oriented.

In the light of these developments, the objectives and enclosures relevant to the local governments and which are included in the party programs and election declarations by the political parties – the active actors of the political life – express the parties' fundamental views on the local governments.

Considering all these, the power mechanism becomes even more significant than it normally, is in terms of determining and applying local governance policies. The idea coming to the forefront in this process along with the localization is the comprehensive, active, and successful involvement of the local, in other words the local citizens, in the process by the political parties.

Of course, this frame of mind has been the loadstar in determining the local administration policies for political parties, which desire acquiring the absolute political power against the electoral systems or the main opposition's power against the ruling party. Further, this frame of mentality has turned out to be the main reference point for the laws enacted on the basis of the ruling power mechanism. Therefore, even if there are general elections that determine the ruling and opposition parties' positions, local elections in unitary state mechanisms -just like Turkey's- bear special importance in protecting or sustaining the ruling power because of affinity with the society.

Evaluating the history of political administration, it is fair to purport that urban administration models coming much into forefront, indeed, prove that political structuring commenced first in local level, and enabled the emergence of “Democratic Municipalism” on the basis of the idea that ‘society is the right holder’, bringing along the reformist movements, alterations and regulations in the structure of municipalities in the Turkish Administrative Structure in the historical process.

Party programs, which are of great importance in terms of describing the political mechanism to the society, are also significant for the political parties in our country. As it is a known fact, parties that do not have a functional program will not be able to express their practice-oriented projects conveniently to the society, which will cause a major loss in the political mechanism. The reason for this is that the programs or election declarations determined or prepared are known to be projects desired to be fulfilled when in power.

Even though the relevant projects or promises uttered before the election are partially ignored when in power or after attaining the opposition’s power, it is perceived to be significant to tackle the political targets reasonably and realistically. As is known, not keeping distant from unwieldy policies in real structure might partially damage the administrative structures, and bring the EU candidacy process to halt, which are continuing to be discussed.

As is well known, democracy is self-governance. Yet, self-governance is valid for direct democracy, while it is seen as directly proportional to the level of participation in representative democracies. No matter how the globalization phenomenon in the background of the developments seems to be contradicting with the concept of localization; globalization, in fact, has positively contributed to the local politics

percept with active participation of the local actors in the decision-making and implementation processes pursuant to the regulations.

Following this positive contribution, sustaining the local politics' functionality is only possible through the effective participation of the political parties and citizens, two crucial entities of politics. Thus, political parties' organizations and representation offices are deemed to be essential for their affinity with the citizens on local level and the structure of the mechanism desired to be constructed. Precisely at this point, the importance of the political parties –the main element shaping our study – their party programmes and election statements are, once again, revealed.

It is known that the party programs and election statements emphasized in structuring today's political life and specifically pre-election periods, in essence, can provide our country's political parties, which sustain their activities under unitary state mechanism, with the opportunity to represent – to rule – as well as the opportunity to check the representative power, which is opposition. Consequently, it can fairly be stated that the relevant concept of affinity to the citizens within the frame of locality is important both for the local authorities and political parties that perpetuate their objective to acquire political power. Thus, election statements have undeniably become vital in terms of thorough expression of political parties' perspectives and targets, as well as policies they implement and aim to implement.

2. LITERATURE

The aim of the literature section in the thesis is to tackle terminologies that outline the overall study in the perspectives of ‘Public Administration’, ‘Local Administration’, ‘Political Parties’ and ‘Local Politics’. A narrow-scope analysis of concepts such as ‘Local Administrative Organization’, ‘Party Definitions’ and ‘European Charter of Local Self-Government’, which can be qualified as key points in terms of the topics to be covered in this framework, on the bases of ‘Public Policies’ and ‘Election Statements’ is among the fundamental objectives of hereby study.

In this context, if we are to first tackle the local administration perspectives, it can be uttered that local administrations in countries such as Turkey, where the understanding of a central unitary state gains weight in administration models, in fact, cannot go beyond being municipal corporations or just local authorities, even if they are pronounced as local governments. Local administration organizations, the authorities of which have been extended over time via the necessary regulations, and which have gained momentum especially with the globalization process, can exercise their power only within the frame of the national legislative body’s principles (Bozkurt, 1998).

According to Keleş, central and local administrations are stated to be modes of government, which correct each other’s deficiencies or weaknesses. In addition to the central government tradition taking place within the organizational scheme of public administrations, provincial governments are regarded valuable to run the mechanism of decentralized government units with autonomy so as to carry out the state’s services and practices (Nadaroğlu, 2001). In this regard, the decentralized government units, pointed in the central governmental organizations, may have responsibilities

and authorities. Concurrently, they may also reveal as autonomous organization models outside the central authority (Wolman, 1990; Eryılmaz, 2000)

In light of these insights, a specific analysis of Turkey in terms of local administrations, which are accepted as auxiliary organizations supporting the central government in exercising its authority and fulfilling its responsibilities, denotes in accordance with the 1982 Constitution that these local administrations are composed of: provincial special administration, municipalities (metropolis and town municipalities) and villages. Departing from this perspective, the properties of the administrative bodies and local administrations are determined in the 1982 Constitution as follows: Turkey is divided into provinces in terms of central administrative organization, geographical traits, economic conditions, and needs for public services; and the provinces are divided into other gradual fractions. Provincial administration is based on the extent of authorities. To facilitate efficiency and concordance in rendering public services, a central administrative organization that encompasses multiple provinces may be founded. This organization's duties and authorities are legally enacted (1982 Constitution, Article 126, Article 127).

It is acknowledged that the regional or, in other words, local administrations in Turkey have had sui generis juridical statuses as a result of the 5355 numbered Local Administrative Unions Act in 2005 (Gül, Kiriş, Negiz, & Gökdayı, 2014) Departing from this point, in order to establish a provincial special administration in a geographical area, that specific area must have a provincial status. In that, provincial special administrations might be characterized as regional organizations and assumed to reach their current structural body with the 5302 numbered act. Such administrative bodies are sometimes described as decentralized organizations, which have public

entity and serve to meet the needs of people residing in provinces with clearly defined geographical borders. What is significant here is the fact that only city, town, or villages are considered to be included within the scope of the provincial borders that belongs to provincial special administration. Yet, there are vineyards and orchards, arable fields, forests, and even streams and roads present within the provincial borders (Gözler, 2003). Furthermore, it is necessary to remark that the number of provincial special administration bodies in our country was decreased to 51 after the March 30, 2014 Local Elections, following the increasing of the number of metropolitan municipalities to 30 in accordance with the 6360 and 6447 numbered acts.

Aside the provincial special administration, another organizational model, which is regarded as valuable in terms of local administrations, is the municipality. Also named as regional administrations, municipalities are more autonomous than other local institutions, being the closest administration unit to the society. According to the 5393 numbered Municipal Law, municipalities are public entities, the decision making body of which is elected by the constituents to meet the common needs of the inhabitants of the town. In addition, the municipalities have administrative and financial autonomy. There are two types of municipality organizations in Turkey. In line with this perceptive, the first type of municipality to function is founded on the basis of the 5393 numbered law; whereas the second type of municipality is the metropolis municipality, having a different status, as they function at big city level (İnaç and Ünal, 2014). In this context, when the 5216 numbered Law for Metropolitan Municipalities, dated 2004, is examined, it is possible to observe that town municipalities are subjected to the metropolis borders. In addition, structural and functional regulations in the field of metropolitan municipalities can also be beheld.

Notwithstanding that, if we are to underline the importance of municipalities in today's conditions, the striking fact is that all town municipalities other than metropolitan district municipalities and municipalities that have less than 2000 populations are shut down in compliance with the 6360 numbered law.

The last local administration determined within the scope of the 1982 Constitution, on the other hand, is the village administration. Village administrations were incorporated into the scope of the local administrations in accordance with the Article 116 under the title of 'Local Administrations' in the 1961 Constitution; and this provision has been preserved in line with the Article 127 of the 1982 Constitution (Coşkun and Uzun, 1999). Differently from the municipalities, these administrative bodies reveal as the smallest local administration unit in rural settlement areas. Dated 1924, the 442 numbered Village Law regulates the necessary population rates as more than 150 and less than 2000 in order to establish a village administration as a public entity. However, as in other administration types, certain alterations in the village administrations have been attention grabbing. As a consequence to 6360 numbered law, village administrations achieving the status of the quarter affiliated with the larger district lost their legal entities, and got incorporated into the administrative area of the metropolitan municipalities and metropolitan provincial municipalities (Gül, Kiriş, Negiz, & Gökdayı, 2014).

When political parties, the topic to be covered in the second chapter following the local administrations, are analysed; we come across concepts such as 'Cadre Party', 'Mass Party' and 'Catch-all Party'. Before touching upon the aforementioned concepts, it is essential to define the concept of political party in narrow sense, and evaluate its objectives and general properties. In functional terms, political parties are

defined as organizational mechanisms having the desire to be sustainable through bearing the objective of acquiring the power to rule or share it at certain rates on the basis of a pre-determined political program (Kapani, Politika bilimine giriş, 1978).

In addition to this definition, according to the Article 3 of the 2820 numbered Political Parties Law; political parties are also defined as “Institutions established to operate countrywide in order to facilitate reaching the level of modern civilizations in a democratic and social order in compliance with the Constitution, Laws, local administrations and elections, their views stated in by-laws and party programs, and their public propagandas”.

Within this scope, if the common property of political parties is defined as having the desire and claim to govern the state mechanism, it would not be wrong to state that political parties are institutions belonging to the political system, which reflects communal subversions or social conflicts on the basis of social interests and dissidences (Uysal, 1984). Consequently, political parties, which are deemed as representatives for the society in democratic regimes, can have the ruling or opposition power in the parliament depending on their vote rates acquired as a result of elections. Being more and more important in countries such as Turkey, where early elections are quite common, political parties form distinctive type of organizations in order to get closer to the citizens or obtain the majority of the votes, as a precondition of the electoral systems.

Central, left and right parties divide into different types of organizations according to their positioning in the political range. ‘Cadre Parties’, which are also named after as committee parties, are known to represent the ones who have the economic power in

the society. It can be purported that party discipline and commitment to the central authority is low in such parties (Kışlalı, 1987). It can be stated that cadre parties, which are asserted to represent the conservative and liberal parties in Europe, and American parties, have adopted the objective of increasing votes in elections by qualitative services thanks to their prestige and financial resources (Teziç, 2009).

The second type of political parties in terms of distinctive organizational structure, on the other hand, is the mass party organizations. Mass parties are observed to emerge in parallel with the improvement of the general suffrage. These parties have a disciplined structure and sustain their activities through hierarchical organizations throughout the country. The most distinguishing property of the mass parties from cadre parties is the fact that they prioritize the number of members and subscription fees for creating financial resources. In addition to the solidarity and fidelity observed in mass parties, which are exemplified as European social democratic and labour parties, political ideologies are also striking in terms of impact (Teziç, 2009).

Finally, the third type of political parties in terms of organization is known as the ‘Catch-All Party’, which of great importance in the study at hand and today’s politics. In addition to Duverger’s definitions of cadre and mass parties; catch-all parties, propounded by Kirscheimer, developing the structure of the society over time target addressing to the electorates rather than its members. Such parties are indicated to be flexible and pragmatic in terms of ideologies. Today, right, centre-right, and centre-left parties in the Continental Europe exemplify catch-all parties. These kinds of parties ignore social differences and defend the idea that the intra-party power mechanism belongs to the elites outside the party, rather than the party members. As a matter of fact, these parties aspire to facilitate cooperation with higher number of

interest groups and underline the necessity to empower the senior leader (Teziç, 2009).

Following the abovementioned facts, political parties' scrambling areas in local scale shall be evaluated, which will prove the significance of local politics. The concept of local politics is seen to be equivalent to the urban politics concept, as a general literature phenomenon. While subjects and issues related to the decision-making processes in local scale are evaluated as local politics, the concept of local politics can encompass all issues in regard to the province or urbanization process, as well. Following the necessary assessments, it will also be probable to analyse the rural-urban relations, local administration-state relations and local elections on the basis of local politics (Keleş, 2006).

In conjunction with this point, the third and last part of this study will cover public policies, which are currently practised or to be practised in the future. These public policies are expressed to be vital for political approaches. Furthermore, the third section will elaborate on the ruling and opposition parties' local administration policies and European Charter of Local Self-Government (ECLSG), which also bears importance for today's local governments. Within this framework, the concept of public policies will primarily be visited. Public policies shall be tackled as a whole process. In that, public policies are systemic units of activities carried out or not, within the scope of the objectives followed by the government mechanism in solving the problems as regards to the social requests and needs. The essential point here is the fact that public policies shall be implemented within legitimate powers of the public authorities. In this context, urban policies, security policies, and economic policies, etc. can be given as examples for the public policies, coming into the

forefront as interfering policies by the state mechanism (Özel, Yerel Yönetimlerde Yerel Kamu Politikası Yaklaşımları, 2015).

The ECLSG was created with a purpose of developing and strengthening autonomous local administrative bodies under the democratic principles, which are deemed as fundamental in terms of both public administration and public policies. Signed in 1988 by Turkey, the ECLSG underlines the priorities of a number of social needs from sheltering to culture, and from education to political participation in local level via forming general principles for local politics (Çukurçayır M. A., 2008).

It has even today become a known fact that there is an absolute need for organizational improvement in the Turkish public administration field against the phenomenon of becoming cumbrous, which poses a problem for the traditional understanding of public administration. On the basis of these indicators, the locality concept becomes more and more important along with the ECLSG (Shatkin, 2000); notwithstanding that governments and states have had to accept and confirm compelling conditions by assuring the local administrations political, governmental, and financial independence in local level (Keleş, 1995).

When Turkish laws are scrutinized, the content of the ECLSG does not pose any issues against the domestic laws, as observed. However, tutelage auditing reveals as one important realm of necessity in our country, where especially the centrist structure prevails. The central authority's power of administrative tutelage over local administrations tends to be exercised in the perspective of political authority in our country, which is why brings along severe criticisms. Nevertheless, preventing such criticisms has become viable, as the Article 8 of the ECLSG limited the administrative tutelage with compliance to the Turkish laws.

Within this framework, the ECLSG articles put into enforcement partially or completely today in Turkey in the administrative field, but with certain reservations, are as follows:

- Consulting the local authorities in planning and decision-making processes, which are directly in the realm of local authorities (Article 4, Paragraph 6),
- Designation of the local administrations' internal organization by the local authorities (Article 6, Paragraph 1),
- Determining the locally elected persons' functions and acts which are incompatible with their defined tasks in accordance with the laws and fundamental legal principles (Article 7, Paragraph 3),
- Permitting tutelage auditing only when it is proportionate to the benefits, which are desired to be protected by tutelage (Article 8, Paragraph 3),
- Taking into account the increments in service costs as much as possible in providing funds to the local administrations (Article 9, Paragraph 4),
- Consulting the local administrations beforehand as regards to the methods to reallocate the relevant financial resources to the local authorities (Article 9, Paragraph 6),
- Not eliminating the local administrations' fundamental freedoms in putting their own policies into practice by financial aids as much as possible (Article 9, Paragraph 7),
- Local administrations' opportunities to form collaborations with international local administrative units and to partake in international unions so as to be able to defend their rights (Article 10, Paragraphs 2 and 3),

- Local administrations' opportunities to seek judicial remedies so as to be able to freely defend the authorities granted to them by the domestic laws (Article 11) (Yeter, 1996). The de facto discharged reservations of the ECLSG on the basis of the aforementioned articles, on the other hand, are: Article 4, Paragraph 6; Article 6, Paragraph 1; Article 7, Paragraph 3; Article 9, Paragraph 6; Article 9, Paragraph 7; Article 10, Paragraph 2; Article 10, Paragraph 3; and Article 11 overall.

Aiming at making the local administrations more autonomous within the scope of democratization, the ECLSG is also signed by Turkey despite the reserved articles, which comes to mean that our country is in a position that arises trust in the field of local democracy. Restrictions are placed in tutelage auditing in the municipal administrations that are especially important in general local administrations. Further, the necessity to provide sufficient amount of financial resources to the municipalities is underlined in general politics of the country. Together, these facts are considered as accelerating developments in the local democratic and autonomous institutions.

Finally, it is essential to discuss in our study the fact that provincial special administrations have relatively become more autonomous in compliance with the 5302 numbered law within the scope of the ECLSG. It is obvious that there have been on-going endeavours to make provincial special administrations' legal status more harmonious with the ECLSG's content. Besides, institutions, where the harmonization process brought by ECLSG positively impacts the understanding of autonomy, are respectively determined as the municipalities with the 5393 numbered law; and metropolitan municipalities with the 5216 numbered law (Sobacı, 2015).

Herewith, it can fairly be deduced that the steps taken by the strengthening local administrations to increase the affinity with the citizens as a result of the ECLSG's impact have revitalized the local democracy. In addition, these steps have increased the importance of policy creating processes for the political parties in the struggle to get the ruling power in the local level. In this process, political parties have turned out to be the main compounds of the local policy areas.



3. METHODOLOGY

The study “*Local Administration Policies*” on the basis of Turkey’s Local Elections (2014): A Comparative Study of Ruling – Main Opposition Parties; elaborates on “local administrations and their policies” on the bases of the election statements and party programs of the political parties that are indispensable and crucial for the democratic life and parliamentary government system.

In the democratic and parliamentary governmental systems, where ruling and opposition parties are determined through elections, parties’ election programs and statements are essential in gaining public support and trust, as they harbour political promises. In light of the development all over the world, local administrations are frequently emphasized in election promises or campaigns, which later turn into actual policies. This fact demonstrates the local administrations’ key feature in auditing the ruling mechanism, which forms as a result of elections.

The essential objective of this study is to measure the extent to which Turkish local administrations are reflected on political parties’ programs and election statements, and analysing the political perspective and options through which the local administration policies –which are formed as a result of the above stated reflections– are discussed in democratic environments. Finally, the benefits provided by such administrative policies for the local policies are assessed.

In the post-republican era, when political life has gained strength, the Turkish political parties’ views, approaches toward the local administrations, the role of the local administrations’ practices in party programs and statements, and especially the changes in the political parties’ approaches as a result of the changes and regulations

experienced in the European Union (EU) candidacy procedure will be thoroughly examined.

The resources benefited in this study, which is based on library scanning, reference books, articles, and dissertations stated in the section of references, are composed of Political Parties Constitutions, Party Programs, Election Statements and Campaigns, and Council of Higher Education, Thesis Research Centre.

In line with the recently booming concepts of globalization, localization, and governance, local governments have become more and more important in their services. Beyond that, local administrations, where democratic practices are carried out, have contributed considerably to the development of politics in local mechanisms, as well.

As a matter of fact, Turkey's internal insufficiencies in public administration, and modernization projects carried out especially in accordance with the EU candidacy process all bring along the necessity for a reconstruction process both in general and local administration units in Turkey. Therefore, the 5216 numbered Law for Metropolitan Municipalities; 5393 numbered Municipal Law; 5302 numbered Law for Provincial Special Administrations; and 5355 numbered Law on Local Administrative Unions have been regulated to remedy the insufficiencies in practical field and put into enforcement.

Considering all these, political parties' approaches towards the local administrations and the policies they determine accordingly constitute the outline of this study.

As previously determined, the first chapter of the study elaborates on the local administrative bodies development process in Turkey under the title of the historical

development process of local administrations in Turkey. This part is focused on two periods: local administrations before 1980 – this period is subdivided into the Ottoman period, Political Reforms (Tanzimat), Republic period, and the years between 1960 and 1980 – and local administrations after 1980. Moreover, following periods in relation to local administrations are discussed under the titles of *Local Administrations and Turkey in the European Union Candidacy Process*, and *European Charter of Local Self-Government and Turkey*.

In the second chapter of the study, also evaluating the political parties because of their importance in implementing the local administration policies; political parties in historical process, properties of the political parties, Turkish electoral systems, and ruling – opposition parties are thoroughly analysed on the basis of, again, political parties.

In the last chapter of the study, on the other hand, the ruling party (Justice and Development Party – AK Party) and main opposition party (Republican People's Party – CHP), which have gained place in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (TGNA), will be evaluated in terms of their approaches to local administrations within the scope of the 2014 local elections. Both parties' comprehension of local administration in practice and local programs are scrutinized in line with the 2014 Local Election Statements.

4. CHAPTER 1

4.1. Historical Development Process of Local Administrations in Turkey

An organization or institution authorized in rulemaking and carrying out obligations under certain limits and a local assembly's control is named as a local administration unit (Keleş, 1994). Local administrations are indispensable parts of public administrations, when the concepts of effectiveness and productivity are considered on the basis of public services. Further, it is fair to assert that if the central authority provided all of the public services, the result would not be a qualified benefit for all.

Guaranteed by constitution and forming a significant part of the public administration's organizational scheme, local administrations are executive institutions established with a purpose to meet societies' common and local needs. In line with this purpose, local administrations are acknowledged to have an autonomous governing structure whereby public elections. However, this type of organization in our country emerged on the basis of an understanding of protecting the unity and integration of the political-administrative authority in the Ottoman times, rather than the financial-administrative understanding of autonomy in Western societies. For this reason, local administrations could not acquire complete autonomy in the beginning (Eryılmaz, 2000).

Even if local administrations are stated to be lacking the full autonomy in the Ottoman times, this does not mean that local services were insufficient. In the Ottoman Empire, local administrations emerged as administrative districts of qadis, guilds of artisans and merchants, and foundations. These organizations delivered services within the Ottoman administrative structure (Çiçek, 2014).

The local administrations are seen as sharing of central power. On the other hand, it is also stated that local administrations and central governments are mutually interdependent with a kind of “Magna Carta” and “Charter of Alliance”, in other words, with a contractual order (Güler, 2010).

There was not any understanding of modern local administrations in Turkey, until the tanzimat reform era. However, the process of local administration in Turkey emerged in the Ottoman period, and reformulated in the Republic period. Taking these facts into account, analysing the development process of local administrations chronologically will surely be beneficial in terms of historical perspective. Therefore, the development process of local administrations in Turkey will be analysed in two periods, being before and after 1980. First, the Turkish local administrations before 1980 will be scrutinized.

4.1.1. Local Administrations in Turkey before 1980

It is generally accepted to be more appropriate to evaluate local administrations in Turkey before the year 1980 basically in two periods on the basis of legal procedures and reforms: the Ottoman period and post-1924 period after the proclamation of the Republic. The Ottoman period can further be divided into two periods as before and after the tanzimat reform era.

The understanding of local administrations is endeavoured to be communicated through a legal personality, corporate structure, authority with special status, liabilities, and a financial structure. It is observed that the local administrations in Turkey emerged as a result of the power struggle between the central and local authorities, which was also faced in the Western societies in the history of

administration (Hill, 1974). Thus, the perception that ‘local administrations are extensions of the central government’, which is the matter of heated discussions today, is perceived to be more valid for the Ottoman administrative structure before the year 1980, which constitutes a turning point.

Taking the 19th century conditions into account, the Ottoman rulers were incentivized to form auxiliary local organizations to help the central government as the central government had started to weaken because of having difficulty in providing local services and collecting taxes. Consequently, local administration units conducting many similar activities with the French administrative structure were established in the Ottoman Empire. Yet, these local units, resembling to the French example, were not meant to strengthen the local democracy, as in the Western societies, and they were subjected to a strong tutelage control in the Ottoman society (Ünal, 2011).

In this course of proceedings, it is necessary to primarily analyse how the Ottoman administrators were providing local services in order to be able to understand and better comprehend the emergence of Turkish local administrations and to determine the major factors giving rise to their emergence.

4.1.1.1. Local Administrations in the Ottoman Period

Urban administration in the Ottoman system, where the central tutelage was rather powerful, was dependent on the authorities of the centralised power and persons or institutions authorised by the centre. Administrators assigned by the central power and kept under tutelage were people carrying out relevant duties in the name of the Ottoman constabulary -official for public order- governor, and qadi. Qadi has an important role in the urban administration within the Ottoman system (Dursun, 1998).

Briefly evaluating the pre-tanzimat era Ottoman Empire's administrative structure, qadi, foundations, and guilds come into the forefront in that period. Qadi, who was appointed by the centre to fulfil certain duties, functioned in the province, town, district, and villages falling under his region of assignment. The qadis had the authority to audit and check the urban administration, guilds, waqfs (foundations), schools, mosque management, market places, general cleanliness within public areas, etc. Further, the qadis had also juridical power in terms of complying with the practices of the Shari'a law (Ünal, 2011).

The central authority was appointing Qadis, which is basically today's mechanism of distributing authority. The qadis also had the power to appoint a regent for the districts in order to do their duties. Imams, who were leading the local units, appear as the most significant supporters of the qadis after the regents, when Ottoman local administrations with major duties are examined (Ortaylı, 1976).

When it is taken into consideration that the judiciary, civil, and municipal or civic structures within the Ottoman administration are not separate from one another, it is observed that except for regents and imams, commissioned officers -who were responsible for the security of the province- and Ottoman constabularies -who were responsible for the public order and municipal service- also support the qadis in carrying out their relevant duties. Those commissioned officers and Ottoman constabularies, who are now named as the municipal police officers, were liable for the qadis (Eryılmaz, 2000). Seen as state officials helping the qadi in urban administration, those officials received their wages from the taxes and fines collected from the society.

As the janissary system, composed of law-enforcement officers in the Ottoman Empire, was abolished and an Islamic-Ottoman Office for Public Regularity was founded in Istanbul, while smaller Directorates of Public Regularity were established in the provinces for ensuring efficient inspection, qadis turned out to representatives equipped with the power to inspect the waqfs. More elementarily, the qadis constituted the judicial organ of the state in line with the abolishment of the abovementioned institution of janissaries. However, the qadis lost their audit mandate when the Ministry of Pious Foundations was established. Qadis, then, turned out to be Sharia magistrates when Statutory Courts were founded along with the Tanzimat reforms made in the Ottoman State in 1839 (Ortaylı, 1973).

Waqfs and guilds are major organizations providing services within the frame of the Ottoman administrative structure after the qadis. Waqfs provided traditional services – schools, libraries, hospitals, public soup kitchens, guesthouses, and social aid services – in the Ottoman society (Eryılmaz, 1997).

Another organization running services except for the waqfs was the Guild Organizations, which resemble to today's nongovernmental organizations. Composed of tradesmen units, these hierarchically organized guilds undertook intermediary role between the central government and public when conflicts emerged among its members. Providing also professional inspections, guilds were adjunct organizations supporting the provincial administrators of the central authority (Dursun, 1998).

Before the Tanzimat era, the urban administration, which had been executed by the qadis, waqfs, and guilds, was incorporated into the Turkish administrative structure as of the Tanzimat reforms (Eryılmaz, 1997).

4.1.1.2. Local Administrations in the Tanzimat Era

Along with the modernization movement in the Ottoman Empire, it is observed that new legislations and certain executive regulations were started to be implemented, despite the fact that a Western understanding of local administration was not yet adopted in general (Tortop, Aykaç, Yayman, & Özer, 2006). The primary demands of the non-Muslims in line with the European streams along with the 1854-1856 Crimean War in the Ottoman Empire were structuring modern cities and establishing municipalities.

In light of these European-based demands, Shehremaneti (formerly the city government or municipality in the Ottoman Empire) -which had a similar structure to the French commune administrations- was founded in 1855 in the Ottoman Empire, as the first municipality having an executive and decision-making organ and carrying out certain duties such as building, repair, and auditing, and meeting the needs of the city (Çiçek, 2014).

Shehremaneti that is primarily governed by the shehremini (mayor in the Ottoman administrative structure, who is responsible for the repairing and maintenance of the palace and state buildings, in addition to the management of harem's expenditures until the Tanzimat era) does not set a positive example for municipalism because of financial deficits and personnel deficiency. However, the Sixth Municipal Chamber constructed on the basis of its French counterpart in Galata and Beyoglu – the region where mostly non-Muslims resided – continued its function successfully until the Republic era, thanks to its peculiar budget (Ünal, 2011).

In the following period, Dersaadet (the Gate of Happiness, one of the former names of Istanbul) Charter of Municipal Administration was issued in 1869. Consequently, the city government of Istanbul Shehremaneti in a federative structure was founded. This organization had 14 chambers in its infrastructure that were responsible for the local administration processes of the districts. The superstructure of this organization, on the other hand, 14 city halls operated under the governance of the Shehremini. Moreover, all the units functioned in affiliation with the Shehremini and Shehremaneti Assembly (Keleş, 2012).

Following the year 1870, it was decreed to establish municipal organizations in provinces, counties, and administrative districts along with the enactment of the Provincial Regulations for Public Administration. It was envisaged as a consequence of the 1876 Constitution that assemblies, which were to accede with elections, should govern municipalities. In addition to the 1876 Law for Provincial Municipalities, the Dersaadet Municipal Law was drafted and put into enforcement in 1877 so as to solve municipal problems in Istanbul (Ünal, 2011).

When the Ottoman local administrative structure is analysed in general terms, it is clearly stated that administrative practices were basically aimed to serve the city to fulfil the needs, rather than forming a systematic local administration comprehension. Organizational activities were solely based on serving the province or relevant administrative unit, while a solid political infrastructure was not of top priority. Yet, the Special Provincial Administration, which was founded on the basis of the 1864 Provincial Regulations and reformulated with the 1913 Provisional Provincial Regulations for Public Administration, was put into effect more effectively in second half of the 19th century (Tortop, Aykaç, Yayman, & Özer, 2006). Fundamental

changes in this institution, on the other hand, have come with the 5302 numbered Provincial Special Administration Law in 2005.

The most crucial factor in the decline of the Ottoman Empire, the failure of the financial structure, according to Ortaylı, emanated from the “Appropriation Assemblies that were ascertaining the tax rates in the country in line with the political and economic conditions, and delivering these taxes to the treasury after collecting the taxes in cash and reducing the costs and the necessary amounts to be distributed to other relevant institutions.” In narrow scope, these assemblies are demonstrated to be the first example of local administrations in the Ottoman Empire. However, villages as other institutional structures within the Turkish local administration have great importance as the first local administrative units, as well. Villages, in this sense, emerged in line with the development of communal life and they have succeeded in preserving their existence today (Ünal, 2011). The villages, founded first to assure security in rural areas and regularly collect taxes, as adjudicated in the 1864 Provincial Regulations, could not gain legal entity status, even though they had certain arrangements with the 1870 Provincial Regulations for Public Administration. In light of the aforementioned regulations, the country territory was divided into provinces, shires, and districts; districts were further divided into villages (Tortop, Aykaç, Yayman, & Özer, 2006); and villages could only obtain legal basis through the 442 numbered Village Law in 1924, which is also in force today.

4.1.1.3. Local Administrations in the Republic Period

Following the local administrations in the Ottoman Empire, which cannot be attributed as modern organizations; there was not much difference in the local

administrations in the Republic period after the independence war, as the Republic had its Ottoman legacy. Local administrations, which were basically founded to support the central authority in the Ottoman administrative structure, could not achieve administrative and financial autonomy fully after the proclamation of the Republic, as there were concerns over endangering the unity and integrity of the country (Koçak and Ekşi, 2010).

When the first years of the republic are scrutinized, the first regulation in the local administrations was done in villages, which were the Ottoman legacies: Village Law Numbered 442 was introduced in 1924. Settled on the basis of the French model, this regulation of Turkish villages can be uttered to emerge as a result of the social, administrative, and political needs observed in the Western societies (Ökmen and Parlak, 2010)

Furthermore, Ankara, which is regarded as the cradle of the Republic, obtained peculiar form of governance in 1924 with the 417 numbered Ankara Shehremaneti Law. Following these proceedings, a set of actions involving settlement of municipalities in places where the population exceeded 2000 people was adopted in 1930 within the scope of the 1580 numbered Municipal Law (Tortop, Aykaç, Yayman, & Özer, 2006). The most protracted law in the Republic period, the 1580 numbered Municipal Law, bears special importance as it considerably fulfilled expectations because of the experience transfer from the Ottoman period (Çiçek, 2014).

Despite the developments in the sphere of local administration, the centralist ideology on the local administrations continued so as to thrust the state to the forefront, as a consequence of the administrative mentality inherited from the Ottoman Empire, and

single party regime until 1950. Although this centralist administrative mentality continued after 1950, it should not be neglected that metropolitan municipalities were founded with certain administrative and financial amendments along with the adoption of multi-party regime in 1950 (Yazıcıoğlu, 1995).

In fact, the main developments in administration in the Republic area emerged after 1960, the year that is regarded as the planned period.

4.1.1.4. Local Administrations between the Years 1960 - 1980

In the direction of the 1960 military intervention, administrative reform regulations were implemented in the local administrations. Within the context of projects to improve the economic infrastructure in Turkey, State Planning Organization (SPO) and State Personnel Administration were founded in an attempt to steering projects and works demanded to be carried out in the restructuring process (Yayman, 2008).

The most significant developments following the ones in the aforementioned institutions took place within the scope of the MEHTAP (Central Government Organizational Research Project) in regulating the local administrations. The purpose of the project was to “analyse the distribution of duties within central governmental organization, provincial administrations, and local administrations separately by reason of the importance these organizations bear in terms of authority, resources, and organizational structures” (Urhan, 2008).

According to Keleş, a “Commission to Reorganize the Administration and Administrative Methods” was founded to divide municipalities in metropolitan cities, cities, and towns on the basis of the MEHTAP project that facilitates urbanization, reconstruction, and regional planning in large cities (Keleş, 2000) and motivates

social development in towns (Ökmen, Yerel Yönetimlerde Yeniden Düzenleme Girişimleri ve Son Reform Tasarısı Üzerine Bazı Düşünceler, 1999).

The second prominent regulation that is regarded to be of great importance, on the other hand, is the “Administrative Reform Advisory Committee Report” issued in 1971. This report was born as a result of the need for a new regulation in the state. The primary purpose of this report prepared by an advisory committee was to develop strategies in fields where necessary. It is deduced that until the year 1970, needs and demands of the society could not be realized, as there was not any organization present to execute administrative reforms. Further, such projects envisioning administrative reforms could not be put into practice, for the same reason – the absence of an organization or institution that would manage the enforcement of these reformative projects (Yayman, 2008).

The deficiency in fulfilling the needs and trying to solve local administrative problems by the central government, which was not yielding desired results, triggered the foundation of the Ministry of Local Administrations in 1978. The Ministry was founded so as to provide functionality and efficiency to the local administrative units, which were showing improvement, despite the obstruction in their processes. In addition, one of the main purposes of founding the Ministry was to quench the administrative and financial flaws in the local units (Keleş, 2000).

Despite the fact that the aforementioned series of reforms were improving the local administrations, the actual major reforms that paved the way for today’s understanding of local administration emerged after the year 1980. However, this is not say that pre-1980 reforms were in vain; these reform movements until 1980 are regarded to be valuable, as they spearheaded a period of reconstruction in the future.

4.2. Local Administrations after the Year 1980

Following the planned period projects throughout 1960, projects and works that steered today's local administrations emanated after the 1980 military intervention and gained momentum in line with the developments in the years following 2000. According to Burke, the state mechanism shall harbour in its structure the perception that future is not immobile, and the state shall experience a period of balancing within the scope of the lawful reforms. It shall not be forgotten that a state cannot be conserved unless it mediates change (Hampsher-Monk, 1987).

While developments before 1980 reveal as projects to empower the state mechanism, the developments after 1980 were oriented towards reducing the domain of the central government (Ömürgönülşen, 2003). When the works after this date are analysed, it is observed that reform movements after 1980 turned out to be in the form of development plans. The first reform within this scope was the Fourth Five-Year Development Plan (1979-1983). This Development Plan was shaped as a result of the regulation of the administrative structure (SPO/State Planning Organization, Fourth Five-Year Development Plan).

Among the reforms between the years 1985-1989, the Fifth Five-Year Development Plan brought a functional obligation to the local administrations, aiming at reducing the workload of the central authority. This Plan underlined the importance of the citizen mechanism, as well (SPO/ State Planning Organization, Fifth Five-Year Development Plan).

Another pillar of the reform movements, the Sixth Five-Year Development Plan between the years 1990-1994, on the other hand, underlined modern executive

systems in incrementing the efficiency of public administration (SPO/ State Planning Organization, Sixth Five-Year Development Plan). The Seventh Five-Year Development Plan laid the groundwork for the reforms in public administration in 2000s. the Plan covered the years between 1996-2000, and targeted reorganization of the actors who are to take role in the public services on the bases of the transparency and efficiency principles (SPO/ State Planning Organization, Seventh Five-Year Development Plan).

As a result of the Helsinki Summit, where Turkey's full membership to the European Union (EU) was concerted, the organizational weakness of the public administration brought about new regulations. In line with the works including the Copenhagen Criteria to facilitate these regulations form the qualities of the Eighth Five-Year Development Plan for the period of 2001-2005 (Sekizinci Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı). The Ninth Five-Year Development Plan, covering the years between 2007-2013 as a result of the regulative efforts, on the other hand, focuses on the changes experienced in organization and service production in light of economic and social developments on the basis of the information and technological advancements along with the globalization (Kalağan, 2010).

As a consequence of all these development plans, which targeted the sustainability of the reform movements in the public sector, TODAİE (Institute of Public Administration for Turkey and the Middle East) started the Public Administration Research Project -KAYA- in 1989 and published the qualities of its reorganization in 1991 on the basis of the State Planning Organization's (SPO) demand to research the ways to improve the public administration, detect deficiencies, and comply with the European Community, which is of great importance in terms of governance today.

The State Planning Organization, by the way, is accepted as the leading institution managing the reorganization process in 1960 (Urhan, 2008).

Problems of public and local administrations were detected and necessary changes to solve these problems were put forth as a result of the drafted project (TODAİE, 1991). It is observed that factors that were seen significant in terms of the deficiencies and problems in public and local administrations were centred upon provincial local administrations, district and village administrations, and municipalities.

As a result of the understanding of local governments dependent on the central authority in the history of public administration, the Public Administration Fundamental Draft Law was brought to the agenda on November 3, 2003. Consequently, the duties, responsibilities, and authorities of the central government and local administrations were re-determined with this draft law. The infrastructure of the new reforms was composed of Public Administration Fundamental Law, Law of and Local Administrations and Civil Servants Regime. The superstructure, on the other hand, was composed of draft laws prepared primarily by the Prime Ministry, and other ministries, institutions and organizations (Urhan, 2008).

Along with these new draft reforms on the agenda, the central authority was subordinated in providing local services. On the other hand, the central authority turned into a mechanism, which inspected the local authorities in terms of the legal dimension of public services, national policy processes, and determination of the essential standards (Articles 6-7). Although this draft law brought about certain legal regulations on the local administrations, other regulations that were to be actualized could not be enforced thoroughly. As a matter of fact, it was frequently asserted in

that period that the relevant regulations, which were to be implemented, would collide with the Turkish unitary state model, if they were completely inured to the benefit.

Certain regulations and amendments in the public administration revealed in 2000s, following the period after the determinant year 1980. It can be understood from the analyses that these regulations were followed by other significant regulations in public administration: laws that were accepted in the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA) in 2004 were the “Law for Metropolitan Municipalities”, “Provincial Special Administration”, and “Municipal Law”. The “Law for Metropolitan Municipalities” was inured to the benefit of the society following the approval of the President of the Republic, whereas the General Assembly of TGNA only accepted the “Provincial Special Administration”, which had been returned to the parliament, with certain amendments on February 22, 2005. After the President passed this 5302 numbered law, it was put into force in March 4, 2005 by publishing in the Official Gazette.

On the grounds of the Constitutional Court’s justification that the 5272 numbered “Municipal Law” was not in compliance with the TGNA’s Internal Regulation, the relevant law was annulled. On July 3, 2005, the “Municipal Law” was negotiated anew, and unanimously accepted in the TGNA.

The reform movements that continued until today mainly to mitigate political concerns, economic deficiencies, and administrative problems, have gained momentum especially within the framework of the EU acquis, which is why these reforms were materialized with various new regulations. The local administration reforms, which were ultimately named as the “Unending Symphony as a general opinion (Yalçındağ, 1993), did not yield the desired results up to the hilt, however, the

provision that “Local administrations shall be provided with funds in proportion to their duties” was adopted in the 1982 Constitution.

Within the scope of the EU harmonization process, the European Charter of Local Self-Government (ECLSG) was signed in 1988. In accordance with the Charter’s Article 4, the administrative tutelage area was narrowed. As a result of this regulation, the idea that arbitrary usage of authority, which is inherent in the tutelage in terms of giving priorities in services, could be prevented. These regulations were incorporated into the 5393 numbered Municipal Law, and 5216 numbered Law for Metropolitan Municipalities.

Against the frequently discussed assertion that new municipalities are working on to obtain votes for the political parties in elections, it is a more prevalent perception that municipalities are responsible for being efficient in providing public services, and precluding improvidence in using resources on the basis of the 5747 numbered Law on Founding Districts within the Borders of Metropolitan Municipalities and Amendments in Certain Laws, issued on March 22, 2008.

The essential re-regulation processes revealing in time are uttered to be vital in terms of modern local administrations in Turkey. Therefore, the developments after the year 2004 proved the fact those local administrations were the most significant units in terms of the essential service-friendliness principle (Arslan, 2009).

The Turkish public administration has undertaken a distinctive role at the level of local administration and in terms of constitutional principles in line with these regulations, reforms, and enacted laws. In this framework, the first law enacted was the 5018 numbered Public Finance Management and Control Law with an acceptance

date of 2003. This law targeted efficient and effective use of public funding in line with the social demands. Financial transparency, liability, accountability, strategic planning, budgeting on the basis of performance were accepted as fundamental principles within the scope of this relevant law (5018 Nolu Kamu Mali Yönetimi ve Kontrol Kanunu, 24.12. 2003).

Except for the 5018 numbered law, another law that is deemed as crucial in terms of public and local administrations is the 5216 numbered Metropolitan Municipality Law accepted in 2004 to reorganize the municipalities in order to mitigate the negative results of the increasing immigration from villages to urban areas, emergence of transportation and environmental problems, lack of efficiency and effectiveness in solving relevant problems, and the growing improvidence in resources (Memişoğlu, 2006).

Following the 5216 numbered law, the 5393 numbered (Memişoğlu, 2006) Municipal Law, which indicated more authorities, liabilities, and resources for local administrations in general, and municipalities in narrow scope, was enacted in 2005. This law was put into force as a result of emerging concepts of efficiency, effectiveness, participation, pluralism, transparency, predictability, accountability and result focality on the basis of the changes experienced with the globalization process. In addition, the 5302 numbered Provincial Special Administration Law (Memişoğlu, 2006), which regulated the reorganization of local administrations within the framework of the new aspiration of public administrations, was enacted. This law brought to the agenda the proposition of granting more duties/responsibilities to the local administrations, reorganization of authority and resource distribution among central authority and local administrations, and, at the same time, certain limitations

to the duties of the governors. Another significant law in the field of local administrations and decentralization is the 5355 numbered Law on Local Administrative Unions.

Following the aforementioned laws, the purposes of which are demonstrated briefly, it is essential to contemplate the law number 6360 – enacted in 2012 – regulating the amendments in certain other laws and statutory decrees, and settling metropolitan municipalities in thirteen cities, and twenty six districts. This law is also considered to be a milestone in the structuring of local administrations. One of the important provisions in this law is the definition of the metropolitan municipalities, which facilitated its functions: “Metropolitan municipalities are public legal entities within their provincial territorial borders, which are coordinating the district municipalities within the territory; carrying out duties and responsibilities given by laws as entities with administrative and financial autonomy; and exercising authorities. Metropolitan municipalities’ decision making organs are elected by the electorates”

As a result of these regulations, the number of metropolitan municipalities in Turkey has reached up to 30. Furthermore, as the legal entities of the provincial special administrations, county municipalities, and villages were terminated as a result of the 6360 numbered law; villages and county municipalities became dependent upon the districts they were affiliated; villages and counties with a population lower than 500 were legally erased; and it was decreed that places with a population lower than 500 people shall not be settled as residential areas. It was aimed with this regulation to form a common district by combining the counties with less than 500 residents within the vicinity (Adıgüzel, 2012).

Herewith, the alterations in the public administration took place as reforms because of the fact that bureaucracy, bulkiness, and ineffectiveness in the sector incapacitated the public sector in fulfilling the ever-increasing expectations and duties (Osborner & Gaebler, 1993). The main factor that made the enacted laws meaningful and added distinction to the local administrations, on the other hand, is the Articles 123 and 127 of the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey. The relevant Article 123 regulates that the administration is an integrated unit with its foundation and duties. The second paragraph of the article, on the other hand, regulates the foundation and duties of the administrations on the basis of the centralized governance and decentralization principles (local administrations and university administrations) (Pirler, Gürsoy, & Başsoy, 1999).

The Article 127 of the Constitution, on the other hand, is directly centred upon the local administrations, providing a definition of local administrations as “public legal entities, the decision making organs of which are elected by the electorates indicated in the law, and established to meet the collective needs of the provinces, municipalities, and villages.”

4.3. Local Administrations and Turkey in the Period of European Union Candidacy

There are two main concepts in relation to the political structures of the 21st century. These concepts, defined as locality and non-governmental organizations, emerged as a result of the substitution of central authority by the principles of participation and locality. When the fact that Turkey is undergoing a process of candidacy to the European Union is taken into consideration, it becomes obvious that local administration and non-governmental organizations are becoming more and more

important. In this line, other developed countries also set examples for the development of the local administrations and non-governmental organizations within the country. The public area in Turkey has considerably been turned into a multi-actor area on the basis of the on-going legal regulations (Tosun, 2007).

The current point that local administrations have reached today in the process of EU candidature indicate that global and regional dynamics have deeply impacted the public administration. As a consequence, the need for reorganization of the Turkish public administration and taking necessary precautions has revealed. Practices to sweep the factors that break the public administration down are becoming unavoidable within the scope of the EU candidature process (Ökmen & Canan, 2009).

When the Turkish context is evaluated, an administrative basis was further provided in line with the relations between Turkey and EU, the European Economic Community dated September 12, 1963, and the Ankara Agreement that was put into force in December 1964. These developments were accepted and regarded as modernization processes for approximately 50 years (Kalko, 2010).

According to Eryılmaz, the factors that led to reorganization and regulation of the Turkish public administration can be divided into internal and external factors. The external factors are regarded to be the EU process, the impacts of the IMF and World Bank, and the globalization (Eryılmaz, 2005).

The structuring procedures or regulations as a result of these factors showed the central and local administrations as each other's alternatives, which underlined the distribution or division of the authorities/duties between these two organizations. As a natural extension of this situation, allowing the principle of general authority, as in the

European countries where decentralization is a stronghold, becomes relevant. As a matter of fact, local administrations undertake any sort of local service and duty projected by laws under these circumstances (Kösecik and Özgür, 2005). When the relevant regulations are scrutinized, it is understood that they are compatible with the conformability principle determined in the European Charter of Local Self-government, ECLSG, and Maastricht Agreement.

However, the issue that has now become questionable, to what extent autonomy will be given to the local administrations, is one of the primary factors that shall not be neglected. It should not be forgotten that the autonomy that is to be granted to the local administrations in terms of duties and authorities would bring along rules of the administrative game, as well (Goldsmith, 2002).

In addition to all these components, the transformation that is brought by the globalization and informatics revolutions has caused urban competition. Therefore, the local administrations have become much more privileged.

Hence, the need for refurnishing and regulating duties, authorities, and responsibilities of the local administrations has arisen; and classical urban infrastructural services such as road, water, sewer system, park, etc., and a series of social, cultural, economic, and educational liabilities are expected to be undertaken by the local governments (Can and Soyer, 2015).

EU integration policies yield important results for EU member or candidate countries, and hence for Turkey, in terms of local administrations, as stated above. One of the crucial results is defined as the “taking decisions on the basis of the principle of connexion to the citizens” within the scope of the Maastricht Agreement. Therefore,

local and regional administrations are regarded to be the key organizations in taking decisions in connexion to the citizens of the country (Ökmen & Canan, 2009).

In line and within the process of these policies, the 5216 numbered Metropolitan Municipality Law, 5393 numbered Municipal Law, and 5302 numbered Provincial Special Administration Law, which were referred previously in hereby study in elaborating the issue of granting a higher level of autonomy and democracy to the Turkish local administrations, were acknowledged and put into force in mid-2000s. Following all these enactments, the incorporation of local administrations within the systematic mechanism has broadened the participation mechanism, as well as increasing the number of the types of participation (Pratchett, 2004)

It is essential that institutions that are close to the society fulfil the public services, when assessed from the viewpoint of democratization as an essential requirement of the EU candidacy processes. In this context, local administrations have been acknowledged as institutions liable for implementing the EU *acquis* and a number of services in the fields of health, education, environment, social policies, and regional development, etc. (Köseçik and Özgür, 2005).

Evaluating all these situations, it would be fare to deduce that local and regional administrations have turned out to be efficient in terms of implementing the EU policies and providing efficient and effective services. The fact that the conformability principle and local administrations have come to the fore bears the idea that what is global can easily shape and steer the local. Yet, this fact does not obstruct the development of the local administrations (Öner, 2002). As a matter of fact, it is widely known that concepts such as localization in the international arena,

decentralist perception of organization, local democracy and governance have emerged in full course within the last years.

Despite the fact that the EU does not have a general public administration model to be implemented in all member countries as an obligation, a “White Paper” was primed in 2001 by the European Commission so as to fulfil the EU member citizens’ expectations and have a voice in the international field. This paper envisioned connexion to the citizens in the policy-making processes, accountability, and incrementing the sense of responsibility in public services (Balci, 2004). Furthermore, it is decreed essential to act in conformity with the concept of locality in implementing the principles of participation, accountability, explicitness, effectiveness and coherence.

As a result, the reforms carried out to restructure the public administrations produced efficient platforms in line with the EU negotiation process. These efficient platforms facilitated the sharing of duties, authorities, and responsibilities between the central government and local administrations; supporting the reforms that are aspired. The EU candidacy process is stated to be an anchor to make prospective implementations of reforms (Kamu Yönetimi Reformunda Mevcut Durum, 2006)

4.3.1 European Charter of Local Self-Government and Turkey

The milestone provision of the European Charter of Local Self-government (ECLSG) is determined in the foreword of the Charter as follows: “local administrations are one of the foundations of any sort of democratic regime.” Departing from this point, the signatory countries of this Charter shall acknowledge and undertake a set of provisions involving the constitutional and legal basis of local autonomy,

comprehension of local autonomy, scope of the local autonomy, preserving the borders of the local administration, appropriate structures and resources to execute the local administrative duties required, conditions under which responsibilities are carried out at local level, administrative inspection of local administrations' activities, financial resources of the local administrations, and the right of the local administrations to organize.

As the local administrations are institutions, which are closest to the public, and facilitate effective participation of people in the administrative process, they are seen as organizations which need to be more and more autonomous in the European countries. When the ECLSG is analysed thoroughly, it can be observed that it is a contract, the fundamental philosophy of which is to make local administrations more autonomous. This Charter directly related to the Turkish public administrations, as Turkey is one of the signatories (İnaç and Ünal, 2014).

When the ECLSG is evaluated on the basis of the Turkish practices, the 5216 numbered Metropolitan Municipalities Law, 5393 numbered Municipal Law, and 5302 numbered Provincial Special Administration, which were issued with a purpose to comply with the EU Acquis, have been the most fundamental reforms. In addition to these laws, the Public Finance Management and Control Law, and the Law on Giving Share to Provincial Special Administrations and Municipalities from the General Budget Revenues are also striking as certain reforms in public administration in Turkey.

One of the milestones in terms of the local administrative mechanisms, the ECLSG is considered to be an important opportunity to improve the municipalities and transform them into more autonomous institutions. In addition, the concept of Local

Self-government envisaged in the ECLSG assigns the local administrative units the duty and responsibility of regulating and managing the general public services (Geray, 1998). Taking this assignment into consideration, this charter yields positive results in terms of the local democracy principle in Turkey, as Turkey signed the charter despite being chary of certain articles.

Indeed, when the Turkish local administrative field is examined, it can be observed that certain practices determined in the articles, which Turkey was chary of, are already being implemented. For instance, foreign country local administration units and town twinning practices are already present in today's local administrations in Turkey.

The Charter, which has contributed considerably to the development of the efficiency principle in governance, is regarded as crucial for being a contract that assures the contracting states' political, governmental, and financial independences (Keleş, 1995). Local administrations have the fundamental authorities according to the constitution and laws, and the content of the Charter does not obstruct the granting of authorities and responsibilities to the local administrative units in line with the purpose of fulfilling the needs. Local administrations are equipped with full discretionary power on any issue within their borders and within the scope of the laws. Ultimately, there is provision in relation to the authorities of the local administrations that can be summarized as follows: "the authorities acquired by the local administrations shall not be hindered by another administrative unit, unless in situations determined in laws" (Alodalı, Özcan, Çelik, & Usta, 2007).

Consequently, not desiring to be out of the integration process brought by the EU, Turkey has been concentrating on creating an efficient, transparent, and accountable

administrative system within the framework of the political participation mechanism through optimizing the unfruitful functionality between the administrators and administered. As a method for this, Turkish authorities oriented themselves toward restructuring the public administration, as required by the axes of globalization and localization dynamics. In doing this, Turkish authorities aim to fill the gap of an open inspection and checking mechanism in fulfilling the modern requirements of the public, and eliminate the deficiencies in the overall mechanism emanating from the cumbersomeness inherent in the public administrative units. The fact that local administrations are regarded to be one of the determinants in the process of becoming a EU member also proves this fact (Ökmen and Parlak, 2010).

Within the scope of the general consequences of these developments, four main factors in regulating the local administrations come to the fore in Turkey along with the impact of the EU:

1. In line with a model of “partnership” between the central and local administrations, regulations shall be made to increase the political quality of local administrations, and prioritize local assemblies in terms of politics;
2. Founding “City Councils” on the basis of the “governance” practices within the scope of the reforms in local administrations is required;
3. As practical solutions for problems in local administrations, regulations such as increasing the criteria of minimum population for establishing municipalities, and founding public inspection institutions are seen necessary;
4. Finally, projects to settle the EU norms and relevant concepts in the local administrative programs in line with the EU candidacy process are required in Turkey (Kalko, 2010).

Within the frame of these factors determined above, it might well be stated that there have been certain endeavours to strengthen the administrative capacities of the central and particularly the local administrations in line with the EU harmonization process. At this point, it is necessary the relevant assessments are present in the 2004 Progress Report prepared by the European Commission (Ökmen and Parlak, 2010).

The strong reforms, which are deemed as the driving force of transforming problematic mechanisms into responsible mechanisms, are significant tasks in modernizing the Turkish administrative traditions, and they directly contribute to the EU candidacy process. When the point that is reached today is pondered, it is stated that the Turkish public administration has undergone major changes with the impact of the EU harmonization process. Along with that, it should not be neglected that there is not any work on harmonizing the ECLSG –which was included in our government area in 1993– in accordance with the domestic law, which may possibly obstruct the legal order within the country (Ökmen and Parlak, 2010).

4.3.2. Model Implementations in Turkey within the scope of the EU Candidacy Process: Regional Development Agencies and City Councils

4.3.2.1. Regional Development Agencies

Within the scope of EU candidacy process, in which Turkey is also involved, Turkey has been tending toward entering into a new area of reforms implemented for approximately 40 years. This tendency to underline the importance of locality in development strategies, which is seen as an imposition by the EU to the candidate countries, reveals as ‘Regional Development Agencies’ that are institutions or

organizations that prioritize capital and regional competition as an accepted approach in the literature (RDA).

In Turkey, where the EU regional investment funds are not sufficiently benefited, the primary institutions to eliminate the regional deficiencies and imbalances are the regional development agencies. The main purpose of these agencies is to improve the regional economies in accordance with the services to eradicate differences among regions, and therefore, facilitate public participation to the regional politics for development through increasing the number of investment opportunities in the regions.

In general terms, Regional Development Agencies (RDA) founded with a purpose of improving the socio-economic conditions of a region, the borders of which are pre-determined, and which have an administrative structure independent from the central government, (Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, 2000) have gotten into Turkey's agenda in the planned period mentioned beforehand. Even though in that planned period, when regional policies and development plans were prepared, the substantial projects came as a result of the 1999 Helsinki Summit, where regulations to be carried out in the medium term to fulfil the candidacy criteria were determined.

It is known that the amendments to improve the conceptual framework and policies of the Regional Development Agencies, which have emerged on the basis of the partnership between the public – private sectors, have been made because of the internal and external impacts on the public administrations. Further, it is frequently asserted that the emergence of Regional Development Agencies in Turkey is unavoidable, as the country is in a position of having the broadest regional imbalance

on the basis of the comparisons and contrasts with the EU member countries (Koçberber, 2006).

Socio-economic analyses of the regions on the basis of EU regulations aimed to compose three levels of statistical regional units in the overall country so as to determine regional policies. In that, the number of statistical regional units at the Level 3 is 81, and they have emerged as provincial areas. The Level 2 statistical regional units, on the other hand, emerge as the grouping of neighbouring provinces, as in Level 3 and there are 26 of these groups of provinces. Finally, when the Level 1 is examined, it is observed that it is composed of the grouping of the regional units in Level 2 and their number is 12. In light of these classifications, the Regional Development Agencies are units to be founded in 26 separate regions at the Level 2; and they are regarded as the targets to be achieved within the scope of the EU harmonization process (Berber & Çelepçi, 2005). When the idea of Regional Development Agencies is examined with regard to Turkey, it can be observed that first implications within the country were oriented towards understanding the locality expectations and internal dynamics of locality. Besides, in the perspective of accelerating the EU candidacy process, the activities of Regional Development Agencies started around 1990s (Berber & Çelepçi, 2005). Departing from this point, the most important practices – which, indeed, could not go beyond the project phase because of lack of resources and malfunctions in the implementation – were GAP-GİDEM (Centres for Supporting and Guiding Entrepreneurship), Çukurova (Mersin) Development Agencies and SPO based Eastern Anatolian Project (DAP), and Economic Development Agencies (Hekimoğlu & Altındağ, 2006).

In addition to the Regional Development Agencies, RDA, which have the purpose of contributing to the regional development; the municipalities, provincial special administrations, universities and NGOs also reveal as actors that undertake the role of regional development. These institutions have carried out fundamental tasks on the basis of their substantial strategic cooperation with other institutions and organizations (Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, 2006).

When the Regional Development Agencies that bear the objective of resolving the differences in the levels of regional development across Turkey are scrutinized on the basis of EU policies, it can be observed that there has been intensive regional competition. As a result of this, the 5449 numbered law dated February 2006 incentivized the adoption of prioritizing regional competition in Turkey. This topical innovation leads up to two major consequences in Hasanoğlu and Aliyev's studies. The first of these consequences is the transfer of the problems as regard to the regional planning and development to the autonomous sector; and the second is the regions' higher freedom in providing regional finances (Hasanoğlu & Aliyev, 2006).

Notwithstanding this, Turkey has been shaping the regional policies only on the basis of the EU candidacy process, which is why the desired efficiency level could not be reached through the development plans. Moreover, there has not been a systematic advancement in terms of regional development in line with the world order. The Regional Development Agencies that have a more flexible structure in terms of a strong change and development within the process have been proposed to be free of political pressures. Yet, there have also been propositions that these agencies shall be abstaining from unnecessary practices and be obliged to account for a superior

institution. Putting these into practice is believed to be a significant regulation in terms of making systematic progress.

4.3.2.2. City Councils

The concept of city councils emerged and came into the forefront along with the process of transforming from representative democracy to direct democracy in order to increase participation in local administrations and lead in determining the services to be fulfilled by the local administrations in today's structure. The crucial factor contributing in the emergence of this concept is the acceptance of principles such as transparency, accountability, equity, consistency, legal commitment, customer satisfaction (citizen) and most significantly participation in the state mechanism in line with the EU candidacy process against the traditional lumpish and inefficient administrative mentality (Toksöz, 2011).

The concept of governance that is oriented toward the development and improvement of local democracy in the world was tackled in the United Nation's "Rio Earth Summit" and the "Local Agenda 21" within the framework of "sustainable development" and "global partnership" (Emrealp, 2005). Turkey got acquainted with this concept of governance in 1996 with the "Habitat II Conference" hosted in Istanbul. It was underlined within the scope of this relevant conference that the local administrations should take on steps to prepare and implement Local Agenda 21 plans, which are to be included in their regions.

In light of the developments taking place all over the world, it can be stated that amendments that will allow taking decisions for localization in Turkey has come with the Article 13 of the 5393 numbered Municipal Law, which entered into force in

2005: “Everybody is the fellow townsman in the regions they reside. The fellow townsmen have the right to participate in the decision-making processes and services of the municipalities, get information on the municipal activities, and benefit from the municipal administration’s resources. The municipality carries out the necessary works to improve the social and cultural relations among fellow townsmen and to preserve cultural values. In these relevant works, essential measures are to be taken by the municipalities to ensure the participation of universities, professional organizations that have the characteristics of public institutions, labour unions, non-governmental organizations, and specialists. Each individual residing in places within the municipal boundaries is liable to comply with the municipality’s legal decisions, ordinances, and announcements; and pay the municipal taxes, levies and charges, contribution margins, and shares.”

It is also projected to found a mechanism to prioritize functionality in line with the Municipal Law, in which the necessary points regarding the city administration are underlined. As a result, the first city councils under the name of Local Agenda 21 were founded in 1996 in provinces of Bursa, İzmir, Adapazarı, Adana, Trabzon, Kars, Tekirdağ, Van, Eskişehir, Edirne, Afyonkarahisar, Antalya, Diyarbakır and Manisa (Özdemir, 2011). Being incorporated in the the essential legal regulation, Article 76 of the 5393 numbered Municipal Law, the city councils are defined as follows: “City councils endeavour to improve city visions and awareness of fellow townsmen, protect rights and remedies of the city, concretise sustainable development, environmental consciousness, social cooperation and solidarity, transparency, bringing and giving accounts, participation, and decentralisation principles in city life. Municipalities provide support and help for the efficient and effective conduct of

activities by the city councils, which are composed of the representatives of the professional organizations having the characteristic of public institutions, labour unions, notaries, universities – if any – and relevant non-governmental organizations, political parties, public institutions and organizations, neighbourhood mukhtars and other interested parties.”

City councils, which are not seen completely as a part of EU integration process, were first brought to the agenda on the basis of the participation perspective deemed as important in line with the efficiency necessitated by the EU processes. The city councils would absolutely contribute to the development of opinions necessary for empowering local democracy and financial autonomy in respect to regulating activities and roles that would bring the administrator and administered together of the governance concept (Toksöz, 2011).

As an overall consequence, the city councils are regarded to have functions in active participation to the local decision-making processes, implementation of direct democracy, and determination of non-governmental organizations. City councils are organization models where the principle of local governance springs to life within the framework of a global planning model. Having been in limited numbers when they first were introduced, the city council models started to rapidly show their impacts with the relevant legislative amendments. With this momentum, the city councils that aim to solve problems about participation and functioning continue their existence and activities through ensuring active participatory roles in women’s assemblies, youth assemblies, working groups, and special interest groups.

The second chapter of this study aims at tackling the political parties that are regarded as the main factor in the field of local administrations and local politics in Turkey on the basis of the historical process.



5. CHAPTER 2

5.1. Comprehension of Political Parties in Historical Process and Political Parties in Turkey

Political parties that we front in today's world and approximately each and every area of life have a century of history along with being the most fundamental concepts of democracy. Becoming an indispensable and essential part of state mechanism during the course of the history, political parties are also the building stones of the democratic life principle. "The notion of political parties is a political reality that has emerged from the struggles for democracy, economic and social differentiation, and as a result, the obligation to institutionalize," (Çam, 1990).

The political parties that indicate differences according to the countries have contemporary and legal qualities in their composition. The first traces of political parties were observed in United Kingdom and United States of America (USA). To explicate those developments in the 19th century the industrial revolution has an important place. "The working class undertook the democratic movements, started by the bourgeoisie against the aristocracy in the mid-19th century. As the worker class obtained the general rights and equal voting rights, the political struggle ceased to be in the monopoly of certain classes and cliques. Large masses started to take action in the political area," (Tanilli, 1996).

Not having a legal infrastructure, the political parties' need for constitutional assurance emanated from the hitches (being estranged from the pluralist democracy and dictatorships, etc.) they came across in their due course. "Although the emergence of contemporary political parties is quite new, political parties showed a very swift

development and became the most fundamental and indispensable part of political parties in a number of countries, gaining an extraordinary importance,” (Özok, 2005).

“Today, the political parties are not subjected to similar legal regulations in every country, however political parties in western democracies reflect dispersed provisions in their national regulations, election laws, and similar regulations, and parliament bylaws, other than a few exceptions,” (Kapani, 1978)

The Political Parties in Turkey that have parliamentary democratic structure along with the democratic regime and multi-party system, shall be examined in general terms at this point. In historical perspective, it will be much more accurate to start primarily with the pre-republic period because of its governing structure and historical heritage. When the political parties, which come along with the democratic government, are referred to on the basis of the History of Turkish Democracy, the political life and party formations in the pre-republic period shall not be neglected. Along with the fact that an integrated complete definition of democracy is not referred, it is known that the first democratization movements in the Turkish political life started in pre-republic period.

As a result of the establishment of the first political parties in the Second Constitutional Monarchy period in the Ottoman Empire, a consolidated central unit took all political decisions in that time. When this fact is taken into consideration, it can be observed that the Party of Union and Progress, founded in 1889 by Ahmet Rıza Bey on the basis of the Turkism ideology, and outlined the main properties of the Republican People’s Parties (CHP) in the republic period, was significant for the democratization movements in the pre-republic period until the year 1918, when the Party of Union and Progress abolished itself (Uyar, 2001).

Along with the Second Constitutional Monarchy's proclamation in 1908, the first opposition party, the Party of Ottoman Liberals, was founded under the leadership of Prince Sabahattin. The party internalized liberalism and decentralization as political ideologies. At the same time, this party constituted the basis for today's centre-right parties' ideologies (Uyar, 2001). The Party of Union and Progress pulverised that first opposition party, the Party of Ottoman Liberals, in elections and won the majority of the votes in the First Turkish Parliament, which proves its significance back at the time (Aliefendioğlu, 1999).

According to the Associations Law in that period, there was not any distinction between associations and political parties. Except for the Party of Ottoman Liberals, there were other parties present including the The Committee of Devotees of the Nation, Ottoman Democratic Party, the Party of Union of Muhammad's Supporters, Ottoman Party of Fundamental Reforms, Communities Party, Ottoman Socialist Party, and the Freedom and Accord Party founded in 1911 (Tunaya, Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler, 1998).

When one proceeds to examine the development phases of the Turkish political parties within the context of historical perspective, the first traces of today's Republican People's Party reveal in the Republic period. Founded by the name 'People's Party' by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk before the proclamation of the Republic, and gaining the name 'Republican People's Party' after the proclamation, the party was the institutionalized version of Countrywide Resistance Organization. The party contributed in the realization of the Republican revolutions. Even though there were certain works to change the regime in the intermediary years, the party was in power

alone until 1950, having an important place in terms of the democratization of the Turkish political life.

The development of the political parties and democratization movements continued with the foundation of the Progressive Republican Party in 1924. The multi-party structure turned out to be a necessity for democracy, and this Progressive Republican Party constituted the first example of this type of political life in Turkish political regime along with the existent ones. When today's conditions are evaluated in these terms, the idea of checking and balancing the government, which is deemed as important, that period of multi-party system signifies the first major example of Turkish checks and balances of the central government.

As the Progressive Republican Party was shut in 1925 and there were major negative developments in the world economy in 1929, new solutions were aspired and, the checking and balancing mechanism, or the inspection mechanism, was to be retained, as it was an essential part of the democratic regime. Departing from these phenomena, the second opposition party emerged in 1930: the Free Republican Party. However, because the negativities of the multi-party system could not be alleviated, the party had to shut itself down. Thus and so, the second trial of multi-party system was, once again, interrupted; and not any relations were founded between the political parties and democratization movements.

The National Development Party was founded in 1945 in the following process. Along with the amendments in the Associations Law in 1946 to facilitate the transformation to the multi-party system; the Democratic Party (DP) was founded in 1946, the National Party (MP) was founded in 1948 (Aliefendioğlu, 1999).

On the basis of all the developments and negative experiences, the main phenomenon that gave momentum to the Turkish political life and political parties was the foundation of the third opposition party – although it is regarded to be the first major example of opposition parties in the Turkish political life – the Democratic Party (DP) and its getting into the parliament. DP, entering into the parliament in the 1946 elections as the opposition party, took over the power from CHP in the 1950 elections. Thereby, the Turkish political parties tradition changed radically. DP's coming into power also contributed to the consolidation of the relations between the democracy and political parties, which makes it distinctively important.

In the process that shaped today's politics, even though it is thought that the relations between the political parties and democracy were strengthened, and even that political parties and democracies became two inseparable factors in the period of multi-party system in Turkey, where not any lessons were taken from the history; from time to time, the military interventions obscured the balance between the two, namely the political parties and democratic regime. As a result of the trials carried out despite everything, Turkey transferred into the period of multi-party political life, and the way democracy exhibited itself through political parties gained momentum.

Assured for the first time by the 1961 Constitution and becoming a part of the democratic traditions in Turkey by constitutional guarantee in Turkey, the political parties were exposed to the danger of being shut down, or were directly shut down again on the basis of the constitutional principles. Notwithstanding that, political parties continued to be the main parts of the democratic tradition within the country.

When this situation is evaluated on the basis of today, 100 political parties are operating in Turkey as of 19.11.2015, (Siyasal Partiler Kanunu, 1983) in accordance

with the Article 2 of the Political Parties Act, which is acknowledged on April 22, 1983 and which covers provisions about “the foundation and organization of political parties, their operations and activities, duties, authorities, responsibilities, being held responsible, income and expenses, closing the parties and rules that regulate their closing processes” (Siyasal Partiler Kanunu, 1983). The abovementioned organizations can be categorized as the political parties in the TGNA, political parties that have the right to participate in the elections (parties shall be organized in 41 provinces in order to take part in elections in accordance with the law regulating running for power in the elections), and other parties (Türkiye'deki Siyasi Partiler Listesi).

Consequently, political parties have shaped the ground for the general politics, simultaneously; they have become ancillaries to the impacts of democracy on the society while continuing their development within historical process.

5.1.1. Definition of Political Parties and Properties of the Turkish Political Parties

Political parties that have become milestones in the democratic life, have numerous definitions. Yet, when the origin of the expression is scrutinized; the Latin word ‘pars’ comes to mean ‘part’ in Turkish; the word ‘party’ which is articulated with the same pronunciation of Turkish as in French, means ‘part’, ‘section’, or ‘group’ in our language (Perinçek, 1995; Koçak, 2002; Sarıbay, 2001). To exemplify one of the most common definitions, the following can be propounded: “political party is the name given to the community or group emanating from systematic organization of people, who have the same political opinion,” (Berkes, 2003). Another definition proposes that “political parties are communities organized with a purpose of obtaining political

power, or at least, being part of it” (Öztekin, 2000). Yet another definition states that political parties are “communities organized to achieve controlling the government in order to implement their own programs and bring their members to power (Daver, 1993).

The emergence of political parties in Turkey did not much differ from that of other countries, however it is observed that political parties were politically organized in accordance with the 2820 numbered Political Parties Act dated April 22, 1983, as a result of the organization of people separately from the labour unions and associations within the scope of the aim to govern the political life and come to power. The main ideological principle of political parties that are founded on the basis of a certain law is assessed to be the support by a certain group of people or large masses.

One of the noteworthy problems that political parties, which differentiate in terms of their foundation objectives, programs, statutes, and ideologies, come across in democratic regimes is the electoral system. The elections and electoral systems that are the results of the democratic regimes bring along political competition within the mechanism of political parties, which bear the desire to obtain the power. Particularly Turkish example indicates that the 10% electoral threshold has become one of the most disputable issues in political life in terms of competition.

Therefore, the political parties that do not want to be just parties of nameplate in the political system’s competition have been obliged to prepare their programs in a way that they will be the outputs of the political life. As a matter of fact, this situation reveals the properties, traits, and functions of the political parties.

5.1.1.1. Properties of the Turkish Political Parties

Political parties are, as determined previously, legal entities organized to act nationwide with a purpose to reach up to the level of modern civilizations in a state mechanism and social order via setting a national will through their explicit propaganda, and projects in line with the opinions they declared in their statutes and programs through members of parliaments and local administration in accordance with the Constitution and relevant regulations (Siyasal Partiler Kanunu, 1983).

Before touching upon the properties of the political parties, it is more beneficial to elaborate on the type of the political parties briefly. According to Duverger, political parties are evaluated in two essential categories as cadre and mass parties. Such a distinction between parties is not based on the number of members, but the structure. The fundamental quality of the cadre parties is uttered to be the permutation of members as regards to the political and financial aspects. Cadre parties are parties that are not effective in times other than election times within the scope of their type; such parties have a low number of members; the effectiveness of the central organization is high, whereas the provincial organizations of such cadre parties are weak in terms of effectiveness. On the other hand, the political parties with higher number of members, through which the members have effective roles in decision-making processes, and the provincial organizations of which are far more effective are the mass parties. Mass parties are effective both in election and other times, as they continue working at similar paces. Cadre parties that generally stand on the right side of the political range may be given as examples to the Western type conservative and liberal parties. The financing of cadre parties, which gain their strength from the parliament, is dependent upon the donations and aids, which is why the membership fees are of great

importance. Left/socialist/communist parties can be shown as first examples of mass parties emerging along with the development of the right to vote. Exhibiting disciplined and centralist structures, the mass parties prioritize membership fees as regards to the financing, as determined above (Süer, 2011).

The Turkish example of the cadre parties, which we see in the United States of America and United Kingdom, is the Democratic Party (DP) according to Duverger. If we are to give examples to the mass parties in Turkey, Republican People's Party (CHP) and Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) are the primary ones. Following such comments, Kirchheimer brought forward the concept of 'Catch-all Parties' the examples of which are seen in the USA being the Democratic and Republican Parties, and Justice and Development Party (AK Party) in Turkey, have an all-different significance in today's political life. Such parties emerged as a result of the ideologies, having been formed after the World War II, and they aim to acquire the highest vote rates.

Yet, it is still necessary to briefly evaluate the political party types in general terms. As a matter of fact, the essential compounds that political parties should have are as follows: (Kapani, 1992 ; Tunaya, 1982)

1. The understanding of sustainability and continuity – the understanding of a sustainable organization, which is not limited by the party administrator's lifetime...
2. Putting extensive, systematic, and conscious efforts with the same ideology in the name of acquiring power...
3. Gaining constituents within the direction of obtaining ruling power through election, which is the pre-condition of democracy...

4. Bearing the idea of representation with a purpose of acquiring absolute power...

5.2. Ruling Power in the Light of Political Parties –The Understanding of Opposition

Whatever the political regime, the opposition and ruling powers are always regarded as the unavoidable results of democracy. The understanding of ruling power, which is frequently debated whether to be pluralist or majoritarian, is indispensable for political parties. The reason for this is that political parties have combined their struggles for existence and resistance against the system. In fact, the main reason that political parties are founded in the background is the fact that they aspire to acquire political power. Besides, this must be the real aspiration in their foundation. Otherwise, it is obvious that political parties cannot succeed at all. In today's world, whether the political parties will be successful or not explicitly depends on the possibility of gaining the ruling power.

Another undeniable point is that political parties aspire to legitimise political power in the background of the desire to come to power. It is uttered in the Greek historian Thucydides' book that recites the Peloponnesian War that the majoritarian condition is the democratic legitimacy of the ruling power as follows: "Our Constitution ... is named after democracy. The reason for this is that the ruling power is not in the hands of the minority, but the majority of people in higher numbers," (Akartürk, 2010).

Under the existence of democracy, if it is necessary to define the phenomenon of ruling power, it can be stated that ruling power is composed of a person or people, who legitimised their political power by acquiring the power to administer through elections. The same situation applies to the definition of the opposition parties. The

opposition is composed of people, who gained the support of a certain number of people through elections, yet could not obtain the power to rule. The opposition parties have the power to represent the administered within the parliament. They are further stated to be people who criticise the ruling power's policies or adopt policies different from those of the ruling power.

In a world of today, where various administrative regimes are adopted, certain differences are observed between the ruling powers and opposition parties in terms of determining and implementing policies. Consequently, the idea that there is constant power and interest struggle in democratic regimes has been an irrefutable fact.

The party that holds ruling power in line with the constitutional principles legitimises its power to implement policies within their programs. Along with that, it holds the political winning power against the opposition. Under these circumstances, opposition parties cannot implement their policies fully, and that is why opposition parties should come to terms with the ruling power or strengthen their desire to gain the ruling power with different ideologies through cooperating with other various pressure groups.

As in many other regimes, the ruling power overlaps with the political party functions in Turkey, as well. When we assess the current political parties within the scope of the definitions of ruling and opposition party in the Turkish political life, the political parties that get over the electoral threshold have the ruling party on the basis of their vote rates in accordance with the 1982 Constitution. Similarly, opposition parties get over the electoral threshold and reveal as parties criticising the ruling policies.

The desire to gain the ruling power is much more valid for the multi-party systems, because there cannot be a competition to win the ruling power in single party regimes because of the lack of opposition parties. This case was experienced in Turkey in historical process, and single party policies could not be inspected, and more comprehensive policies could not be established because of the lack of opposition parties in that time.

As it is seen, even though attaining the ruling power is important, the existence of the opposition party cannot be undermined. The concern of losing the ruling power is actually resulting from the existence of the opposition parties. The ruling parties that obtain their power through the elections in democratic regimes may still lose that power to the opposition parties through elections. Therefore, the political party that legitimises its power politically should implement its policies rightfully. If not, it will not be neglected that such political parties will be subjected to the criticisms of the opposition party. Exactly at this point, the concepts and definitions of party leaders and intraparty discipline emerge as major fields of study. When it is taken into consideration that getting the ruling power under the democratic rules can only be achieved through elections, political party leaders have really important roles in terms elections. Should the political party leader combine their charismatic legitimacy with the party concept, it may well be purported that the desire to come to power will be more clearly understood by the constituents.

The charismatic leader stance in Turkey that we have been observing for years now provides the political parties with the opportunity to gain the ruling power. Similarly, a strong charismatic leader may shape the ruling power, and at the same time, will bring along a strong opposition. However, at this point Hobbes' well-known assertion

that “Life is nothing else than continuously pursuing the ruling power until death” comes to the forefront. The fact that the rulers see ruling power as something material and they form ruling structures that are legitimised by strongly sticking to this power presents practical proof Hobbes’ this assertion.

When the ruling power and opposition part concepts are examined on the basis of Turkey and Turkish constituents, the concept of floating votes comes to the forefront. As previously mentioned, when it is taken into consideration that political parties get certain amount of support in Turkey within the scope of the political range, the assertion that indecisive constituents or floating votes deeply shape the ruling and opposition parties’ structures becomes quite powerful.

In this framework, together with the 1982 Constitution that composes the act of political parties today, the political ruling parties in the Republic of Turkey on the basis of the elections are exhibited in Table 1. As a result, it can clearly be observed that the ruling and opposition parties in democratic regimes bring along numerous other definitions, as well. As it is seen, the political parties organizing in the name of capturing the political power pave the way for the confrontation of ruling and opposition parties as a result of the legitimate acts of democracy.

Table 1.

Prime Ministers of the Republic of Turkey and Ruling Parties after the 1980 Military Intervention

Prime Minister	Tenure	Political Party
Turgut Özal	December 13, 1983 – December 21, 1987 - December 21, 1987 – October 31, 1989	Motherland Party (ANAP)
Yıldırım Akbulut	November 9, 1989 – June 23, 1991	Motherland Party (ANAP)
Mesut Yılmaz	June 23, 1991 – November 20, 1991	Motherland Party (ANAP)
Süleyman Demirel	November 20, 1991 – May 16, 1993	True Path Party (DYP)
Tansu Çiller	June 25, 1993 – October 5, 1995 October 5, 1995 – October 30, 1995 October 30, 1995 – March 6, 1996	True Path Party (DYP)
Mesut Yılmaz	March 6, 1996 – June 28, 1996	Motherland Party (ANAP)
Necmettin Erbakan	June 28, 1996 – June 30, 1997	Welfare Party (RP)
Mesut Yılmaz	30 Haziran 1997 – 11 Ocak 1999	Motherland Party (ANAP)
Bülent Ecevit	January 11, 1999 – May 28, 1999 - May 28, 1999 – November 18, 2002	Democratic Left Party (DSP)
Abdullah Gül	November 18, 2002 – March 14, 2003	Justice and Development Party (AK Party)
Recep Tayyip Erdoğan	March 14, 2003 – August 29, 2007 August 29, 2007 – July 6, 2011 July 6, 2011 – August 29, 2014	Justice and Development Party (AK Party)
Ahmet Davutoğlu	August 29, 2014 – August 28, 2015 August 28, 2015 – November 24, 2015 November 24, 2015 – On duty	Justice and Development Party (AK Party)

Note. From “Türkiye'deki Siyasi Partiler Listesi.” (n.d.). Wikipedia. Retrieved 11 26, 2015, from https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/T%C3%BCrkiye%27deki_siyasi_partiler_listesi#Di.C4.9Fer_Par

5.3. Electoral Systems and Turkish Implementations

Election is defined as the process of determining the person or institution that will carry out the public duties among various candidates by the constituents on the basis of their preferences (Türk, 2006). According to another definition, the phenomenon of election is the determination of the administrators by the administered on the basis of the legal methods (Cotteret & Emeri, 1975).

Elections revealing within the democratic regimes determine the ruling and opposition parties in a country. The electoral mechanisms or systems that differ depending upon the country, steer the ways to conduct the elections in the relevant countries through democratic implications. Even though only the legal infrastructure of the electoral systems are taken into consideration, what determines the infrastructure of the elections in the name of the freedoms is, indeed, the way to tackle the fundamental issues (Özgül, 2002). Hence, what is to be communicated here is that the technique applied to determine the representatives is worthy of notice (Tunç, 1999).

While the political parties' routes are determined as a result of the elections as ruling or opposition parties, the Lijphart process is defined as “the mechanism to transform the constituents’ votes into the chairs of the representatives (administrators)” (Lijphart, 1994).

On the basis of the above-clarified situations, the electoral system of our country and the systems in other countries with democratic regimes must be scrutinized. Such an analysis can be carried out and summarized through three different titles. These fundamental titles are: systems based on the principle of majority, in which the candidate receiving the highest rate of votes within the polling district is elected

complying with the single type and two type structures of this mechanism; systems dependent upon the proportional representation, which is expressed as determining the party candidates according to the listing procedure and having members of parliament on the basis of the vote rates at the national and constituency levels; and the mixed systems that differentiate depending on the structure of the country, and taking some of the properties of the abovementioned systems in order to terminate the inconveniences of the both primary systems. Duverger assesses the electoral systems generally with their advantages and disadvantages according to relevant countries as follows:

- 1) Proportional Representation brings along numerous strict and independent party systems as tendencies,
- 2) The double grade majoritarian system, on the other hand, shows the tendency to form numerous flexible and interdependent party systems,
- 3) Finally, the single grade party system shows a tendency toward the system of binary parties (Yavaşgel, 2004).

5.3.1. Implementation of Electoral Systems in Turkey

The elections that are formed in the name of the democratic implications and the resulting electoral systems or mechanisms have two major benefits as stability (which can be clarified as stability in administration and is the fair voter tendency reflected to the legislatures) and justice (which can be clarified as justice in representation and is the purpose to found stable governments) (Tuncer, Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Seçimler (1877-2002), 2003).

The fact that political parties come to power as a result of elections and then amend the electoral systems to be able to regain the ruling power is practised in various countries. Besides, a number of problems and conflicts emerge as a result of this practice. It will surely be more useful to evaluate this issue of elections and electoral systems in Turkey as of 1946, with the multi-party system.

The Democratic Party (DP) presented 61 members of parliament as a result of the 1946 elections, in which the majoritarian system was applied as an element of the multi-party system. In the 1950 elections, on the other hand, the list system was utilized. Along with this utilization, DP acquired 53% of the votes. The party also had more enhanced right to represent than the necessary vote rates because of the applied electoral system back at the time. This situation continued in the 1954 and 1957 elections as a return of the applied majoritarian system.

The 1961 elections following the 1960 military interventions were carried out on the basis of the proportional representation principle that brings justice in representation into the forefront. Further, the d'Hont system with a threshold was applied in that election. In line with the understanding of justice in representation, the difference between the rates of the votes that were acquired and representation rate was diminished, and Turkey was introduced to the concept of coalition government” in the election of 1961. A different system of elections was tried in the 1965 elections and the votes that parties got from the constituents and the residual votes that were not calculated during the course of the distribution of members of parliament were also taken into evaluation and the principle of justice in representation got much more into the forefront.

The d'Hont system without threshold was applied in the 1969 elections. Following that, the preferential voting system was used in the 1973 elections, which gave rise to the coalition of the Republican People's Party (CHP) and National Salvation Party (MSP). Following the developments that took place after the 1973 and 1977 elections, along with the 1980 military intervention, the 1983 elections were carried out on the basis of the d'Hont electoral system with double threshold (the constituency threshold and 10% country threshold) that prevented the formation of coalition governments in the country. The 1983 elections enabled the emergence of the practice of single-party government, and the Motherland Party (ANAP) became the ruling party as a result of those limitations.

The understanding of amending the electoral systems in order to be able to retrieve the ruling power once again after the tenure is over, which is mentioned before in this study, came into prominence before the 1987 elections. So, in addition to the threshold application in the elections, quota arrangement was also used in the 1987 elections. On the other hand, this amendment was not reflected to the 1991 elections, and the understanding of single-party gave its place to coalition governments with the 1991 elections. Those developments continued in the 1995 and 1999 elections, as well. In order to increase the applicability of the principle of justice in representation, only country threshold was left in 1995 elections. The country threshold d'Hont system was put into force in the year 1995 in accordance with the amendment in the Article 67 of the Parliamentary Election Law (*"Electoral laws are regulated in way that correlate the principles of justice in representation and stability in administration."*) (4121 numbered Law, dated 23.7.1995). The elections following this date continued in line with this system (Tuncer, 2006).

Table 2.

Electoral Systems Applied in Turkey

Electoral System	Election Period
Election system based on the majority principle	
List system majority	1946,1950,1954,1957 Member of Parliament 1961 Republican Senate Election
Election system based on proportional representation	
Threshold d'Hont	1961 Member of Parliament / 1964 Republican Senate Election
National Remainder	1965 Member of Parliament / 1966 Republican Senate Election
D'Hont without threshold	1969, 1973, 1977 Member of Parliament 1968,1973,1975,1977,1979 Republican Senate Election
Double threshold d'Hont	1983 Member of Parliament
Double threshold d'Hont + Quota	1987,1991 Member of Parliament
Country threshold d'Hont	1995,1999,2002,2007,2011,2015 Member of Parliament

Note. From Tuncer, E. (2006). Türkiye’de Seçim Uygulamaları/Sorunları Işığında Temsilde Adalet - Yönetimde İstikrar İlkelerinin İşlevselliği. *Anayasa Yargısı Dergisi*, 23, 169.

In order to clarify the situation after the election, it is important to state that the political conditions along with the electoral systems are also significant (Bahçeci, 2005). Following the elections that were carried out through different applications and the electoral systems formed as a resulting from this process, the principle of justice in representation was actualized in the 1995 and 1999 elections. In 2002 and 2007, on the other hand, the principle of stability was actualized. However, the fact that the 45.3% of the vote rates in 2002 elections were outside the parliament created the concept of injustice in representation against the idea of justice in political representation (Tuncer, 2006).

5.4. An Overview of Ruling and Opposition Parties in Turkey after the Year 2000

Despite the fact that today's political life elements were based on and strengthened through the developments experienced after the republic period, it is known that the primary factors that were transferred to today's political life took place in early 2000s. The definitions of the ruling and opposition parties and their significance were previously determined in the first chapter. In spite of the fact that opposition parties could not emerge fully in the single-party periods, the single-party rulers were open to criticism and a strong opposition organization emerged in early 2000s.

Following the coalition governments emanating from the consensus put forward as a result of the elections carried out in the Turkish democratic political life, the opposition party structures did not change considerably. The AK Party, positioning itself as centre-right, laid the basis for today's political life in the 2002 general elections against CHP, the main opposition party, which continues its political

activates as a left-of-centre party. The AK Party, thereby, continues its political activities today by legitimising its ruling power as a result of elections.

In fact, it would not be wrong to define this period as transformation to charismatic leader. The AK Party was founded on August 14, 2001 under the leadership of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan after his speech in Siirt as a politically banned person back at the time, in line with the constitutional principles, and as an extension of the closed Welfare Party (RP) and the Virtue Party (FP). The party officials declared that they were not extension of the Virtue Party, uttering that they are not a religious party under a conservative and democratic identity. They qualified themselves as elected ones coming from among the public (AK Parti, 2003). The AK Party cadres were composed of the people who could not transform to the Felicity Party (SP) the continuation of the closed Virtue Party (FP). When the AK Party's cadre is separated from the past political life activities, it would not be wrong to say that the AK Party emerged as a whole new party. The AK Party that determined its fundamental philosophy on the basis of the Political Parties Act. Its target is to combine its fundamental principles, being the modern democratic principles, with the idea of "social acceptance" in line with the 'innovative approaches' (AK Parti, 2003).

As regards to Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's perspective, he describes the target of the party program as follows: "As a requirement of our understanding of participatory democracy, as much as we value being close relations with all the non-governmental organizations and mass organizations, we put a cordial effort to understand and evaluate these organizations' expectations and demands, we strive for expressing ourselves as clear as possible to those organizations and the general public." Following the '2001 Economic Crisis' when the CHP was not in the parliament, the

AK Party, which was just 15 months old party on November 3, 2002, came out of the general elections successfully with a high vote rate, and became the ruling party under the presidency of Abdullah Gül, because Recep Tayyip Erdoğan was politically banned. In the following period, today's main opposition party CHP supported the constitutional amendment to remove Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's political ban. Erdoğan, then, was elected, as Member of Parliament in the Siirt renewal elections, and at the same time, became the AK Party's leader.

Resigning as a result of that situation, Abdullah Gül and the President of the 58th Government Ahmet Necdet Sezer gave the duty to form the government to Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, and the foundations of today's political life were laid on March 15, 2003 with the formation of the 59th Government.

Within this framework, the important issue that is raised about today's political life is that the AK Party have not lose any ruling power except for the June 7, 2015 elections, carried out after Recep Tayyip Erdoğan became the president in 2014, triggering the change in the party leaders.

CHP, the Republican People's Party, shall also be evaluated from its beginning at this point. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk founded CHP in the name of democratization. Being prioritized for founding the Republic of Turkey and for its well-rooted party history, CHP adopted the principles of "Republicanism", "Populism", "Secularism", "Statism" and "Revolutionism" within historical process and today, is defining itself as the centre left party on the basis of the left-of-centre understanding (CHP Official Web Site). Bülent Ecevit elaborated this concept in his book "Left-of-Centre" that is acknowledged as the emerging point of social democratic structure as follows: "The ones who rise against the situation of people that cannot find

educational opportunities and have a sense of eliminating this injustice are in the left-of-centre. The ones who feel the pain of the working children at the educational age and want to rescue them from such an overwhelming situation are in the left-of-centre. The ones who can feel the sorrow of the mineworkers and strive for solving their problems are in the left-of centre” (Erden, 2015).

CHP was the strong single-party until 1964 because of the lack of an opposition party. It was closed with the 1980 military intervention, and along with the termination of the political setbacks after 69 years from its foundation, CHP was re-opened on September 9, 1992. Then, the party had the idea of combining the left part of the society under the same roof. In the coming years, it started to lose its political power gradually and today is the main opposition party (CHP Official Web Site)

Following the 1999 and the 2002 general elections that shaped today’s ruling party CHP returned to the parliament once again. As a result of the number of members of parliament the party obtained, it became the main opposition party.

Following the party leader Deniz Baykal’s resignation, the party leader became Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu in 2010. Even though this change in party leaders brought about partial increase in CHP’s votes, the votes were not sufficient to change the structure of the country. The party still continues as the main opposition party in the Turkish political life. Along with the constitutional amendment that allowed Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s election as a member of parliament, the consensus between the ruling and opposition parties turned out be literal competition in the near future on the basis of the processed undergone. Departing from this point, the below tables reveal when today’s political life in Turkey is evaluated in the

perspective of historical process and within the scope of the general elections conducted after the year 2000.

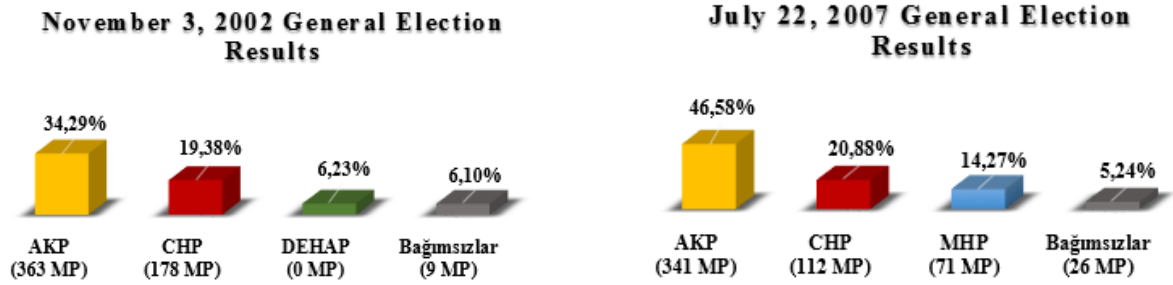


Figure 1. November 3, 2002 and July 22, 2007 General Election Results

Source. AK Parti. (n.d.). 2002 Genel Seçim Sonuçları. Retrieved 10 15, 2015, from <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/secimler/2002-genel-secim>

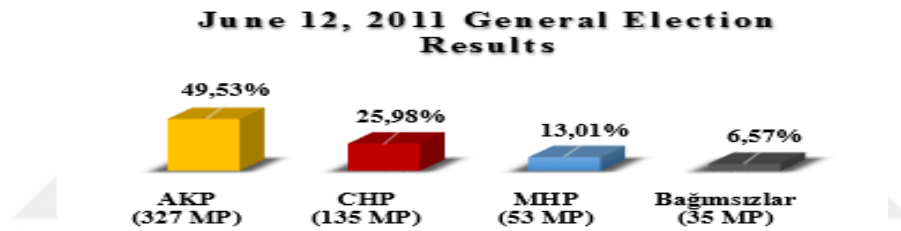


Figure 2. June 12, 2011 General Election Results

Source. Resmi Gazete. (2011, 6 23). 2011 Genel Seçim Sonucu. Retrieved from.

<http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/main.aspx?home=> <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2011/06/20110623.htm&main=>
<http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2011/06/20110623.htm>

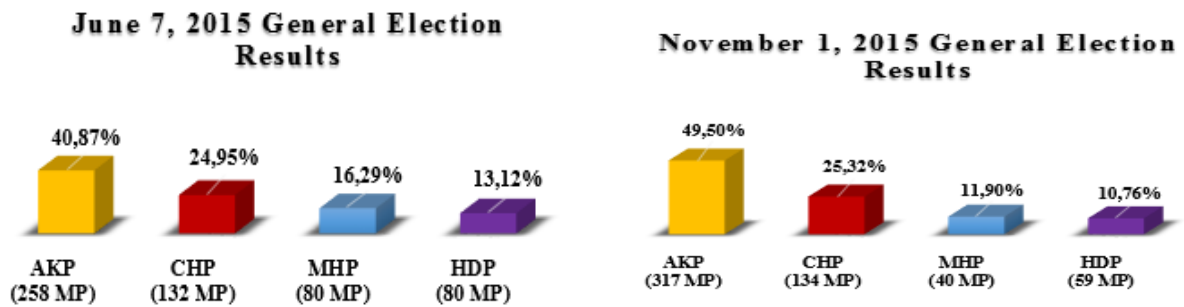


Figure 3. June 7, 2015 and November 1, 2015 General Election Results

Source.Yüksek Seçim Kurulu. (n.d.). Milletvekili Genel Seçimi Arşivi. Ankara.

Retrieved 10 18, 2015

As determined in the above figures, the answer to the question how the local administration elections and policies are shaped is provided to some extent. The political competition between the ruling and opposition parties, which is also one of the important issues in the Turkish democratic political life, becomes one of the main topics of this study, as it has been a determinant issue in the overall political mechanism in Turkey within recent years.

The concepts of local administration or localization are expressed as the transfer of certain authorities, resources, and responsibilities from the central to the local government. It is deduced that the competition between the centre-right and centre-left parties that emerged as a result of this transfer affects the policy-making processes in the local administration. These two concepts that are mentioned above shape the political parties programs, while at the same time, bring along the understanding of local administrations on the basis of the historical perspective (Urul & Serteser, 2015).

Following the historical analyses of the Turkish local administrations and political parties, and their application in Turkey, the study will further focus, as a main theme, on the ruling and main opposition parties formed with the 2011 General Election results in the third chapter. Besides, the ruling and main opposition parties will be evaluated on the basis of the 'Public Administration Understanding' and 'Local Administration Policies' that they purported before the March 30, 2014 elections in their party programs and 2014 Local Election Statements.

6. CHAPTER 3

6.1. The Local Administration Policies of the Ruling and Main Opposition Parties Within the Scope of the 2014 Local Election Statements

6.1.1. The Concept of Local Administration Policy

The idea of generalizing the public policies emerged on the basis of H.D Lasswell's article titled as the "Policy Orientation." Laswell underlines in this article a new field that is named as the "political sciences." This new comprehension is aimed to understand the state, which has turned out to be more complex than ever, and to facilitate meeting the social requirements with rightful and comprehensive policies (Hekim, 2013).

Public policies have emerged as the intervening policies – economy policies, city policies, and security policies – by determining the social problems and producing convenient solutions for these problems (Usta, 2013). The public policies that emerge in the process of solving the social problems, in fact, are expressed as the political administrators' methods in handling these problems.

The most important factor in public policies is the demand to establish policies and the actors taking role in the process of establishing policies. A public policy may be about activating the political system by the civil or official people or groups of people in the time of need for solving social problems, or may also be directly implemented by the public administrators in the time of need. The actors taking place in the decision-making process of these policies – the constituents, pressure groups, political

parties, ruling party or opposition mechanism – contribute directly or indirectly in the process of creating such relevant policies.

Political parties, which have a great importance in terms of our study, reveals also as the most significant actors of the public policies. Political parties are in apposition that has a functional role in incorporating the social demands or needs within the political system and processing these needs as policies.

When the concept of public policies is approached in general terms, it can be stated that public policies are interventions carried out or not carried out by the state mechanism. From this perspective, public policies can be uttered as the methods, strategies, or activities that are carried out or not carried out by the public administrations in terms of the public services. As it is necessary to evaluate this purported situation, the concept of public policies is not much associated with the local administration organizations. However, the local people and local administrations become two most important structures in meeting the needs and demands when the local administrations in field of democratic life are considered on the basis of the idea that they are the extensions of the political ruling mechanism at the local level.

Departing from this point, local administrations turn out to be actors in establishing public policies on local scale in terms of the activities carried out or not carried out to provide public services (Eryılmaz, 2012). The questions tat needs to be asked here at this point is as follows: Are the local administrations independent mechanisms in the field of public policies? Even if local administrations reveal as autonomous organizations, the yare dependent upon the state mechanism in terms of establishing and implementing public policies. Although the local administrative units take place

in the process of producing policies to fulfil the local needs, they can only act within the borders of the constitution during the course of this process, and they are under the tutelage of the central authority.

As a result, it is accepted that the central authority is in the forefront in the process of establishing public policies; on the other hand, this situation does not prevent the local administrations from being independent in the issues peculiar to the local social processes. Especially after globalization, the direct or indirect participation of the public in the process of policy-making is deemed to be considerably significant in the order of democratic life. Yet, in countries such as Turkey, where central authorities outweigh, the local administrations' full independence is not seen possible. Notwithstanding that, local administrations are considered to be administrative institutions that have the authority to establish and implement policies according to the demands of the social community on the basis of their resources within the framework of the positive law. In addition, when the age of globalization that we live in taken into consideration, local administrations have turned out to be much more important in terms of urban administration; and the need for the redefinition of the local administration's authorities and responsibilities toward the citizens has emerged, as the local administrations are public legal entities taking liability through elections. Within the scope of this apprehension, it has been discussed that local administrations shall undertake new responsibilities such as economic and social, in addition to their existent traditional services. On the basis of this idea, local administrations have undertaken such responsibilities, which has contributed considerably to the process of making local administration mechanisms more functional in terms of establishing local scale public policies.

In light of these evaluations, it will certainly be more accurate to tackle the local administration policies of the ruling and main opposition parties that have emerged as a result of the 2011 General Elections separately within the scope of the 2014 Local Elections.

6.2. The Ruling Party's (Justice and Development Party) Understanding of Local Administration

The Justice and Development Party (AK Party), the infrastructure of which was established by the Virtue Party (FP) following the 2001 Economic Crisis, and which currently leded by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, came to power alone by acquiring the majority of the votes on November 29, 2002. Defining its ideology as being “conservative democratic party” the AK Party has adopted the principle of protecting fundamental rights and freedoms within the scope of the understanding of individual-centric democracy in its party program.

The AK Party assumes that one of its fundamental targets is to facilitate active participation of the public to the central and local administration processes on the basis of the Development and Democratization compound that constitutes the first part of the party program. The AK Party defends an understanding of public administration that is based on mutual dialogue (Kaya, 2013)

The AK Party that aims to make the idea of active citizen participation to the administrative processes, which is articulated in the first years of EU candidacy process, applicable through necessary regulations, specifically underlines the importance of the local administrations' democratic rights in line with this aim. As it is a known fact, the idea of affinity to the citizens is of particular interest for the

parties aiming to obtain the ruling power renders the local administrations crucial for the parties. Evaluating the local administrations that are particularly important as regard to the global world order and European Union (EU) candidacy process within the scope of the ruling AK Party in this study, it will be essential to primarily look at the AK Party's understanding of 'Public Administrations' within the framework of their party program, which is to render more accurate results.

6.2.1. The Public Administration Understanding of the Ruling Party (AK Party) within the scope of its Party Program

The AK Party, which states its main objective as serving to the citizens and society, also targets focusing on the axis of democratization, localization, and civilization in the public administration and thereby, adopts an administrative mentality that has modern qualities in line with a continuously improving public administration concept. The AK Party defends the assumption that the authorities and responsibilities of the central authority shall be transferred to the local administrations as much as possible in the name of making the public administrative process functional. It further states that the public administration mechanism must be transparent and accountable under a social state model. In light of these insights, the AK Party's targets and objectives in relation to its local administrations program will be evaluated under the title of 'Public Administration Development and Democratization Program':

6.2.1.1. Central Administration

The AK Party, which is observed to found its understanding of public administration on citizen satisfaction, has uttered the central administration's need for a new

organization so as to be efficient in providing public services. The party also stated that their administration mentality requires that new organization to be a mechanism that is in line with the international quality standards. Within this framework, the AK Party that aims to end the ponderousness in the public administration aspires to regulate the central administration's competencies of inspecting the local administrations in accordance with their public administration policies. The Party has a yearning to re-plan the principles of decentralization and distribution of tasks and give the local administrations the power to decide on certain issues.

In addition, the AK Party also has an aspiration to reduce the formalities that are not necessary in the state and bureaucracy. The Party aims to preclude the understanding of favouritism or clientelism – that is regarded as a weak point – in the field of public administration. Thereby, the need for a general legal regulation in terms of the administration's decision-making and implementation processes is purported. Defending the new public administration understanding against the traditional one, the AK Party puts the idea into the forefront that the local administrations should carry out a number of services belonging originally to the central authority in a rapid, efficient, and functional mechanism. This necessity put forward by the Party, can be defined as the local administration units in many European countries, where these local administrations are strong and their efficiency is considerably increased.

6.2.1.2. Local Administrations

The AK Party deems empowering the local administrations, which have role of constituting a bridge between the administrative mechanism and citizens, as one of its important objectives. With the formation of new local administrative service units, the

Party envisages forming other necessary mechanisms that will create solution methods for the citizens' complaints and views about the local administrations' services in line with the transparent and functional governance approach that has emerges within the globalization process.

Accordingly, the AK Party's party program shall be evaluates under the title of 'Local Administrations.' "Our age is partially a globalization age, and partially an age of localization where local administrations outweigh within the state mechanisms. However, democracy is not just a regime of the right to elect and be elected, but also a regime of participation and cooperation. The fundamental units that are to actualize this participation and cooperation, on other other hand, are local administrations. As in a number of other areas of the public life in Turkey, the real problem in the local administration, as well, is the fact that the democracy lacks depth in this country. What needs to be done about this issue is to carry the common principles and practices of the participatory and pluralist democracies to the area of public administrations within the frame of their current economic and public administration perceptions.

The Party objectives in line with the above insights are as follows:

- "Our Party will grant the local administrations the authority to improve their polity according to the local needs.
- Our Party will ensure that the local administrations acquire financial power that suffices in terms of amount and diversity to meet the expenditures in fulfilling their duties.

- The Party will facilitate the non-governmental organizations' participation in the decision-making processes and certain activities of the local administrations.
- The Party will bring a principle of counselling to the local administrations before making a regulation in a field that is their area of interest.
- In accordance with the European Charter of Local Self-governance, the right to local administration will be incorporated in our constitutional system. All the regulations as regards to the local administrations including the right to resort to the jurisdiction will be carried out.
- The Party will supervise the principle that the local administrations' authorities to inspect and control shall in proportion with the importance of the interests that are to be protected.
- Objective criteria will be brought for founding metropolitan municipalities. The sharing of duties-authorities between the metropolitan and provincial municipalities will be carried out in such a way that will not hinder their services.
- The Party will realize the 'Local Administration Reform' that will be based on making an amendment in the rule that municipal borders are within the territorial borders," (AK Parti)

6.2.1.3. Public Personnel Administration

The AK Party that has adopted the understanding of public administration on the basis of citizen satisfaction continues this approach in the public personnel administration area, as well. The AK Party defines the duty of the public officials as the aim of satisfying the citizens in the time of providing service. The Party also focuses on the

‘customer’ understanding in providing services. The ruling party that focuses on continuously improving the public personnel through regular trainings, values the principle of performance management in personnel administration.

Emphasizing career and competency in the recruitment process of public officials, the AK Party values the necessary legal regulations in order to terminate the negativities resulting from the difference between the workers and officials among public personnel. In addition, the AK Party defends the idea of equality in public officials’ wages. Drawing attention to the necessity that there must be equal wages present for the ones who are carrying out the same duty, the Party explicates that the unnecessary interventions of the bureaucrats on the public officials must be terminated.

6.2.1.4. Security

The security principle is one of the indispensable principles for the state mechanism according to the AK Party, which draws attention to the fact that the long-term security in our country is based on integration, and economic development. The AK Party sees ensuring the security principle in Turkey to the level of modern nations as an integrated part of the democratic system. The AK Party bases the security policies of the party on the National Security Council, which is reorganized in compliance with the coordination between the security institutions and the decision-making mechanism and the EU standards.

6.2.1.5. Fight against Corruption

The AK Party that determined the policies to fight against corruption, which his defined as the abuse of the ruling power, emphasizes the significance of transparency in public administration, regulating the tender bylaws, and coordination in terms of

preventing and investigating corruption. It is aimed that Turkey becomes a part of the Group of States Against Corruption (GRECO) formed within the body of the European Council by increasing the competencies and authorities of the chief prosecutions in terms of fighting against corruption in public administration (AK Parti)

The AK Party, which holds the position as the ruling party, handles its programs targeting social policies under a different title as ‘Public Administration and Democratization Program’ than its public administration policies. In line with this differentiation, the AK Party’s overall understanding of social policies and targets shall be examined as follows:

6.2.1.6. The Understanding of Social Policies

Establishing all its policies and targets as service to public, the AK party defends an understanding social policy that is based on the welfare and wellbeing of all the citizens in the country. The AK Party also targets an understanding of efficiency in the presenting services in line with the cooperation that is necessary to be founded between the central authority and local administrations on the basis of the social state principle. The Party also prioritizes the essential functional measures to be taken for facilitating the lives of the handicapped citizens through local administrative units.

6.2.1.7. Education and Health

About education, which the citizens see as a significant right, and which has become an indispensable factor of the global world order, the AP Party projects necessary regulations to establish common relations and cooperation among the local administrations, the private sector, and universities. The party officials state that the

negative developments in the field of education cannot be corrected by any superiority in another field, and that they attribute special importance to the education, which is the key of development. As a matter of fact, the AK Party, which pursues basing the fundamental education curricula on the needs of the modern age, emphasizes the importance of local administration in realizing this, and foresees that the ministry of National Education shall have inspecting and regulating authorities. In addition, the AK Party, advocating for the principle of equality in education, states that the local authorities free of charge in light of the democratic principles must fulfil the fundamental education need. There is also an objective to present special initiatives for the regions that are primarily to be developed in terms of occupational education.

In the field of higher education, which still a heated debated today, the AK Party underlines that fact that there is need for a radical reform so as to achieve success. The party officials draw attention to the fact that the Council of Higher Education (YÖK) must be in a position that is allows it to determine coordination standards among universities.

In the field of health, on the other hand, the AK party adopts the principle of integrating the local administrative units in the new health system, and actualizing programs for short, middle, and long-term investments in the field of health. As an irreplaceable compound of the social state principle, the health services shall be provided within the scope of an efficient and high-quality health system, according to the party programs.

In line with the perception that “The health industry shall be coordinated by a single centre, the Ministry of Health. The Ministry shall solely undertake the roles of organization, coordination, guidance, inspection, monitoring, and policy-making,” the

AK Party values the works on raising awareness about family planning. The party also targets extending preventive medicine and improving public and environmental health.

The general health insurance in force today ensures all citizens benefit from the health system. Within this framework, it is aimed to increment the efficiency and quality in the field of health without increasing the costs; on the contrary by reducing the health costs for the citizens. Moreover, it is also aimed to regulate the healthcare professionals' rights in line with the international standards, and to bring about legal regulations about the patient rights, as underlined by the ruling party.

6.2.1.8. Culture and Arts – Science and Technology

Underscoring the current competition in the global world order, the AK Party states that the country's cultural competition will be eliminated with the country's losing of its cultural identity. In uttering these words, the party emphasizes the importance of the cultural and artistic events in terms of international reputation. In this context, the interaction between the existent national cultural and universal values must be protected, and carried to the upper level, according to the AK Party. The Party values development of policies on remedying the deficiencies in language, literature, folklore, etc. that are significant compounds of the culture. Besides, the party believes that such policies to remedy the deficiencies must be based on the ideas and views of the specialists in their fields, and non-governmental organizations.

Furthermore, emphasizing the particular importance of science and technology in terms of economic development and social welfare, the AK Party asserts that the policies to be established for the scientific and technological developments must

present economic and social benefits. In this direction, the party advocates for the cooperation between the universities and industries, and targets developing an infrastructure network to create a possibility of fast access to information by integrating the country to the international system.

6.2.1.9. Urbanization, Housing, Traffic, and Environment

The concepts of urbanization and environment, which are of particular interest for the local administrations, are among the targets of the AK Party. The Party's objective is to establish policies through reforms that will solve the infrastructure problems of the cities, at the level of local administrations. The Party also emphasizes the importance of precluding urbanization that is against the urbanization plans. The AK Party, which also brings light to the most important problem of urbanization and housing areas – the domestic migration – sets sight on turning cities into sustainable living spaces free of problems by prioritizing robust city planning, and solution-oriented and healthy policies that are ready for handling domestic migration.

Furthermore, the AK Party's priority target is to provide the local administrations with the power to implement policies of environment within the scope of an efficient environmental management. Advocating that the environmental issues must be handled at local levels, the AK Party underscores the importance of the local administrations' environmental policies and states that environmental policies must be handled within a system of environmental management by the local administrations, rather than the central government in line with the principle of participatory democracy.

Besides, the party thrusts municipalities to forefront in terms of the traffic problems that are seen as chronic within the field of urban living spaces. Municipalities are determined as the primary units for traffic services. The existences of organizations for traffic regulations in areas where there are not municipalities are underscored, as well, so that traffic services are provided within the scope of the public administrative policies. In addition to these organizations for traffic, the party also aims at combining the railway system in the cities with the high way systems, and adopts an understanding of traffic safety within the society. Furthermore, the party aims to actualize the legal regulations that are important in terms of transportation infrastructures and overall traffic safety.

6.2.1.10. Family and Social Serves

Uttering the fact that family is the most crucial dynamic of the society, the AK Party has certain target in terms of Family and Social Services. Scrutinizing these targets, it can be understood that there regulations protective of domestic peace, along with the precautions to prevent domestic violence in the family-centric policies of the party program. Besides, the AK Party advocates that the necessary education, sheltering, and rehabilitation opportunities to reintegrate the street urchins to the society must be incremented. About this, the party targets developing policies through the local governments.

Yet another important issue the for the AK Party is to provide the middle class families with the loans for fulfilling their needs, particularly giving them the opportunity to become homeowners. The party demonstrates the importance they attribute to the family life by supporting the young couples to be married through the

marriage loans granted by the local administrative units. In addition, the importance of the galvanizing works to regard the handicapped citizens as part of the society is put forward, and it is aimed to incorporate the handicapped or disabled citizens into specifically the working life. Another issue in the field of social services that the party is leaning on, on the other hand, is the fight against bad habits and drug consumption, which is, in fact, seen as a lower level of priority in social services. However, the AK Party finds it important to found cooperation with the non-governmental organizations in the field of fighting against drugs and bad habits.

6.2.1.11. Youth, Sports, and Women

The AK Party underlines the importance of the young and dynamic population that is composed of skilful young individuals who have free thought, capable of making their own decisions and questioning. As a matter of fact, the Party sets sight on ensuring the young individuals' participation to the country's administration through high quality education. The AK Party also underlines the importance of educating and solving the problems of the young people who continue their lives in the rural areas. Within this perspective, the party states that it is necessary to establish and promptly implement policies of preventing bad habits, which are impactful on the young individuals' mental and physical development.

The AK Party has paved the way for the operation of the local administrations as regards to the sports services that are especially prioritized by young. The AK Party advocated for providing certain legal regulations so that the local administrations can transfer necessary resources to the sports clubs. The party supports projects on encouraging the society's participation to sports activities.

The issue of women, which is significant in terms of the healthy development and improvement of the country, is also incorporated in the AK Party's prioritized targets. Advocating for the active participation of women in the public life, the AK Party also underscores the women's participation in the political life. Further, the party has policies that are preventive of sexual abuse and violence against women. The party also underlines the importance of supporting associations, foundations, and non-governmental organizations of women communities.

As stated above, the AK Party targets conducting institutionalized works on solving problems related to women. In line with this objective, the party values the need for eliminating each and every provision that is against the women on the basis of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women.

6.2.1.12. Working Life

The AK Party, valuing the coordination among the workers, employers, and government, targets the consensus basis within this coordination, thereby aims to make the stability mechanism sustainable in the working life. Emphasizing the legal regulations that are incentivizing increasing of recruitment, the AK Party aims to reduce the cost of workforce.

In addition, the freedom of organization - which has of importance in terms of working life - and the legal amendments to eliminate the obstacles in unionization and to give the union rights and freedoms to the public officials must be actualized in advance in accordance with the AK Party's party program. The party also leans on the issues of labour-job protection and unemployment insurance, and sets sights on bringing certain standards for preventing the abuse of child labour in the working life.

6.2.1.13. Social Security

The AK Party tackles the issue of social security as social insurance, social services, and social aids on the basis of perception as follows: “Our party assumes the social security as a constitutional right, and acknowledges that facilitating that each and every individual benefits from this right is the state’s duty. Therefore, a social insurance program that behoves the understanding of social state shall be established in accordance with the constitutional provision, and each and every individual shall be given a social insurance number.” The AK Party also aims at increasing the quality of the social service programs oriented towards the children, young, and elder people.

Moreover, the AK Party, which is observed to give importance to the processes of rehabilitation of the disabled citizens, states that they adopt an understanding of institutions that provides social services and opportunities, rather than providing guardianship to the disabled. Additionally, the AK Party also has the working citizens in their area of responsibility, aiming to improve the working conditions and social insurance for all the Turkish citizens, including the ones residing in foreign countries. The AK Party, thereby, emphasizes the necessary regulations to give the social aids to the real indigents (AK Parti).

6.2.2. Reconstruction in Administration and the 59th Government Program (AK Party)

Acquiring the ruling power as a result of the 2002 General Elections, the AK Party announced its views and opinions about the local administrations in the statement titled ‘Everything is for Turkey’ as follows:

“The provincial administrations will be restructured; bureaucracy will be reduced by transferring the ministries’ duties and authorities in the provinces gradually to the governorates and provincial special administrations. Taking the local preferences into consideration, the services of health, education, culture, social solidarity, tourism, environment, village affairs, husbandry, reconstruction and transportation will be carried out at the provincial level... The provincial directorates affiliated with the ministries will gradually be incorporated into the body of governorates. The provincial directors will make plans, programs, and applications within the frame of the ministries’ policies and the needs of the province. The local administrations will be free in terms of the personnel movements unless they exceed 35% of their budgets,” (AK Parti Seçim Beyannamesi , 2002).

In the direction of the ideas on the field of public administration and local governments, the 59th Government was founded under the leadership of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the political ban of whom was abolished after the 2002 General Elections. The program of the 59th Government incorporates the following aspirations in terms of the local administrations:

- "In order to get over the centralist and unwieldy organizations, a comprehensive local administrative reform will be carried out in our government’s period on the basis of the principles of participatory democracy and efficiency in governance.
- The national priorities and local difference will be reconciled, and carrying out the public services from the local areas will be the fundamental principle; services that are not obligatory to be carried out by the central government will be transferred to the local governments together with their resources.

- Local level of democratization will be granted importance, and the central administration's authority to inspect and control the local organs – the authority which comes along with elections – will be limited with the inspection of compliance with laws.
- Within the frame of the local administration reforms, the sharing of duties, authorities, and resources between the central administration and local administrations will be re-determined in compliance with the principles of efficiency, effectiveness, and modern administration on the basis of our unitary state mentality.
- The provincial administrations will be restructured; the ministries' duties and authorities in provinces will be transferred to the governorates and provincial special administrations. Taking the local preferences into consideration, the services of health, education, culture, social solidarity, tourism, environment, village affairs, husbandry, reconstruction and transportation will be carried out at the provincial level.
- A General Institutional Review of the State will be carried out: the number and scales of the ministries will be re-determined, and relevant and affiliated institutions and other public institutions' duties will be redefined as a whole.
- The unnecessary institutions in the central administration will be eliminated; organizations that have similar functions will be combined, and intra-institutional administrative levels will be reduced and their processes will be combined. The projects started on these issues will rapidly be completed.” (AK Parti).

The AK Party expressed these aspirations that are brought into the agenda for the local administrations as sustained local administrative targets in consecutive elections.

The local administration units are emphasized in line with the targets of 2023, the hundredth year of our republic. The AK Party announced its targets about the local administration in 2023 as improving and strengthening the standards of local services within the scope of the 2011 General Elections Statement as follows:

- “The local administrations will reach up to the level of EU standards. The current structure of the local administrations will be tackled according to the European Union standards on the basis of the transparency, accountability, and efficient functioning principles; the necessary additional regulations will be carried out. Within the scope of the European Urban Charter, regulations will be carried out to ensure the urban rights.

- The local administrations will be restructured in administrative terms. Departing from the fact that our country has various local administrations as regards to the population and living space properties, the local administrations must be restructured. In this frame, taking into consideration the scales of our municipalities and provincial special administrations, the regulations as regards to their duties, authorities, and responsibilities will be continued within the scope of the local administration reforms.

- The Village Law will be re-prepared; the duties and authorities of the village administrations will be increased; their financial resources will be strengthened, and personal rights of the village mukhtars will be improved.

- The problems in the metropolitan municipalities and provincial municipalities affiliated with the metropolises will be eliminated.

- The structures of the provincial special administrations will be reviewed; the conflicts of authorities and duties between the provincial special administrations and the municipalities will be removed.
- The legal regulations about the neighbourhood mukhtars will be renewed.
- The duties and authorities of the local administrations will be increased. The transfer of the authorities from the centre to the local will continue. The process of carrying out the local services by the local administrations will be accelerated.
- The financial resources of the local administrations will be improved. The shares transferred from the General Budget revenues to the local administrations will be increased.
- Budgets oriented toward the central services transferred to the local administrations will be transferred to the local administrations together with the services.
- Legal administrations that will facilitate efficient and effective collection of local resources by the local administrations will be carried out,” (AK Parti 2011 Genel Seçimleri Seçim Beyannamesi, 2011).

6.2.3. 2014 The Ruling Party within the scope of the 2014 Local Elections

Statement: AK Party

The AK Party targets and programs in the field of local elections, as stated above, have proceeded in line with the globalization and information age. Under these circumstances, the 2014 local elections, which are the most recent local elections, were carried out. When the AK Party’s election statements are examined in this context, certain titles reveal as regards to the local administrations.

In the presentation section of the AK Party's election statement, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan stated that the March 30, 2014 local elections would be a turning point for the AK Party's 2023 targets.

Following this statement, reforms in mainly four fields carried out by the AK Party reveal within the scope of the local administration vision that takes place in the general statement. These reforms are as follows:

1. "The infrastructure of the cities in Turkey has been corrected in the AK Party's period. Electricity consumption has increased, but there has not been any electric cuts; the populations of our cities have increased, but there has not been any water cuts; the number of automobiles have increased, but higher number of roads have been constructed; air pollution has been decreased, and sea pollution has been decreased. With policies of roads, bridges, tunnels, railway systems, parks, greening projects, clean water, liveable environment, orderly streets, and social policies, the general comprehension has changed everywhere that AK Party is present. The culture of municipalities has changed, and the quality of the services provided to the citizens has reached up to higher levels.

2. The tax shares and authorities given to the municipalities have been increased. Therefore, the municipalities can now invest in higher amounts, and provide better, various and upper-level services.

3. Despite the fact that the city populations have increased; there has not been much squatting. Squatting has been prevented with the Mass Housing Administration (TOKİ); our citizens have become homeowners in best and most efficient conditions in high quality environments and buildings.

4. Immigration to the cities continued, but poverty has increased. The AK Party has settled the concept of social municipalism in Turkey, and the concept of solution providing municipalism. While solving numerous problems in many of our cities, we have taken the first step of the future envision.”

In line with the AK Party’s 2014 election statement, the AK Party determined the objective of municipalism as creating cities that are human-friendly, environment-friendly, aesthetic, participatory, and prosperous. The local administration targets determined in line with the abovementioned objective are divided into various sorts of municipalism as participatory, cultural social, environment-friendly, and service municipalism concepts. The targets and programs shall be examined individually at this point on the basis of the overall statement:

6.2.3.1. Participatory Municipalism

The understanding of participatory municipalism adopted by the AK Party, is indeed, taking a role of bridge between the local administrations and democracy. The fact that the public is regarded to be more important than the central authority under the globalization circumstances will contribute to making the democracy more functional in terms of the AK Party. Under this concept that is regarded to be convenient to the efficient governance principles, the idea of efficient public participation in improving living spaces and regulations have emerged.

Achieving these targets is of great importance in making the local administrations transparent and accountable in the field of modern democracy. When the background of the participatory municipalism target – tackled as regard to the more efficient and

effective local administrations – is evaluated, the first issue that strikes is the empowerment of the local administrations.

The idea of empowering the local administrations approached within the framework of the efficiency and effectiveness principles in governance has brought about an aspiration of making changes to solve the problems in the ambiguous administrative understanding. Although the AK Party has drawn some criticism in its ruling period, the AK Party activated certain projects for the empowerment of the local administrations with the enactment of the 5393 numbered Municipal Law, 5216 numbered Metropolitan Municipalities Law, 5302 numbered Provincial Special Administrations Law, and 6360 numbered New Metropolitan Municipalities Law. Within the scope of these laws, what lies at the background of the AK Party's aspiration is the implementation of local administrations on the basis of the central authority's guidance.

The second field of work in the area of participatory municipalism, on the other hand, is the concept of smart municipalism. As technology usage has been more and more important in the information age, is also regarded to be important by the AK Party, and used in the social services. Using technology in the new local administrative organizations has been aimed to facilitate the lives of the citizens; it is believed that technology will significantly contribute in the process of reducing the unwieldiness and costs within the public bureaucracy.

This understanding, tackled on the basis of the AK Party's objectives, aims at providing the citizens with the opportunity to benefit from the municipal services through web based platforms with the pilot implementation areas, being primarily the metropolitan cities. For instance, the citizens can learn the estimated arrival times of

the buses to the stations thanks to the GPS/GPRS systems technology in the municipality's buses.

In summary, the AK Party has an overall objective to integrate the local public to the global order.

Another sub-heading that is purported as regard to the participatory municipalism is the requirement for regulations in local administrations resulting from the fact that the public demands and needs have changed in way that could not be met by the traditional administrative structure, as the democratic living spaces of become more prevalent through the globalization process, technological developments, and demographic changes. The AK Party, therefore, has undertook an objective to re-regulate the current legal bases in order to better serve to the public by facilitating cooperation among the provincial special administrations, municipalities and villages.

The local administrations that have increased in number in overall Turkey mostly struggle against the uncertainties in meeting the social needs. The 5355 numbered law, which is enacted to eliminate those uncertainties revealing in the AK Party's ruling, aimed to regulate the local administrative units.

Bringing along criticisms, this law prevented forming units, the purposes of which are ambiguous or not clearly defined. At the same time, this law is valued by the AK Party for the frequently emphasized concept of serving to the citizens more efficiently and effectively with the necessary development projects.

Yet another heading that is debated even today and tackled in terms of the participatory municipalism is the metropolitan municipalism and the projects for the new metropolitan municipalities. Within the scope of these projects, the concept of

human-oriented politics was frequently addressed by especially the party leader of the term, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. In line with this concept of human-oriented politics, the AK Party regards providing services as an area responsibility. Despite all the negative criticisms of the opposition party, the AK Party has continued to bring each and every province with a population of more than 750,000 people into a status of metropolitan city within the framework of its purpose to carry out services from a single centre in line with the more efficient and quality service understanding in the metropolitan places.

This project, which is regarded as ‘low amount of resources, high amount of services’ by the AK Party, are deemed as underlying struggles to form a federal structure by the opposition party. Adopting the objective of locality, which is frequently addressed by the European Council, the AK Party did not accept the idea that the assigned people act in any of the living spaces within the world of elections.

To sum up, when all these aspirations are assessed on the basis of the AK Party, it can be observed that the municipalities, which have become richer in terms of providing services with the transfer of the provincial special administrations, will attribute higher importance to providing higher quality services to the public, as they accede on the basis of elections. Additionally, the traditional understanding of demanding services from the assigned heads official of the districts or governors was substituted by the understanding of demanding services from the elected officials. Even though it is thought that elections do not always produce democratic results, the AK Party utters the public service demand from the elected officials as the democratic right of the citizens.

Other sub-headings handled as regards to the participatory municipalism, on the other hand, are city safety and immigration to the metropolitan cities. Since the existence of the human beings, the need for security has always been an important need. It is also mentioned in the AK Party's policies that the idea of living a life without security concerns is crucial for the peaceful societies. In light of this, the AK Party has undertaken the objective of providing security and peace through the cooperation between the central government and local administrations.

One of the most important problems in our country is immigration. Continuous immigration to the western part of the country has caused deficiencies in providing public services. The AK Party advocated the idea that this problem can only be solved through making the rural areas much more attractive than they currently are. Besides, the idea of creating alternative cities to the ones in the west with recruitment initiatives is another option regarded as important by the AK Party.

6.2.3.2. Cultural Municipalism

The second target of the AK Party's 2014 Local Elections in the election statement reveals in the field of cultural municipalism. AK Party's most important target in the field of cultural municipalism is to turn the cities into brand cities in various fields. Establishing cities where the traditional and modern structures are presented in combination is among the AK Party's 2023 targets, as well.

When we evaluate the sub-headings of the cultural municipalism, the first concept that comes to the fore is the aesthetic cities. The AK Party prioritizes the understanding of city aesthetics within this scope, and aims to convert the cities into high-level living spaces. Putting forward the high-level changes and developments in

the cities, and preventing the malfunctioned organization of local administrations, the AK Party's understanding of municipalism necessitates conservation of the historic fabric. The studies in this line continue, which is important in terms of increasing the level of competition with the world cities.

The AK Party municipalities' works on the issue of transportation that is also important for local administrations attracts attention, as well. The AK Party municipalities have targeted to eliminate the problem of parking in cities through the İSPARK (Istanbul Metropolitan City Urban Transportation Plan), which is prevalently used in especially metropolitan municipalities. In addition, the AK Party, which is observed to value traditionality in aesthetic cities, also attaches importance to the neighbourhood relations that exist in harmony with the environment in line with the neighbourhood culture.

Despite all the criticism of the opposition party as regards to the green fields, which has been a heated debate between the ruling and opposition party, the AK Party states that it values the greenery, and purports that the projects on gardens and parks in the traditional structure will continue, and that cementation cannot be accepted.

When the AK Party's pre-determined targets in the field of aesthetic cities are considered, it can fairly be uttered that there is an objective to grant cities a functional identity through works on integration among the cities. The second title in the field of cultural municipalism is the understanding of cultural service. Underscoring the necessity for protecting the cultural assets, the AK Party targets keeping the cultural heritages alive with municipal resources, in addition to the support of the central government.

Within the scope of the AK Party's program, sister states/municipalities were founded and the relations between the states and municipalities regarding the cultural activities were made more robust on the basis of the party's understanding of globalize the civilization and rich local areas. The Party has announced that historical artifacts have been restored and cultural centres have been established for the citizens so as to protect that historical heritage of the country. When the works that have been carried out are considered, the area that the party has been most successful is stated to be the "Vocational Courses." Additionally, it can be stated that providing the citizens with the socio-cultural services in line with the needs has been one of the targets of the AK Party.

The other sub-heading of the cultural municipalism, on the other hand, is the issue of tourism, which is of great importance in terms of local administrations. The AK Party, which announces that the Turkish tourism that is called as smokeless industry has increased 200% in line with the targeted projects, underlines the importance of tourism in terms of country's development and economy. The AK Party's assertion that they have created alternative touristic areas in addition to the traditional tourism areas shall be evaluated on the basis of the World Tourism Organization's 2013 report, which tells that the AK Party's such claims of creating alternative tourism areas and increasing the overall tourist activities in the country are reportedly true. In addition, it can be observed that our country ranks the third among the world countries in terms of tourism receipts.

The AK Party asserts that the historical and touristic structures have been opened to local and foreign tourists through the regional tourism plans, further stating that carrying out projects about gastronomy and ecological agriculture tourism is one of

their targets. Underlining the importance of the coordination between the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and local administrative units, the AK Party also states that they aim to level up the residential areas, as well as the touristic areas to the world standards with conserving their original structure.

The other and last sub-heading in the field of cultural municipalism is the issue of foundations. The AK Party aims to establish solid relations between the General Directorate of For Foundations and local administrations so that the cultural assets are restored and repaired; and the party further aims to carry out these projects to establish coordination efficiently and sustainably. The party is observed to focus on the social activities convenient to the concept of foundations, and student scholarships, as well as aids given to the needy citizens.

Focusing on the foundation activities for transferring the traditional values to the future generations, the AK Party can be uttered to have the objective of making the cooperation with the General Directorate for Foundations more operative and functional so as to carry out the necessary works and take relevant measures.

6.2.3.3. Social Municipalism

The third target within the AK Party's 2014 local elections is the social municipalism. The understanding of social municipalism constitutes the key factor of the social state principle, which is based on cooperation and solidarity and the idea that the disadvantaged people within the society must be cared. Defining itself as the party of the orphans, the AK Party advocates the idea that policies must be created for all the parts of the society, and all the families.

In this line, the AK Party has a target to increase the standards of the services provided by the ‘Shehremaneti’ and the first category of the party’s social municipalism targets is the ‘Social Aids and Services. The AK Party, thrusting especially the disadvantaged people to forefront with this target, utters the importance of realizing the necessary support and aid programs under the constitutional assurance.

The AK Party sees such social aids, which are seen as vote incentives in times of election by especially the opposition, as public services. In line with the AK Party’s targets, there are activities that allow the disabled, elderly, students, and women benefit from the common public services. The AK Party adopts the human-oriented municipalism approach and targets to fulfil all the related targets in 2023.

The second category under the title of social municipalism is the ‘Women Vision in Local Administrations.’ The AK Party sees it necessary to facilitate active women participation in the administration processes in our country where a patriarchal social order has traditionally been predominant, although the women constitute the half of the population. Thus, the party has attached great importance of providing service as regard to the women issues, as well. Expressing that unless women actively participate in the administration processes, local development cannot be realized completely, the AK Party makes increasing the women participation in the local administrations one of its priority targets.

According to the AK Party the women participation in local administrations must not be limited only to the political participation. Women’s participation in the governing organizations and other functional fields is of great importance in terms of creating healthy cities and increasing those cities’ qualities. In light of the above targets, it can

be deduced that the AK Party has on-going projects for facilitating the equality of opportunities between men and women.

The other category within the concept of social municipalism, on the other hand, is the issue of youth and sports. The AK Party emphasizes that investment in the youth, sports, and education fields - which are among the main concerns of the AK Party municipalities – must be increased. In addition, the AK Party also prioritizes the issue of hosting international sports organizations in line with the sense of competition with the world cities. Starting the necessary premise works and completing the already started projects are among the important targets of the party.

Within the framework of the idea that the future is made by the young, the AK Party defends the idea that the young people should be kept away from bad habits. For this reason, the AK Party is working on making the necessary regulations and preparing the infrastructure to protect the young from bad habits. In line with these targets, one of the AK Party's objectives is to provide the young Turkish people with the opportunity to have an efficient life with the socio-cultural activities.

The last sub-heading or category of the concept of social municipalism is the idea of 'Unimpeded Cities' that has an important place in the global world order. Solving the problems of the disabled citizens, an important concern for the AK Party, is also deemed to be important by the local administrations.

Under the campaign named as 'We are Eliminating the Obstacles in Living Spaces' the AK Party targets to actualize support programs for the disabled. The main objective is to make all the public services usable by the disabled citizens, as well. In

this direction, the AK Party that qualifies itself as individual-oriented can be stated to have an objective of creating living spaces equal for everybody.

6.2.3.4. Environment-Friendly Municipalism

The fourth target in the AK Party's 2014 election statement is the environment-friendly municipalism concept. In line with this concept, the AK Party sees environmental protection as a balance issue within the scope of the development plans. The party sees the sensitivity towards the environment as a heritage and assessed protection of natural balance as one of the fundamental human rights that must be transferred to the next generations. The regulations carried out, the prevention of environmental problems those pose difficulty for the local administrations, and bringing the natural habitats into use are all seen as global wealth by the AK Party.

The first category in the field of environment-friendly municipalism concept that reveals is called as the 'Clean and Sustainable Environment' aspiration, which has emerged in line with the global environmental management understanding. The AK Party incentivizes more investments in the field of solving environmental problems in the urban life. The party also values the cooperation with the local administrations in terms of alleviating environmental pollution and ensuring environmental sustainability. Within the framework of the aforementioned human-oriented understanding, the AK Party also leans on the climate sensitivity and ecological life plans. For this reason, the Party has a priority target to provide services and resources for the local administrations so as to ensure sustainable urbanization.

The second category or sub-heading in the area of environment-friendly municipalism is the 'Treatment of Wastewater.' The AK Party asserts that they have provided the

necessary services in relation to the treatment of wastewater, which has a special place among the problems of urbanization thereby; the majority of problems in wastewater have been solved. The AK Party aims that all the municipalities will have wastewater treatment facilities by 2023. The AK Party aims to solve the problem of deficiency of financial resources, which is a major obstacle in solving the environmental issues, by the support of the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization provided to the local administrations. In this direction, the party emphasizes the significance of supporting the environmental infrastructure projects in vast scale.

The AK Party's project of 'Solid Waste Control' tackles another environmental problem revealing in the process of urbanization. Adopting global scale environmental programs, the AK Party proves the importance they attach to this issue by implementing the modern waste management understanding for the first time. The AK Party, which focuses on the solid waste storage premises in modern structure, underscores the employment and economic added value obtained via the recycling of solid wastes. Forming global environmental conditions and the necessary works on the disposal of the environmental wastes that are risky in terms of human health is among the AK Party's 2023 targets. Within this framework, the party focuses on environmental cities that have sustainability.

Another compound of environmental issues in country, which is surrounded on three sides by the sea, is the issue of 'Clean Seas.' The AK Party has adopted works that are compatible with the world standards as regards to monitor and terminate marine pollution. The most significant problem mechanism regarding the marine pollution is attributed to be the ship wastes. The Party officials have declared that the number of projects to prevent such ship wastes must be incremented.

The next issue handled by the AK Party in terms of the environment-friendly municipalism is the 'Clean Air' issue. Prevention of air pollution, which is regarded as an obstacle to the improvement of human live standards, has been one of the primary targets of the AK Party municipalities. Additionally, the AK Party aims to provide the citizens with high quality environmental conditions with the 2009-2020 'Environmental Noise Action Plan.' Such targets are also deemed as important in the strategic plans of the AK Party municipalities. It can be deduced from these facts that clear air and healthy life conditions are among the primary issues that the party leans on in terms of solving the relevant problems experienced.

'Waterworks' is another issue that is assumed to be among the AK Party's concept of environment-friendly municipalism. The party values solving the related problems in this issue, and within this scope, the AK Party prioritizes the investments of the Ministry of Forestry and Water Affairs. Further, the party aspires after establishing a system of irrigation that is based on austerity measures or savings. At the same time, necessary projects must be carried out in terms of the potable water, and the existent projects must be completed. The AK Party sees these issues as essential needs to be fulfilled. With taking strategic measures against pollution, the water sources can be compatible with the EU standards, as purported by the party leaders. As regards to the issue of potable water projects that are handled separately from water affairs, the needs for potable water by all the cities are planned until the year 2017 on the basis of the 'Potable Water Action Plan' prepared by the AK Party.

The issue of 'Clean Energy Resources' handled on the basis of environment, again, is another category that is of great value for the AK Party. Focusing on the investments in the renewable energy that is to protect that environment, the AK Party advocates

that there must be a balance mechanism, which is in harmony with the clean energy resources so as to meet the country's energy needs.

Putting the value given to the green fields, the AK Party has 'Forest Projects' in each and every province with a target of forestry on the basis of its environment-friendly municipalism mentality. The party underlines the importance of sapling with this project. Having afforestation among its targets on the basis of the needs, the AK Party particularly emphasizes the importance of generating new botanic parks and theme gardens.

The final category or sub-heading of the understanding of environment-friendly municipalism, is the 'Preparation for Natural Disasters' that seems to be inadequate in our country, which why there is a growing need for necessary works on this field. The purpose of incorporating the issue of preparation for natural disasters within the AK Party's municipalism programs is to build a society that is aware of the natural disasters. The AK Party targets to combine the natural disaster initiatives of the central government with the ones that local administrations provide. Increasing the level of awareness in the society and ensuring efficient coordination with the local administrations will allow us to get over the natural disasters with minimum damage, which is the fundamental aim of the party in this field.

6.2.3.5. Service Municipalism

The fifth target within the AK Party's 2014 local election statement reveals itself as the service municipalism. The AK Party advocates that they have been providing more efficient services than ever in terms of the local administrations. The party has adopted the principle asserting, "Serving to people is serving to Allah." It is observed

that the AK Party has put the individual into the centre of its other targets and programs. The party has adopted the principle of efficient and prolific services in the area of local administrative implications.

The first target determined in the field of service municipalism is presented to the public as ‘Infrastructure Services.’ The AK party particularly touches upon the fact that the negative developments in the field of immigration have incapacitated the local administrations to some extent in terms of infrastructure. Upon this, the ruling party advocates for projects that aim to empower the local administrations and give them more authorities. The centrally provided budget receipts must also be increased according to the AK Party.

Furthermore, the AK Party aims to restructure the debts of the local administrations. Thereby, the resources can be used efficiently in services, as asserted by the AK Party officials. At the same time, the party leaders also touch upon the significance of EU candidacy. The party leaders also state that the Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance (IPA) will be of great importance in terms of the urban infrastructure projects in terms of overall development of the city. Within the scope of the determined targets, it can be predicated that the AK Party aspires to provide efficient services to fulfil the modern human needs on the basis of an environment that is compatible with the necessary infrastructure services.

Digressing the issue of mass housing in the field of service municipalism, the AK Party has been observed to value the common practice between the TOKİ (Housing Development Administration of Turkey) and local administrations. The irregular urbanizations that is resulting from conurbation, in other words the squatting, has been and will be prevented by the TOKİ’s urban renewal programs and practices,

according to the AK Party. The party also internalizes the understanding of providing the necessary funds to each income group within the society. It can be deduced from these factors that in addition to the public resources, the issue of modern living spaces, which are to be carried out through TOKİ's applications and project, is in the forefront as regards to the AK Party's targets.

The issue of 'Construction and Planning' is another of the AK Party's targets in terms of service municipality. The AK Party states that the necessary dialogue mechanisms oriented toward the future of the cities are constructed by the special city planning units that are founded by the AK Party municipalities. 'The 3194 numbered Construction Law and the Law on Amendments in Certain Laws and Statutory Decrees' emphasizes the significance of healthy and robust construction on the basis of the understanding of modern planning.

Another category under the service municipality is the 'Urban Transformation' issue. The AK Party does not see the prevention of conurbation sufficient in Turkey, the country that is regarded to be an earthquake country. In this direction, the AK Party values projects on urban transformation. It further purports the need for turning the unhealthy constructions that are posing risks into new residential areas.

The AK Party adopts an understanding that advocates 'a purpose to build homes, rather than demolish them.' The urban transformation is based on this idea. At the same time, the AK Party is seen valuable in terms of the new city planning models. The ruling AK Party is seen as the first entity responsible for the social security of life and property. The AK Party put the '6306 numbered Law on Transforming the Regions that are under the Risk of Natural Disasters' into the force in 2012 in order to create healthy planned residential areas the social equipment problems of which are

solved. This enactment shows the importance the ruling party attaches to the natural disaster management.

The AK Party, which sees the urban transformation projects necessary for the principle of social state, gives importance to the transformation works carried out commonly by the AK Party and local administrations. In order to facilitate the efficient execution of the transformation works, the AK Party aims to establish coordination between the citizens and the new organization constructed within the body of the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization. The ruling party can be stated to value the sustainable urban life spaces.

In addition to the unplanned residential areas resulting from the fast urbanization in Turkey – the country with earthquake risk – the extreme and inappropriate usage of natural resources, and environmental pollution are the issues valued by the AK Party. The ruling party also underscores the importance of the works of inspecting the buildings and constructions under the service municipalism mentality. Within the scope of the sustainable urban development target, the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, and the provincial organizations carry out the building audits. The AK Party aims to realize its objective to create brand cities with the above implementations.

The AK Party is observed to value the special environmental protection regions and protected areas within the scope of the 2014 Local Elections Statement. The Commission for Protection of Natural Properties in the centre announced that they formed 29 Regional Commissions for Protection of Natural Properties in 21 provinces. The files regarding the natural protected areas were taken from the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and delivered to the Ministry of Environment and

Urbanization by the AK Party. At the same time, the ruling party has also expressed the value its gives to the research of historical and cultural values of the country. The party also touches upon the importance of valuing the natural protected areas in terms of the world standards scale with the construction plans.

The AK Party puts forward the developments occurring in its period of ruling on the basis of the ‘Turkish Land Registry and Cadastre Information System’ in line with the understanding of service municipalism. The party aims to prevent the public unwieldiness through transferring the land registry and cadastre information into the electronic platform in line with the world standards. Thus, the importance given by the ruling party to the principle of efficiency in services is proven.

The AK Party is also observed to give importance to the Geographical Information Systems that are founded by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization and which is crucial in terms of building and planning by the local administrations. The party stresses the establishment of City Information Systems that are targeted so as to make the local administration data usable with the necessary technical infrastructures, as well.

The AK Party adopts the understanding of environmentalist transportation method for solving the transportation issue that is regarded to be a continuous problem as regards to the local administrations. The Party aims to prevent the pollution that is resulting from transportation through tis projects, which are actualized and are in planning phase. Having a target of creating clean and environment-friendly cities, the AK Party establishes the importance of efficient transportation infrastructure within the scope of the Climate Change National Action Plan. Additionally, the importance of the intra-city transportation is put forward by the AK Party, which also has targets on

improving the airline and sea transportation. The party announced the completed and on-going investments in the projects in these fields, and assured that they would support the municipalities at every level of intra-city transportation.

The understanding of regional development that has an important place in terms of EU and world development level is also one of the AK Party's targets within the scope of its 2014 Local Election Statement. The AK Party focuses on eliminating or minimizing the regional differences in terms of development level in Turkey. The East Anatolian Region, Southeast Anatolian Region, Central Anatolia Region, and the East Black sea Region are tackled as the regions that must be prioritized by the AK Party in line with its targets.

The AK Party aims to strengthen the regional development projects with the necessary policies. Through this method, it targeted to increase the welfare levels of local administrations. Within this scope, the implementations that are carried out by the AK Party are: the 'Regional Development High Commission' and 'Regional Development Committee.' Covering all the provinces in local level, development agencies in 26 level 2 regions have been activated, and three regional development administrations (DAP, DOKAP, KOP) have been carried out, except for the GAP. The most important point regarding development issues is the fact that the AK Party focuses on the necessary support programs with the coordination established with the development agencies. The regional competition that is frequently stated by the AK Party has been among the targets of the AK Party and the "Regional Development National Strategy (BGUS) has been initiated. Following the period after 2014, this strategy was put into force within the scope of the 9th Development Plan, cities such as Diyarbakır, Şanlıurfa, Trabzon, Malatya and Samsun, from where immigration is

continuous, are planned to be made attraction centres. The AK Party underscores the importance of incentives system to facilitate investments in these cities exactly in the fields that they have superior power of competition.

When the regional development administrations are evaluated in terms of regional development concept, the first thing that comes to the fore is the Southeast Anatolia Project (GAP). As a matter of fact, the AK Party is stated to undergo processes of improving the necessary investment and support programs. An action plan was started in 2008 to facilitate fundamental infrastructure investments such as the essential irrigation system, projects for economic and social development so as to improve the region in terms of socio-economic aspects.

The second administrative organization that reveals in terms of the regional development agencies is the Konya Plain Project (KOP) to direct the waters flowing in vain to the provinces of Konya, Karaman, Aksaray and Niğde in the Mediterranean region to the Konya Plain. As regards to the public investments in the region, the KOP administration deserves special attention. Four fundamental targets reveal as a result of the KOP administration. These are the sustainable usage of natural resources, strengthening of the economic structure, strengthening the human and social structure, and supporting urbanization and spatial development. The action plan that incorporated these targets was to be put into force in 2014.

The other administrative unit tackled within the scope of the regional development governance is the East Anatolia Project (DAP), which is composed of the development of provinces of Ağrı, Ardahan, Bingöl, Bitlis, Elazığ, Erzincan, Erzurum, Hakkari, Iğdır, Kars, Malatya, Muş, Tunceli, and Van. The AK Party that is

seen to value the economic development of the DAP region targets to accelerate the development of the region through action plans.

The East Black sea Project (DOKAP) is another important unit for the regional development administration. With this project, the AK Party values institutionalization of the regional development. The ruling party primarily targets improving tourism in the DOKAP region through the “Tourism Master Plan.”

The AK Party, in line with the relevant projects, broadened the ‘Social Support Program (SODES),’ another crucial practical work for regional development. Under these regulations, the AK Party commenced the project in 2008 under the GAP Action Plan. In 2010, the project was broadened to involve the DAP provinces; Adana, Mersin, Hatay, Osmaniye and Kahramanmaraş in 2011; and Aksaray, Niğde, Sivas and Yozgat in 2013. Within this frame, the party has valued the improvement of SODES as a social project to support public policies of alleviating poverty, unemployment, and disadvantaged groups. The party has underlined the fact that the relevant ministries, public institutions and local actors must be in strict coordination for the implementation of this project.

In the direction of EU candidacy process and the ‘Development Agencies’ that are felt to be significant in the regional development area, these Development Agencies reveal as the crucial models for the AK Party’s ruling period. The AK Party states that they have provided the necessary budget aids from the centre to the 26 development agencies in our country. The projects carried out by these agencies must be supported so that the problems resulting from the operations of the local administrations are solved again by the local administrations in place. The necessary investments must be made, as well, in accordance with the party’s views.

In addition to this, the AK Party has declared that they founded Investment Support Offices in 81 provinces, which ensured that the investors were provided advisory services in this field. The investors were informed about the necessary incentive programs through the Investment Support Offices. Moreover, the Ministry of Development, the Development Bank, and agencies have prepared regional venture funds, which have been underscored by the AK Party, as it is a model project. It has been stated that the provisions in the Central Administration Budget Law in 2014 prepared the infrastructure of this model project.

The AK Party that is observed to attach importance to the development plans and incentive programs aspires, as one of its development targets, to improve the business and investment opportunities with the “Conversion Program to Primarily Improve the Business and Investment Opportunities.” Within the scope of this program, it was aimed to develop the approach of improving the business and investment opportunities on regional basis. The planning for establishing cooperation with the relevant institutions and organizations is deemed as one of the key factors, as well. Furthermore, the projects on the Organized Industrial Zones (OIZ) that are considered to be highly important in the fields of investment are stated to be accelerated in the period of AK Party’s ruling. The party propounds that the Organized Industrial Zones have been opened for the serving the entrepreneurs so as to incentivize production.

The AK Party is also observed to target global developments within the scope of the service municipalism. The party focuses on the scientific centres, and claims that the right usage of technology can increase the children and young people’s interest in science.

Last but not least, the ‘Food, Agriculture, and Husbandry’ within the scope of the service municipalism was also presented to the public opinion. The ruling mechanism stresses the importance given to this issue in accordance with the central government’s services, and expresses that the citizens are provided with top level of services in terms of healthy nutrition. Additionally, the AK Party announced that the municipalities would have more responsibilities in the field of services with the prospective Metropolitan Municipalities Law, further stressing the importance of the need for coordination between the Ministry of Food, Agriculture, and Husbandry and municipalities.

Focusing on the reforms to improve the social infrastructure services on the basis of the sustainable development concept, the AK Party states that they will weigh on the projects to increase the farm yields, support the investments in added value and employment in agricultural production, and at the same time, they will establish OIZs to increase the local agricultural potential or capacities. The party underlines the need for measures to be taken against the risky situations in agricultural production. The party expressed the importance of especially food control and modern applications food control in its election statement, and targets to incorporate such modern applications of food control in any sort of administrative unit on the basis of cooperation (AK Parti , 2014).

It can be stated as a result that the AK Party presented its targets and programs under the title of “People – Democracy – City in En Route of Being a Great Civilization” in its 2014 Local Elections Statement. As the impact of globalization on the party’s policies about urban living spaces – that are human-oriented – have increased, the necessary improvement and regulation policies regarding the formation of cities that

are ready for competition in every area have been put into practice by the AK Party. And these cities are aimed to be in compliance with the world standards through the local administrations. The aforementioned points bear significance in terms of the AK Party's 2023 targets determined in the 2014 Local Election Statement.

6.3. The Local Administrative Mentality of the Main Opposition Party (Republican People's Party – CHP)

The Republican People's Party (CHP) that obtained the opposition power as a result of the 2011 General Election, which were conducted before the 2014 Local Elections, was founded on September 9, 1923 under by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk under the name of the 'People's Party.' Taking the name of 'Republican People's Party' – which is also used today – in the year 1935, the party adopts the principles of 'Republicanism', 'Nationalism', 'Secularism', 'Statism' and 'Revolutionism', which, together, constitute the six arrows in its emblem. It is observed that Republican People's Party has an important position in taking the first serious step in the field of local administrations with the 1580 numbered Municipal Law issued in 1930 (CHP).

The global developments that took place in the single party period, when the CHP was politically dominant, strengthened the mentality of centrality in state government. There were general amendments in the governing practices especially as a result of the pursuit of new policies and the fact that the principles of statism gained importance because of the 'Economic Depression' in 1929. The services of electricity, water, etc. which had been provided by a certain company, were started to be presented by the municipalities as of that time.

The first significant development in terms of municipalism within the period of single-party rule, when democratic participation could not be achieved fully, can be stated to be experienced with Behçet Uz in İzmir. It can be uttered that the municipal practices applied within that period – endeavours to improve the social health, services of city and environmental health, infrastructure projects that are compatible with the mentality of modern cities – represent today’s global modern understanding of municipalism (Seymen, 1990).

6.3.1. The Understanding of Public Administration within the Scope of the Main Opposition Party’s (CHP) Party Program

When CHP’s local administration mentality is examined within historical process, the concept of ‘Social Democratic Municipalism’ comes out as the first major important phenomenon. CHP adopted the policy of ‘Left-of-Centre’ and had a voice in the field of local administrations between the years 1970-1980 – the years that are regarded as turning point in terms of local administrations - when the problem of immigration and the consequent squatting and irregular urbanization was experienced deeply. The party focused on a brand new field of practice, municipalism, democratic practices, improvement of production mechanism, ensuring consumption control, and opportunities to create resources on the basis of the ‘Social Democratic Municipalism.’ Following these insights, it is now essential to evaluate the general understanding of public administration on the basis of the party program of the Republican People’s Party under the title of ‘Change for Modern Turkey’:

6.3.1.1. The Modern Public Administration Reform

CHP, the party that expressed its deep respect to the fundamental human rights and freedoms on the basis of the state of law, and its commitment to the Turkish administrative model, which is unexampled in terms of loyalty to the constitution and laws by making no concessions to Atatürk's principles. These factors establish CHP's mentality of public administration. The party has had the objective of actualizing the 'Modern Public Administration Reform' that is oriented towards meeting all the needs of Turkey within its aforementioned mentality. In direction of this target, it was planned to establish and settle the 'Ministry of State Reforms' about eliminating the unnecessary formalities that lead to unwieldiness in the field of public administration, along with steering structural changes in accordance with the modern and democratic reform applications.

Purporting the value it gives to the protection of unitary state structure, CHP asserts that the innovations and opportunities brought by the globalization must be benefited. However, the party claims that formation of excrescent local governance that comes with the so-called globalization must be avoided. Further, the party also states that it is necessary to eliminate and abolish regulations that are oriented towards federalist organizations that will endanger the Republic and unitary structure. Communities and multi-national companies that might harm the central state mechanism must be eliminated according to the party assumptions.

Acknowledging public services as services to the citizens, CHP advocates that public services are delivered fast, economically, effectively, functionally and in a way that is citizen-oriented on the basis of the concept of providing rational public services. The party sees the necessary regulations in the governmental structure as one of the main

targets to be achieved. Additionally, the party states that not keeping away from modern developments within the public administration is crucial. The party draws attention to restructuring the ministries in the fields of responsibilities such as the 'Regional Development and Settlement Problems', 'Informatics and Information Society', 'Relations with Europe', 'SME', and 'Immigrant Issues' within the scope of the regulations in the duties of the ministries.

6.3.1.2. Transparent, Fair, and Rational Public Procurement Reform

CHP first uttered that the fact there has been increasing demand on the enactment of 'Modern Public Administration Reform' in the field of public governance. CHP, as the second aspiration, puts forward its target of 'Transparent, Fair, and Rational Public Procurement Reform'. In light of this target, CHP aspires to prevent the outside or state intervention in the processes of public procurement. The main opposition party draws attention to the need for forming a system of public procurement on the basis of the principles of equality and transparency. The system is meant to be ensuring public welfare.

Departing from this target, CHP gives priority to form risk and crisis management mechanisms against the threat of confrontation among the state mechanism, public administrations, and social order. Through these risk and crisis management mechanisms, the risks can be assessed and averted in favour of the public welfare. At the same time, CHP underlines that the mechanisms of information and informatics age, which can ease life within the framework of modern and contemporary public administrations, must be integrated to the system of general public administration. With the adoption of the principle of personnel management within the modern

governance, CHP aims at improving the public officials' efficiency and effectiveness through necessary trainings and education.

Emphasizing the need for commitment to the principle of honest administrative structure, CHP prioritizes preventing the usage of the executive body in favour of private interests through functionalizing the Public Ethics Committee. Along with that, the party also underscores the view of service integrity and unity that must be taken into consideration by the central authorities and local administrations. Therefore, it is important to redefine the responsibilities and authorities of the local administrations, according to the party officials. Within the framework of this mentality, the centre must carry out the inspection of local administrations under modern conditions, and the convenient duties and liabilities must be carried out by the local administrations without exceeding the limits of unitary state structure as regard to the service-resource balance according to the CHP. The party states that it is necessary to draw new regulation for the conduct of such duties and liabilities by the local administrations. At the same time, CHP targets converting the concept of destitute citizens into a concept of citizens, the rights of whom are guaranteed by the laws. And this must be based on the social aid programs. CHP puts in its agenda that a state mechanism that thrusts in its citizens must definitely be taken as a basis.

6.3.1.3. Local Administration, Decentralization

Another topic that reveals within the scope of the party program named as the 'Change for Modern Turkey' prepared by the Republican People's Party is presented to the public opinion as 'Local Administration, Decentralization'. Within this frame, CHP states that it is essential to empower the local administrations with necessary

reforms in order to be able to solve the urban problems. The party states that it sees local administrations not as sources of local power, but as local democratic focuses. In this line, is essential to evaluate CHP's 'Local Administrative Targets' declared in its party program:

“The new local administrative order will definitely ensure protection of the secular republic, the country as a whole, pluralist democracy, organized society, individual improvement, human rights, sensitivity toward individual cultural rights and cultural heritages, people in need of protection, environment and protection of the consumers. Whether local administrations are operating on the basis of these principles or not will be effectively inspected by the central government. The concept of locality will be redefined in modern terms, the duties and responsibilities of the locally qualified services will be transferred to the local administrations from the centre via taking into consideration the needs of the unitary state, and providing resources and instruments in regions where necessary. It will be assured with this regulation that the duties and responsibilities in relation to the local matters will considerably be left to the hand of the local people,” (CHP, Parti Programı)

6.3.1.4. Local Administration Reform

Another implementation by the Republican People's Party regarding the local administrations is the 'Local Administrative Reform' works. Especially in line with the needs coming out of globalization, CHP advocates the 'Local Administrative Reform' under its targets of democratization and modernization. Along with the assurance of institutional organization that can be realized at an efficient and effective economic level in services, the need for strong institutionalization in local

administrations with the objective of ‘Equal Opportunities’ is emphasized taking the citizens at the centre focus.

Advocating practices of local administration on the basis of modern service concept, CHP aims to re-regulate the sharing of authorities and resources between the central and local administrations. From this perspective, the following can be seen from the party program; “It is observed that both the central and local administrations are assigned with a number of duties in our country, yet their boundaries are not clearly defined. In this direction, the sharing of duties must be objective, based on certain standards that are pre-determined, clear, and understandable; and the definition of local administrations must be defined in a clear way that would not lead to any misunderstanding of their duties. When the local administrations are assigned with duties and responsibilities, the population size of their region will be taken into consideration, as well. It will also be taken into consideration whether the local administrations have the essential technical and administrative capacity that will allow them to efficiently carry out their shares of duties,” (CHP, Parti Programı)

CHP attaches importance to taking into consideration the needs of the local people when determining the services to be carried out by the local administrations. One of the main opposition party’s primary objectives is that the local administrations should undertake the duties and responsibilities of the central government in areas where the local administrations do not exceed the boundaries of their responsibilities and do not necessitate special resources for conduct. In this context, CHP has determined the standards of local administrations, and stated that the most fundamental duties of the local administrations are to acknowledge and protect the rule of law, prevent

discrimination among different social origins and regions, and improve social life spaces.

In addition, CHP also underscores the principle of modern service that is crucial for the local administrations. With its mentality of protective health services, the main opposition power endeavours and attaches great importance to provide social and protective aids to the needy disabled people, orphans, and people in need of care. Furthermore, CHP touches upon the view that projects to empower women in social and economic life so as to eliminate the gender inequality within the society must be supported sufficiently. The opposition party also focuses on making the infrastructure of public life efficient so as to meet the needs as a responsible administrative unit, individual consumer rights, environmental rights, right to access to high-quality and peaceful transportation. CHP advocates sensitive approach to these issues and aims to create a high-quality life for the society.

Touching upon the significance of local administrative practices, CHP have targets on citizen-oriented urban planning and local administrations that are sensitive toward the environment. In this direction, the metropolises should be restructured with upper scale planning studies. CHP further aims to convert all Turkey into municipalities through gradual reforms. Moreover, one of the striking points in the party program, which states that the complexity of the urban administration will be eliminated, is that the closed municipalities will be reopened by the 5447 numbered law under CHP's ruling.

Also attaching importance to the rural living spaces, CHP defends the idea that villages in certain places must be combined when necessary under the system of 'Rural Municipalities'. This comes to mean that the party aspires distancing itself

from the single-type municipalism. A new model of municipalism that incorporates practices particular to rural areas is adopted and underscored by the CHP.

CHP finds it crucial to allocate resources the local administrations so that they provide sufficiently satisfying services within the frame of efficiency in using resources and on the basis of the target of 'Economic Resources' target determined through local administrative policies.

The main opposition party, CHP, aims to prevent the company applications and arbitrary local administration expenditures that come across in the process of executing municipal duties. From this perspective, the 'Urbanization Fund' that is expressed in the party program is for using the values crated in urban areas in favour of the public welfare. CHP explicates that the practice of cardholding that is frequently experienced in the local administrative units must be prevented.

Another important target by CHP in the area of local administration is the 'Representation and Social Responsibility.' CHP believes that municipal councils must be made more functional. In addition to the need for refurbishing the municipal councils in a way that they represent the public demands and requirements, the main opposition party further focuses on formation and improvement of labour unions, professional chambers, non-governmental organizations, municipal advisory councils, and city councils.

CHP manifests that regulations are needed so that the public officials, except for security and jurisdiction officials, have the right to be elected to the municipalities or provincial general councils, in addition to their duties and responsibilities. At the same time, the party asserts that local administrations should be seen as significant

areas of service, which necessitates certain regulations. With these regulations, it is targeted that political parties within the country can determine the candidates who can carry out such duties and services.

Furthermore, CHP has works and projects on the system of village headmen – mukhtars – in terms of the local administrations. The party values improvement works on the system of village headmen that can present services under today's modern conditions. The party program that focuses on turning villages into cities rather turning cities into villages, states that the rural and urban areas must be integrated by the local administrations. CHP is targeting to reorganize the general provincial assemblies and special provincial administrations on the basis of the Local Administration Reform. Besides, the party expresses its decisiveness to support the village headmen and village administrations so that they have constructive policies and practices so as to their authorities and responsibilities, rather having destructive policies.

6.3.1.5. Metropolitan Governments

Another work item regarding the local administrations in the party program is expressed through the phrase of 'Metropolitan Governments' that is released to the public opinion. CHP envisages that large cities that are named as metropolitan cities have peculiar problems and demands. Therefore, they should have peculiar administration policies that are named as metropolitan governments. CHP advocates an idea of metropolitan government that is self-renewable and sustainable on the basis of laws peculiar to the metropolises.

The metropolitan municipalities' authorities and responsibilities were incremented with the enactment of the 5216 numbered law by the central authority in 2004. For this reason, CHP criticised the fact that provincial municipalities were turned into an organizations that was vulnerable against interrogations. Stating that it was a serious problem that metropolitan municipalities and provincial municipalities were composed of different political parties, CHP suggested re-regulation and reorganization of both municipalities as regards to their authorities, competencies, duties, and responsibilities. An important detail that attracts attention in the party program, on the other hand, is about the new local administrative model in Istanbul scaled on the basis of rational administrative practises. As a similar unit to the GAP (East Anatolia Project) proposed by the ruling party, CHP proposes 'North Marmara Metropolitan Region Plan' that covers the region from Thrace to Istanbul.

About this issue, CHP argues that necessary regulations and sufficient amount of funds should be allocated to this plan and it should be put into practice, and empowered in the future. In addition to the Istanbul-Thrace Region Plan, CHP also values forming a South Marmara Regional Development Plan covering Çanakkale, Balıkesir, and Bursa-Yalova provinces. CHP is observed to especially value Istanbul in its party program, and argues that decisions to be taken on the basis of the new administrative model, which is to be formed peculiarly for Istanbul, will definitely be in harmony with the national development plan. The main opposition party also proposes that the establishment of sub-units affiliated with the megalopolis administrative units will increase efficiency and effectiveness in public services.

6.3.1.6. Public Personnel Reform

Another topic regarding CHP's public administration targets that is involved in the party program is called 'Public Personnel Reform'. Except for carrying out their duties in the field of security and jurisdiction, the public personnel must be incentivized to become members of political parties according to CHP. The main opposition party focused on the organization of the public officials at the level of unions through the public personnel reform. In addition, the party also underlines that public officials should have the right to collective bargaining with strikes. At the same time, the party draw attention to the importance of shaping the public employment service in accordance with the public needs and social benefits. The party states that the practises of contracted employees and temporary personnel pose a problem for the efficient, effective and equal rendering of public services. However, these practices will continue only when necessary. In line with the principle of public personnel, on the other hand, people who provide services in the status of public official and employee will be chosen as staff members, as stated by the party.

In addition to these targets, CHP also has the purpose to make the public employment more attractive and appealing in the local places that are aimed for development. The party advocates that examinations for the employment of public personnel must be equitable. Favouritism during the course of interview must be terminated, according to the main opposition party. Additionally, the party that aims to employ the disabled citizens in the public area plans to involve the disabled citizens in the public industries via simple and practical methods.

6.3.1.7. Urban Development

Another topic that is handled under the ‘Change for Modern Turkey’ party program prepared by the Republican People’s Party is called the ‘Planned and Healthy Urbanization.’ Supporting the idea that there must be living spaces for people in the cities, which are social, secure, healthy, economic and modern; CHP takes creating liveable cities as one of its primary objectives. Looking from this perspective, CHP expresses implication of an urban planning system, which is composed of five stages: regional plans, provincial development plan, environmental order plan, master development plan, and implementary development plan. This system is considered to be within the scope of the planning activities oriented toward solving the problems of urbanization and sheltering on the basis the urban planning mentality.

CHP aims at planning and completing the urban infrastructure works before starting the initiatives for urban development so as to meet the socio-cultural needs and ensure public welfare in the relevant local area. Especially in the field of water needs, which bears significance in terms of cities, the municipalities overall Turkey are expected to provide potable water, robust sewage network, and waste disposal premises. Furthermore, the party attaches special importance to regain the wastewater through a treatment system that is contemporary and modern in line with the pre-determined purpose. About the problem of transportation that has become more of an issue in city life, CHP focuses on high quality and fast public transportation that can be used by everyone by a reasonable price. In addition to the alternative transportation systems such as modern metro lines that should be developed via investment, the main opposition party also puts emphasis on the need for ensuring pedestrian safety in terms of intra-city traffic.

Another issue that CHP tackles as regards to the urban development is the target of ‘Right to Housing and Urban Development.’ CHP asserts that the contemporary right to housing is indispensable for the social democratic system, and defends that nobody in the society shall be deprived of this right. CHP aims to focus primarily on the under-developed regions with development plans and to encourage going back to villages in order to solve the problem of irregular urbanization, which emanates from the migration from mainly east to west in our country, CHP gives utterance to the fact that TOKİ must be an institution that serves to the low-income citizens, instead of constructing luxurious buildings by force of the Public Housing Project. The party aims to increase the TMMOB (Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects) and local community’s participation in the urban transformation projects and processes.

In addition to all these, CHP also aspires to prepare our country against earthquake, as it is under measurable risk; minimize the impacts of probable earthquakes; and create safe living spaces. The main opposition party acknowledges the system of natural disaster management as a unity, and purports that not only the public officials, but the people should take active role in the projects that are for minimizing the possible damages of a natural disaster, preparation, taking measures, and, improvement, as these works as essential for restructuring both the central and local governments.

Drawing attention to the management of risk minimizing within the framework of the principles of disaster management, CHP lays emphasis on the country, regional, and provincial policies in practices involving minimizing the risks of natural disasters by taking the necessary measures before and after an earthquake (CHP, Parti Programı).

6.3.2. 2014 The Main Opposition Party within the cope of the 2014 Local Election Bulletin: CHP

It is necessary in this study evaluate the Republican People's Party on the basis of its 2014 Local Election Bulletin names as 'With Wealth, In Concert, and Free', as the main opposition party is observed to advocate for an understanding of municipalism based on the urban, and environmental policies and entrepreneurship in the field of local administration. For them, poverty is not an instrument to manage or govern, but a problem that has to be definitely and completely eliminated. The party sees itself as the only political party that respects the citizens' rights and has drawn projects in detail to make reforms in the local administrative organizations so as to increase life quality and standards and create variability on the basis of respect to urban rights.

It will be much more beneficial to focus on CHP's mentality of local administration that is of great importance in our lives, and the way this mentality is reflected and demonstrated in its 2014 Local Election Bulletin before going into detail about the Republican People's Party's main objectives of 'Populist Local Administration' model, which are defined as four areas: 'Physical Development', 'Economic Development', 'Political Development' and 'Social and Cultural Development.'

CHP has certain priorities given to some of its principles and aspirations, which are determined under the title of 'Municipalities that Value People and Cities both' with an attempt to strengthen local democracy and make the country's local administrative units efficient and effective in delivering services. In line with this mentality, the party is observed to predetermine 30 principles and priorities in total. In an attempt to recapitulate these principles and issues of primary importance the following

observations are carried through: CHP brought to the public attention in its 2014 Local Election Bulletin that it has main targets to carry out decision-making processes on the basis of the efficiency and participation principles; creating transparent and accountable local administrative units based on the perception of city life that is in harmony with the environment; ensuring both projects and resources to increase the quality of city life; turning the cities into world cities in the age of globalization; generating and conducting projects to ensure each and every part of the society – children, young people, the elderly, women, and the disabled– benefits from equal opportunities on the basis of the populist understanding of local administrations; preventing sub-contractor practices in the local administrations so as to increase the rate of employment; ensuring a healthy, robust, and consolidated intra-city transportation; strengthening the measures taken against natural disasters; and finally conserving the historical and natural riches of the cities to increase the tourism potential, and make regulations for the green areas in this line.

CHP is observed to form its local administrative policies on the basis of the aforementioned targets. It will definitely be instrumental to assess these local administrative policies individually in this comprehensive study from the perspective of the party's aspiration of 'Populist Administration' declared in its 2014 Election Bulletin that was presented to the public opinion. As a matter of fact, four fundamental targets come out as a result of the thorough scrutinizing of CHP'S such policies:

6.3.2.1. Physical Development

The planned develop net, and sustainable and balanced physical development of the cities has momentarily been underscored on the basis of increasing the quality of services to citizens and increasing the overall quality of life. CHP is observed to incorporate certain sub-heading or categories of physical development into its election bulletin; and the first category they handled is called as the ‘Planning and Improvement of the Physical Environment.’

The main opposition party deems the projects and works of ensuring planned development and improving the environment for consolidated human health, which are crucial principles in terms of the globalizing world, as fundamental parts of the process of creating cities that are ready for the competition with the world cities. When CHP’s targets and programs are scrutinized under the title of ‘Planning and Improvement of Physical Environment’, the important areas of work reveal as actualization of democratic city planning to increment the public welfare and life quality, implementation of employment policies on the basis of demographic development, conservation of the historical – cultural and natural assets, taking measures against natural disasters, and assurance of regular and orderly urbanization.

Additionally, re-planning of sheltering, working, resting, education, and health areas in life that emanate from the increasing needs in cities are of concern for the main opposition party, as well. Thereby, the life quality may well be improved with the transformation of the abovementioned areas. The party also asserts that the existent buildings must be reconstructed in a way that will make them more compatible with the modern living spaces and the environment itself. Public areas such as healthy,

inspiring, and aesthetic cities, parks, gardens and allotment gardens for hobbies must be open for all the parts of the society through a social integration process that is based on equal opportunities. Involvement of the disabled citizens in the public and urban areas is of great importance in terms of the policies on the disadvantaged groups in the society. In parallel with this, necessary measures are to be taken by the main opposition party. The party also has targets to make the local administration cadres sufficiently successful in terms of quality and quantity depending on their fields of expertise. As a matter of fact, urbanization with planning and implementation of the relevant plans; commitment to the principles of urbanization and architecture are taken as the steps of making the local administrative units sufficiently successful.

Regarding the physical development, the second issue that CHP takes into consideration as one of its objectives is presented to the public under the title of the ‘Right to Housing and Urban Regeneration.’ Accepting the right to housing as one of the fundamental human rights, CHP states that everyone who is in need of housing must be granted with a proper housing in accordance with its target; and points out to the social democratic local administrations as the architects of collective housing practices. CHP asserts that they have planned a ‘Populist Housing Project’ that will enable citizens own a robust and high quality house in accordance with their income level. CHP officials further lay emphasis on paying regards to the environmental values with this project, preventing relations of getting unearned income, and ensuring actualization of designs of original architectures in buildings.

Specifying that the social democratic municipalities in Turkey carried out the first urban regeneration works, CHP underlines the significance of regenerating cities so as to prevent irregular urbanization and take measures against natural disasters. In doing

so, the main opposition party utters that a comprehensive urban regeneration will be carried out on the basis of human-oriented perspective and within the scope of the populist local administrative mentality. In this process, CHP rejects the proposition to banish the local people from their regions, and bring and settle new residents in those regions. CHP has a totally different set of urban regeneration projects that are projected. CHP underline the fact that the neighbourhood relations and the rule of law will be protected under its projects.

As a consequence, CHP sees the local administrative units as the assurances of the planning and implementation stages. Therefore, the urban regeneration projects expressed within the election bulletin are not for getting unearned incomes, unlike the ruling party, but for renewing the cities taking any sort of recommendation by any part of the society into consideration, as stated clearly by the main opposition party in the bulletin.

The third issue that CHP undertakes within the scope of the physical development target is declared to the public with the bulletin under the title of ‘Natural Disaster Management.’ CHP is observed to have certain works on Turkey in terms of natural disasters, as Turkey poses a risk. The party officials claim that the efforts for getting unearned income that has been taking place recently have also caused higher number of loss of life and property as a result of natural disasters. Within this framework, the party lays weight on policies for protecting the cities, and most importantly the people against probable natural disasters such as earthquake –primary risk for Turkey– and flood, and landslide. CHP clearly expresses that such policies are among their primary targets.

Claiming that the Law on Transforming the Areas under the Risk of Natural Disasters, which is compiled by the ruling party, is oriented toward getting unearned income over human lives, CHP stresses the importance of having a fair, solid, and just legal basis that prioritizes human live over other factors. In this context, CHP is observed to promise comprehensive empowering and repairing programs on the basis of the legal framework or grounds, which are considered to be issued under its ruling. The main opposition party aspires to protect the public's security of life and property with utilizing the finances of the central and local administrations. The party, thereby, emphasizes that local administrations must be turned sensitive not to 'share lines, but to fault lines.'

The fourth topic that CHP deals with as regards to the physical development, on the other hand, is titled as the 'Infrastructure' and declared to the public with its 2014 Local Election Bulletin and relevant campaigns. CHP gave place to the infrastructure improvement and development targets that are essential in the field of planned urbanization within its election campaign promises. Accepting the urban infrastructure as a precondition for a healthy and orderly urbanization process, CHP gives primacy to the solutions of problems related to the infrastructures, purification, and waste water treatment premises in the cities; and establishes the significance of founding premises for solid waste purification, garbage storage, and recycling.

CHP further states that daily life sustaining services such as metro, bus, and natural gas must be qualified, efficient and cheap for the public. At the same time, it states that water should be qualified not as a commercial commodity, but as a human right. For this reason, CHP covers in its agenda to meet the water needs of the cities and allow everybody access to sufficient amount of clean and potable water. Moreover,

defending the idea that contaminated water will damage the environment and disturb the natural balance; CHP sees it necessary to form cooperation projects between the local administrations to facilitate balanced and functional usage of water and natural resources.

Yet another sub-category of issues evaluated under the assumption of physical development by CHP in its 2014 Local Election Bullet is the ‘Transportation.’ Advocating for settling the relations among the city – human – transportation on a solid basis, CHP particularly points out to the problem of traffic in our metropolises. In doing so, the main opposition party negatively criticises the lack or deprivation of an integrative approach in solving the traffic problems in metropolises. The party alleges that traffic problems will be resolved through an integrative approach by rapidly completing the ‘Transportation Master Plans’ for each city, rather than providing temporary solutions.

Adopting the assumption of public transportation with affordable price to all the citizens, CHP puts forward the importance of railway systems in transportation. Underscoring the precondition of integrating all transportation systems with one another, the main opposition party also points out the fact that it has an objective and vision to make intra-city transportation easier and more encouraging through the necessary infrastructure works.

Last but not least, CHP undertakes the ‘Right to Uncontaminated and Healthy Environment’ as another target within its 2014 Local Election Bulletin or overall election statements that are presented to the public opinion. As regards to creating cities that are ready to compete with the world cities, the main opposition party, CHP, states that the underlying problem is the fact that humanity has been destroying the

nature for so long. For this reason, the party indicates reassuring the health of nature and preventing environmental pollution as a duty of both the state and citizens.

In parallel with this mentality, the party points out to the fact that measures preventive of destruction must be developed and supported in order to reassure the ecological balance and protect green fields. CHP explicates that local administrations' fundamental duty is to provide environmental infrastructure services, give momentum to the relevant projects and implementing them in no time. In addition to this situation, CHP takes the 'Environmental Right' as a target to be achieved in its program. Environmental Right indicates clean air, clean water, and green environment. The party states that the essential legal and governmental measures must be taken so that the life quality in cities increases drastically. Furthermore, it is necessary to make the local administrative mechanisms more functional so that they carry out the necessary recreation works and improve the public areas.

6.3.2.2. Economic Development

CHP bears a conception that the stagnancy, poverty, and unemployment issues observed in the economic field in the country can be alleviated and resolved through the empowerment of the local administrations. With the improvement to be achieved by fulfilling the needs for economic development, and providing more and more employment and commercial activities within the country, enormous amount of wealth will be created, and that wealth must be shared justly and fairly in conformity to the principle of social state, which will, ultimately, ensure economic development. In this line, CHP has determined four basic targets and programs.

The first of these targets is uttered to be ‘Supporting Production, Entrepreneurship, and Employment’ by the main opposition party. CHP further stresses that Turkey’s import-driven growth narrows and restricts employment, and this is why the central state must generate macro-level solutions for the economic problems. In addition, the local administrations must be assigned with relevant duties so as to ensure macro level solutions for the economic troubles that the country is undergoing. Departing from this point, CHP advocates that cities must prioritize sustainable development strategies. Thus, CHP aims to make the local administrations not problematic, but responsible units that support the entrepreneurs and implement incentive policies so as to facilitate economic development.

Moreover, CHP touches upon the differences in the development levels of different regions in our country, which is a common issue in our country. Due to this difference, inequality has risen among different regions. In order to eliminate that inequality among the regions, CHP underlines the importance of implementing projects that are peculiar to each region. CHP asserts that the projects to refurbish the cooperation among the local administrative units, universities, and industries must be lent impetus, as well. Envisioning that the employment rates and production will considerably increase in the regions through local administrative mechanisms’ incentive programs and investment projects in the regions, CHP also underlines that the organized industrial zones must plan the necessary infrastructure services as regard to efficient production methods. The party deems it necessary to use the national and international grants, donations, and loans effectively so that innovative projects can be put into practice to increase the quality of workforce equipment in the urban areas.

The second sub-category determined by CHP in its 2014 Local Election Bulletin under the scope of this economic development presumption is the ‘Protection of the Consumer and Tradesmen’ that is declared to the public opinion. CHP sees the necessity to protect and improve the rights and interests of the citizen consumers and tradesmen on the same axis as the main compound of the local administration model. As a matter of fact, CHP officials believe that because of the shopping malls that are imported from the world wrongfully, the culture of buying from the tradesmen has been ended.

In order to solve this problem related to the tradesmen and artisans, CHP aspires to concretise projects of ‘Chamber of Artisans’ and an ‘Artisan Line.’ The party also has a primary target to make the local administrations the central unit that regulates the processes of beginning a business by the artisans and tradesmen. Primarily supporting the idea that the tradesmen and artisans producing and processing especially local products must be provided with financial incentives, CHP attaches special importance to the protection of consumer rights, security and economic interests of the consumers, and heightening awareness among consumers. In doing so, CHP aims to extend and improve the awareness of the concept of sensitive consumers, which has turned out to be a principle for the party.

Another issue of economic development under the 2014 Local Election Bulletin of CHP is ‘Revitalizing the Tourism Industry and Ensuring its Contribution to the Economy.’ The urban life quality will increase and local cultural events and incentives will be more efficient and higher in number through enriching the tourism infrastructure of the city, as CHP officials emphasized in their previously mentioned campaign. CHP clearly expresses its objective to make the cities attraction centres for

the local and foreign tourists by ensuring the necessary infrastructure and superstructure works and organizing certain events to do so. To go a step further, CHP targets to improve tourism in the country via using the local natural resources reasonably, attentively, and efficiently in order to conserve and refurbish the characteristic cultural structures of the cities.

The last sub-category handled by CHP in terms of economic development is the ‘Alleviating Poverty’ that is declared explicitly to the public. In line with the objective of zero-poverty, the party’s mentality is structured on the basis of the concept of citizens who own their rights guaranteed by the laws, rather than the concept of needy citizens. According to this understanding, CHP delivers that they target presenting social aid services, purporting that services to be provided for the impoverished, the weak, and disabled are public services based on the principle of social state.

In this context, CHP utters that there must be a practice of ‘Family Insurance’ across Turkey. With this practice, the party aims to make monthly minimum payments to families so that they can sustain their lives. In addition, the main opposition party indicates that it has objectives to provide child allowance, old age pensions, disability living allowance, providing employment, medical benefits, education funds, and skill courses for the unemployed young persons in Turkey.

Furthermore, CHP stresses that social justice must and will be ensured through convenient policies based on their aforementioned targets. The party asserted that it would prioritize projects to actualize the functions of the state in terms of social welfare. The party also has programs of fighting against unemployment – poverty, and skill courses for the unemployed young persons in Turkey, which is essential in their election statement and campaign.

6.3.2.3. Political Development

Expressing the importance it attaches to the concept of democratic participation as regard to political development, CHP purports that it is not sufficient to just meet the physical, economic, social, and cultural needs in the field of social life. People absolutely need to take participation in the decision-making processes that are of interest to them. They need to express their demands, views and suggestion according to the main opposition party's officials. For this reason, the party says that efficient citizen participation is indispensable for political development.

On the basis of this perception, CHP stresses the public participation in the processes of decision making and implementing such decisions of local administrations. In addition to public participation, the party also supports the idea that there must be city councils to check and inspect the local administrations that are elected. They should be further strengthened according to the party officials. Further, the referenda must be implemented as an overall new model at the level of municipalities according to the main opposition party's officials. Thanks to this method, the society will not be just spectators, but direct participants to the practical field of democracy. In addition, the system of village headmen – the mukhtars – bear great responsibilities in terms of empowering the local democracy, as stated clearly by the CHP officials. For this reason CHP believes in the power of village headmen in raising their voices and taking decisions about the issues that are relevant for their neighbourhood in the provincial assemblies and municipal assemblies.

Within the scope of the aforementioned targets, the party aims to enable active participation of the public to the decision-making and inception processes as an important part of the services and duties of the local administrations. In its bulletin, the party states that all the necessary democratic mechanisms will be put into practice and all the obstructions will be terminated so as to raise awareness and allow discussion of the decisions taken by the central government, which is generally called as ‘Public Meetings.’

Finally, adopting the principle of valuing the people before everything else, CHP aspires to turn all the cities into democratic living spaces and to facilitate social integration. In that, the party emphasizes the principle of benefiting from all the local services on equal basis without any discrimination as regards to the different languages, origins, traditions, cultures, faiths, and sects.

6.3.2.4. Social and Cultural Development

CHP propounds that the local administrations must have more functional properties in the fields of socio-cultural development, which is to be valued more on the basis of the competitiveness of the cities. In light of this objective, the first under title that CHP determined is the ‘Cultural Development.’ The main opposition party, which underlines the importance of increasing the general education level primarily for allowing cultural development, puts the significance of cultural activities into the forefront in parallel with the sense of safety in living spaces and residences. According to them, a region or living space where the safety of the population is not assured cannot actually be named as a living space.

Within the frame of all its policies, CHP is observed to prioritize the principle of equal opportunities. In line with the sense of social integration within the cities, the party asserts that the cultural values must be protected and enriched. The public and public officials' awareness about the protection of cultural values shall be increased tremendously through making the relevant trainings more common.

In the field of cultural development, CHP handles another issue that must be scrutinized in this study: protection of the local arts and handicrafts that face the danger of extinction. The main opposition party has certain projects to protect and sustain such artistic flows and handicrafts. Further, the party asserts that artists, who are contributing to encouraging generation of original thoughts and masterpiece creation in the fields of culture and arts, must be supported by each way possible.

Another topic that is of great importance for the main opposition party in terms of the objective of cultural development is prevention of crime and keeping the city life safe. Targeting to strengthen the local administrative mechanisms as regards to this issue, CHP gives importance to preventing especially the young people from committing crimes via mutual support, partnership, and social policies conducted by the local administrations. The party also aims to develop strategies to keep away from bad habits.

The second and last under title handled by CHP in its 2014 Local Election Bulletin or Statement within the scope of the social and cultural development reveals as the understanding of 'Social Municipalism.' In line with this understanding, CHP advocates the idea that each and every part of the society must be protected and the necessary health aids must be provided especially for the elderly and disabled. In that,

the healthcare centres and community clinics sanatoriums must be qualified according to the party objectives.

Laying emphasis on the fact that they have projects especially for the protection of the young, CHP finds it necessary to keep the young away from any kind of bad habit and drug consumption. The party draws attention to create policies that will lend impetus to making the psychological counselling, rehabilitation, and guidance centres more common.

Additionally, CHP aims to take preventive measures against the child labour and enslaving children resulting from keeping them from education. CHP has this target of preventing the considerable increase in the abuse of child labour within the scope of its social politics. In addition to creating more employment of sufficient amount of specialist personnel in the field of child rights in the local administrative units, CHP has an objective to create ‘Child Centres’ that is established to involve children in cultural, artistic, sportive events and encourage them in conducting researches in various fields (CHP, 2014).

As a consequence, it can be stated that CHP, which announced its targets and party program to the public opinion in its 2014 Local Election Bulletin on the basis of the conception of “With Wealth, In Concert, and Free”, has an understanding of municipalism that is established on providing public and social welfare within the frame of human-oriented policies. As an assurance of such an understanding of municipalism, CHP emphasizes transparent government and participation to the decision-making processes. The participation, information, and inspection channels must be open for the organized society in the processes of taking and implementing

decisions at the level of local administrations. Thereby, CHP targets to constitute an integrated society.

7. EVALUATION and RESULTS

Democracy may not be perceived as the perfect government method, yet it is a well-known fact that democracy is the ideal government method in today's world. Departing from this perspective, political parties that the milestones for the democratic tradition have a determinative role to sustain democratic practices. Political parties, which aspire to obtain the ruling power within the scope of sustaining and continuing this tradition of democratic rule, can be the ruling or the opposition party as a result of the voting process that is a consequence of democracy.

At this point, it must be known for both of the political power mechanisms that ruling parties can lose their ruling power, as the main opposition can turn its legitimate opposition power into the ruling power. For this reason, the party programs and election statements or bulletins that constitute the main compound of this study can be regarded as political texts, which are facilitating affinity to the citizens directly and which are of great importance in terms of the political organizations. In addition to all these, it can be clearly uttered that a country's political power depends on the local administrations that are correctly structured and can meet the needs of the day. Even though this situation seems to disregard the existence of the central state, indeed, this system is focused on protecting the qualified political power mechanism through establishing coordination with the central authority's local administrative units.

Besides, especially in countries such as Turkey, which are qualified as early election countries, the starting point of the ruling power is seen to be local policies, and local

administrations become more and more important in harbouring the principle of locality so as to attain the ruling power later on. In general terms, should we touch upon the local administration mechanisms that are essential for the study, it can be uttered that local administrations are democratic governing organizations formed by the state mechanism in order to meet the needs of the people, stated as local communities (Özel, 2015). In addition, the local administrations can also be regarded as political parties' instruments to establish affinity and close relations with the citizens on local scale.

The problems related to the operations of the local administrations based upon the implementation of the locality principle today reveals exactly at this point. Should the local administrations have a governing structure that is independent from the political parties, or should they constitute a mechanism that is executed by the elected officials who are appointed by the political parties? The administrative units that are formed as a result of elections can be seen as the outcomes of democracy despite all the criticisms, but it is explicit and obvious that the political mechanism sees the local administrative units as propaganda instruments during the course of elections. Within this century that is harbouring frequent discourses of globalisation and European Union (EU), the principles of security and affinity to the society in locality and service have gained considerable importance. Under these circumstances, local administrations are expected to fulfil the needs and demands of the society within the scope of efficient public administration.

It is an unmentioned fact that the local administrations are much regarded as propaganda instruments for protecting the ruling power or enhancing the desire for obtaining the ruling power. In this context, the local administrations are not yet fully

balanced in terms of the authorities and responsibilities. The local administrations are expected to carry out their duties under the inhibitive bureaucratic mentality. From the perspective of approaches to public administrations, the ruling and main opposition parties' local administrative policies were individually scrutinized on the basis of their 2014 Local Election Statements in the third chapter. Regarding the issue of implementing local policies, and politicising these policies rather than assuming them just to be targets; as soon as the local administrations are continued to be seen as political parties' organizations, the need for obtaining the political ruling power will never fade away. Along with this, a narrow-scope comparison and contrast is carried out between the ruling and opposition parties' policies in the third chapter of this study;

Keeping its ruling power as of 2002 to today, the AK Party states that it values solving the urban problems through creating contemporary brand cities that are ready for competition on the basis of the advantages of its ruling power. The party has an objective to actualize the necessary legal regulations for building a good future in terms of urban development. Along with this, the party has adopted an understanding of environment-friendly municipalism regarding the environmental issues that have become the focal points for the man and other opposition parties' criticisms. On the basis of environment-friendly municipalism concept, municipalism has been carried out fully to the extent that social development and participation is assured in overall services. Fulfilling these objectives, the AK Party prioritizes local administrative units that are compatible with the EU Standards valid currently, oriented towards the efficient governance practices, distant from unwieldiness, and close to the society.

Observed to value the legal regulations that are created and implemented during the course of its ruling, the AK Party advocates the principle of city municipalism that is appropriate for the information age. In addition, the party gives importance to combining the traditional structure with the modern structures in proportion to its target of cultural municipalism. Furthermore, despite any sort of criticism, the party expressed its view on the green nature and all its elements. The AK Party is observed to aim at reaching each and every part of the society on the basis of the social cooperation standards in providing public services. While putting forward its stance in its women vision allowing more active women participation in the administrative processes, the AK Party values both cities and regions in terms of development. In that, the party is observed to present its objective to establish cooperation between central administration – local administrations to the public on the basis of its targets and party programs under the title of ‘Human-beings, Democracy, and Cities.’

In the 2014 Local Election Statements, which is generally for announcing the regulating policies to the public within the scope of the ruling power, the AK Party has been successful in strengthening its targets and programs with numeric data thanks to its ruling power. Further, its 2023 targets have turned out to be party ideology. Its local administrative policies are based on the requirements by the EU candidacy procedures. In the period of AK Party’s ruling, the notion of ‘AK Municipalism’ has gained momentum, as declared by the ruling party, and the party has been underscoring its action plans for local administrations. Being exposed to opponent criticisms as regards to the services provided by the local administrations based on their approaches of municipalism under the control of the ruling power, the AK Party is observed to value the issue of green environment in its 2014 Local

Election Statement. However, it is a known fact that the ruling party has been criticised by a certain part of the society for its policies of green fields. This is assessed to be a deficiency that can be filled. Therefore, the AK Party has adopted the principles of closeness and affinity to the society and serving to the public. It is possible that the ruling party could address to all of the society through its policies of green fields especially when it has the ruling power. The fact that its policies on the green fields have not or could not yield good results turned out to be upsetting both for the local and central administrative fields.

The AK Party asserts that it has achieved reaching its ruling power to the local administrations. Another point of the ruling party that can be criticised within the scope of its election statement is about the modern and contemporary living spaces that are aimed by the TOKİ. In this context, it is a well-known fact that the local people have been subjected to intra-city migration as a result of the urban transformation that has led to irregular migration. It should not be forgotten that the same local people must be protected and provided with healthy and modern living spaces before and after the urban transformation processes.

Despite low amount of criticism, the AK Party aims to sustain its ruling power in a way that is individual oriented at the level of centre – local administrations. As before the 2014 elections, their target, program, and policies have also been based on direct politisation within the legitimate political boundaries in the parliament. The ruling party sustains its overall objectives in proportion its ruling power, despite all the criticism by the main opposition party. The AK Party sees the 2014 Local Elections as the turning point for its 2023 targets, along with their political power. The party aims to level its municipalism culture on the grounds of EU standards, and

provide outstanding services. In the field of providing public services, the party points out to the need of solving the problems related to the public bureaucracy. In connection with this, the party has an objective to facilitate global integration within the framework of its modern conception of local administrations. It can be uttered that such targets may bring along positive and moderate results as regards to the local administrative policies.

Against the local administrative policies of the AK Party, which has the ruling power, the CHP – main opposition party – constitutes the other dimension of this study in terms of local administrative policies. When CHP's local administrative policies are scrutinized on the basis of its 2014 Local Election Statements or Bulletin, it can be observed that the opposition party is advocating criticism policies against the ruling party. Along with that, the main opposition party asserts that the ruling party's policies are paving the way for the continuation of poverty. So much so that, the main opposition party has explicitly declared to the public opinion its approaches of municipalism, which is based on entrepreneurship as a consequence of its social policies.

Emphasizing the 'Populist' approach of government within the scope of its principles, CHP states that it is essential to develop politically in Turkey, differently from the ruling party's policies. The main opposition party also stresses the importance of improving the economic policies. CHP also underlines that democracy can first be strengthened at local level, and that is why the principles of political participation, efficiency and effectiveness in services, and local administrative policies compatible with the environment and globalization –which cannot be uttered to be much different from those of the ruling party– are of great importance for the main opposition party.

In policies that are determined by the main opposition party and mostly remained as only targets because of the political conflicts, CHP generally wants to continue its aspiration to implement the principle of social democratic municipalism. Instead of the TOKİ projects that are too luxurious, the party adopts the conception of ‘Housing to the People’ in the urban regeneration projects. Along with that, CHP is also observed to have policies for fields so as to re-establish the ecological balance today. Putting forward that the environmental right is a human right, CHP states that women’s active participation to the administrative and governmental processes is not a need, but an indispensable obligation.

The main opposition party is observed to attach special importance in the issue of employment in the local administrative units. In case the main opposition party’s desire to have the ruling power yield good results, it promises to prevent the serious problem of favouritism in the public bureaucracy that must originally based on transparent and accountable understanding of government. The main opposition party expresses that the urban transformation projects are mainly paving the way for getting unearned income and keeping the local people distant from the urban areas within the scope of the ruling party’s policies. Through this assertion, CHP underscores the fact that planned urbanization must be made possible via social integration that is based on equal opportunities. Aspiring to turn the local administrations from problematic to responsible units, CHP underlines the need for having diverse projects about eliminating the developmental differences of regions, not much different from the ruling party’s policy about eliminating difference among regions, despite slight different points. In addition to the local administrations, CHP stresses that it is vital to improve the innovative and result-oriented projects on the cooperation between the

central authority and non-governmental organizations, in addition to the local administrations.

Before touching upon the deficiencies that reveal as a result of CHP's 2014 Local Election Statement and bulletin, it is not known to what extent the opposition's policies have turned unsuccessful because of the lack of political cohort. Further, to what extent these relevant policies have been impacted by the failure of politicisation is not known, either. Therefore, the opponent policies have turned out to be disadvantages brought by the parliamentary system, rather than being advantages. Because of the lack of the ruling power, and the fact that policies could not go beyond being just intangible targets, the main opposition's policies have just been seen as concentrating on criticism, as tangible results of these criticisms cannot yet be acquired. This is seen as a deficiency of the main opposition party. However, the main opposition party – which actually has the power to come to the rule – is expected to present the public a bulletin or election campaign that involves data-driven implemented policies, which yielded good results and which are more comprehensive in the sense that they guide the ruling party on local scale. Thereby, the main opposition party could have consolidated its power. Observing that CHP is drawing attention to the concept of globalization within the scope of today's policies, the fact that main opposition party has not been much focusing on its current local administrative units on the basis of EU standards and EU level policies constituted a considerable deficiency in terms of our study. Despite the criticisms, CHP aims at making the local units more functional through economic development programs, adopting policies not to manage but eradicate poverty, and execute its understanding of services for everybody in unity. CHP states that with such targets, its policies that

could have not been politicised can yield moderate results when the main opposition party comes to power.

In addition to all these, it should be stated that a lot many of these policies that are pledged or promised to be fulfilled, have even today been discussed exorbitantly. It is a heated debate whether these policies were implemented successfully or not. As the approaches toward the field of local administrations have changed within the historical process, they can also vary according to the political parties' policies. In line with the understanding of internationalisation that started at local level, it is not deemed to be probable that the central government fulfils and regulates all the governmental duties in today's administrative structure. Thus, it has been unavoidable today to adopt and implement an original and transparent administration that is based on the contemporary governance approaches. The political parties show parallelism with the reform planning that reveals in the aforementioned administrative practices. It has now been nearly non-negotiable that political parties should not be indifferent to the structural changes in the world, and generate modern policies that opt for the individual needs within the perspective of localization on the basis of globalization.

In this context, the main point to purport is the need for materialization of the intangible targets presented to the public during the elections through the political power attained as a result of the elections. The local administrations that have been granted with more autonomous and democratic status especially with the EU candidacy process may well be regarded as organizations, which ensure lending impetus to democracy at local level via the political participation and equal opportunities. It should not be forgotten that democracy is primarily based on

dialogue before everything, and healthy practise of this dialogue conducted especially in local level is significant in protecting the social structure (Çukurçayır M. , 2000).

In the way to make this phenomenon of dialogue more functional, one of the political processes that enable the acquisition of power to represent people through elections is the local election mechanism that grants the representational power to the local scale. Despite the governmental reforms carried out in an attempt to protect and sustain the ruling power at local and central level, the phenomena of political participation to the governing bodies and ensuring more democratic structuring requires serious amount of responsibility and effort, as well. Such a responsibility is known to strengthen the political parties' commitment to the concept of good and robust governance in terms of generating and enforcing policies, which is one of the core issues of this study.

As a result, cities are expressed as living spaces where the relations of production are held together, re-production processes have gained impetus, and a lot many activities are presented so as to ensure sustainable life (Firat, 2014). Under these circumstances, the cities and urban areas are places that provide the various parts of the society with different opportunities, and that efforts are put together in cooperation. In addition, the urban areas establish their significance and difference with their structures that allow for top-tier political competition. The changes in the world that have frequently been emphasized are to be started firstly in cities. Moreover, the concept of city perception on the basis of human beings reveal at this point.

Long with this perception that has changed or has been changed, the political parties' targets and programs have changed, as well. For instance, the ruling party sees a threat risk in the fact that the main opposition party has come out of the conflicting or debating platform and adopted political texts as a way of communication in the name

of creating social opposition. Under these circumstances, the party programs and election statements and campaigns have turned more powerful via the political communication. Thereby, the political parties have gained a special force in gaining primarily the legitimate central ruling and local power.

As a result, the regulations and developments carried out by the political parties in the field of local administration in parallel with the historical reforms of the local governments have been thoroughly scrutinized in this study. Especially the local administrative policies, which have been constructed under the principle of locality that has gained momentum with the EU and (ECLSG) European Charter of Local Self-Government, may vary according to the ruling and main opposition parties. At the same time, these local administrative policies may advance on the same line, regardless of the ruling and main opposition parties, as well. It can be deduced that both parties tackled within the scope of the 2014 Local Election Statements, which is the determinant factor of the study at hand have been underscoring the principle of equality and individual-oriented administrative understanding.

The important point here is that local policies that are generated within the scope of the local administration mechanism and carried out particularly under the parliamentary systems have brought along political competition, as well. Notwithstanding that, realizing political reconciliation at local level where the human component is more important will definitely ease the process of politicising the relevant policies and prevent seeing the public administration as an unending symphony via commitment or depending on the political competition. Besides all these, the local scale political organization that has been formed as a result of the vote rates obtained as a result of the March 30, 2014 Local Elections – campaigned with

programs, statements, bulletins, written or visual propaganda to allow the parties express themselves to the citizens (constituents) are demonstrated in figures.



Figure 4. March 30, 2014 Local Election Results throughout Turkey



Figure 5. March 30, 2014 Local Election Metropolitan Municipality Distribution



Figure 6. March 30, 2014 Local Election Municipality Distribution on Provincial Basis



Figure 7. March 30, 2014 Local Election Municipality Distribution on the Basis of District

Source. [usak.org.tr](http://www.usak.org.tr). (n.d.). Retrieved November 13, 2015, from http://www.usak.org.tr/kose_yazilari_det.php?id=2280&cat=376#.VpfLxhWLTIU

REFERENCES

- 1982 Constitution, Article 126, Article 127. (n.d.).
- (24.12. 2003). *5018 Nolu Kamu Mali Yönetimi ve Kontrol Kanunu*. 25326 sayılı T.C. Resmi Gazete.
- Adıgüzel, Ş. (2012). 6360 Sayılı Yasa'nın Türkiye'nin Yerel Yönetim Dizgesi Üzerine Etkileri: Eleştirel Bir Değerlendirme. *Toplum ve Demokrasi*, 6(13-14), 153-176.
- AK Parti . (2014). *Yerel Seçim Beyannamesi*. Ankara.
- AK Parti. (n.d.). 2002 Genel Seçim Sonuçları. Retrieved 10 15, 2015, from <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/secimler/2002-genel-secim>
- AK Parti. (2003). Türkiye Bülteni. 2. Ankara. Retrieved 10 14, 2015, from <http://www.turkiyebulteni.org/PDF/02%20TEMMUZ%202003.pdf>
- AK Parti 2011 Genel Seçimleri Seçim Beyannamesi. (2011). *Türkiye Hazır Hedef 2023*. Ankara: AK Parti Yayınları.
- AK Parti. (n.d.). 59. Hükümet Programı. Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi. Retrieved 02 13, 2016, from <https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukümetler/HP59.htm>
- AK Parti. (n.d.). *Kamu Yönetimi ve Demokratikleşme Programı*. Ankara.
- AK Parti. (n.d.). Parti Programı. Retrieved 02 10, 2016, from http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/akparti/parti-programi#bolum_
- AK Parti Seçim Beyannamesi . (2002). *Herşey Türkiye İçin*. Ankara.
- Akartürk, E. A. (2010). *Parlamenter Rejim Uygulamaları ve Parti Sistemleri*. İstanbul: Yeditepe Üniversitesi Yayınları.
- Aliefendioğlu, Y. (1999). Siyasal Partiler ve Sivil Toplum Örgütleri. *Anayasa Yargısı Dergisi*, 16, 95-115.
- Alodalı, M. F., Özcan, L., Çelik, F., & Usta, S. (2007). AB ve Türkiye'de Belediyelerde Özerklik. *Selçuk Üniversitesi Karaman İ.İ.B.F. Dergisi*.
- Arslan, C. (2009). Türkiye'de Yerel Yönetimler ve 2004 Sonrası Yerel Yönetim Reformu. 92. Ankara: Gazi Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Yayınlanmamış Yüksek lisans Tezi.

- Bahçeci, B. (2005). 1982 AnayasasıDöneminde Çoğulcu Demokrasi Açısından Milletvekili Seçimi Hukukunda Karşılaşılan Sorunlar. *Ankara Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi*, 368.
- Balcı, A. (2004). Türk Kamu Yönetimi Sisteminin AB Normlarına Uyumlaştırılması. In T. Uzun, & S. Özen (Eds.), *Avrupa Birliği Sürecinde Türkiye*. Ankara: Seçkin Yayıncılık.
- Berber, M., & Çelepçi, E. (2005). Türk Bölgesel Kalkınma Politikalarında Yeni Arayışlar: Kalkınma Ajansları ve Türkiye’de Uygulanabilirliği. *Doğu Karadeniz Bölgesel Kalkınma Sempozyumu*.
- Berkes, N. (2003). *Türkiye’de Çağdaşlaşma*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
- Bozkurt, Ö. E. (1998). *Kamu Yönetimi Sözlüğü*. Ankara: TODAİE.
- Can, Y., & Soyer, F. (2015). Avrupa Birliği Sürecinde Türkiye’de Yerel Yönetimler ve Spor Politikalarının Değişim ve Gelişimi. In M. Özel (Ed.), *Yerel Yönetimlerde Yerel Kamu Politikası Yaklaşımları* (p. 99). Konya: Çizgi Kitabevi.
- CHP. (n.d.). Retrieved 02 18, 2016, from http://www.chp.orgtr?page_id=67
- CHP. (2014). *Yerel Seçim Bildirgesi*.
- CHP Official Web Site. (n.d.). CHP Tarihçe. Ankara. Retrieved 10 14, 2015, from https://www.chp.org.tr/Haberler/0/chp_tarihi-54.aspx
- CHP, Parti Programı. (n.d.). *Çağdaş Türkiye için Değişim*.
- Coşkun, B. ; Uzun, T. (1999). *Türkiye’de Yerel Yönetimlerin Gelişimi, Niteliği ve Muğla İli Yerel Yönetimlerinin Uygulamada Karşılaştıkları Sorunlar* (Vol. 1). Muğla: Muğla Üniversitesi.
- Cotteret, J.-M., & Emeri, C. (1975). *Seçim Sistemleri*. (T. Gökçöl, Trans.) İstanbul.
- Çam, E. (1990). *Siyaset Bilimine Giriş*. İstanbul: DER Yayınları.
- Çiçek, Y. (2014). Geçmişten Günümüze Türkiye’de Yerel Yönetimler. *KSÜ Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 11(1), 53-54.
- Çukurçayır, M. (2000). Yeni Yönetim Modeli Arayışları Çerçevesinde Halkın Yönetim Süreçlerine Katılım Olankları. *TODAİE Yerel Yönetimler Sempozyumu*. Ankara.
- Çukurçayır, M. A. (2008). Yerel Demokrasi ve Yerel Siyaset. *Yerel Siyaset*. 1, p. 24. İstanbul: Okutan Yayıncılık.
- Daver, B. (1993). *Siyaset Bilimine Giriş* (5 ed.). Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi.

- Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı. (2000). *Sekizinci Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı - Bölgesel Gelişme ÖİK Raporu*. Ankara: DPT.
- Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı. (2006). *Dokuzuncu Kalkınma Planı (2007-2013)*. Ankara: Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı.
- Dursun, D. (1998). Türkiye’de Yerel Yönetimlerin Doğuşu ve Siyasi/İdari Gelişme. In D. Dursun, & H. Al (Eds.), *Türkiye’de Yönetim Geleneği* (Vol. 24). İstanbul: İlke Yayınları.
- Emrealp, S. (2005). *Yerel Gündem 21 Uygulamalarına Yönelik Kolaylaştırıcı Bilgiler El Kitabı* (Vol. 2). İstanbul: Birmat Matbaası.
- Erden, V. Y. (2015). Sosyal Demokrasinin Tarihsel Gelişimi. Retrieved 10 17, 2015, from https://www.academia.edu/13271601/Sosyal_Demokrasinin_Tarihsel_Geli%C5%9Fimi
- Eryılmaz, B. (1997). *Yerel Yönetimlerin Yeniden Yapılanması*. İstanbul: Birleşik Yayıncılık.
- Eryılmaz, B. (2000). *Kamu Yönetimi*. İstanbul: Erkan Matbaacılık.
- Eryılmaz, B. (2005, 06). *worldbank*. Retrieved 12 13, 2015, from [worldbank.org: www1.worldbank.org/publicsector/pe/turkeysymposium/4%20Bilal%20Eryilmaz.ppt](http://www1.worldbank.org/publicsector/pe/turkeysymposium/4%20Bilal%20Eryilmaz.ppt)
- Eryılmaz, B. (2012). *Kamu Yönetimi* (5 ed.). Kocaeli: Umuttepe Yayınları.
- Geray, C. (1998). Kentsel Yaşam Kalitesi ve Belediyeler. *Türk İdare Dergisi*, 70.
- Goldsmith, M. (2002). Central Control over Local Government-A Western European Comparison. *Local Government Studies*, 28(3), 91.
- Gözler, K. (2003). *İdare Hukuku* (Vol. 1). Bursa: Ekin Kitabevi.
- Gül, H., Kiriş, H., Negiz, N., & Gökdayı, İ. (2014). *Türkiye’de Yerel Yönetimler ve Siyaset*.
- Güler, B. A. (2010). *Türkiye’nin Yönetimi – Yapı*.
- Hampsher-Monk, I. (1987). *The Political Philosophy of Edmund Burke*. Londra: Longman.
- Hasanoğlu, M., & Aliyev, Z. (2006). Avrupa Birliği İle Bütünleşme Sürecinde Türkiye’de Bölgesel Kalkınma Ajansları. *Sayıştay Dergisi*(60), 81-103.
- Hekim, H. (2013). Kamu Politikasında Post-Pozitivizm. In A. Kaptı (Ed.), *Kamu Politikası Süreci* (2 ed., pp. 47-61). Ankara: Seçkin Yayıncılık.

- Hekimoğlu, B., & Altındeğer, M. (2006). *Bölgesel Gelişme Politikalarında Yaşanan Değişim: Bölgesel Kalkınma Ajansları*. Samsun: Samsun Valiliği Tarım İl Müdürlüğü, Çiftçi Eğitimi ve Yayın Şube Müdürlüğü.
- Hill, D. M. (1974). *Democratic Theory and Local Government*. London.
- İnaç, H. ; Ünal, F. (2014). Avrupa Yerel Yönetimler Özerklik Şartı ve Türkiye’de Belediyeler. *Dumlupınar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 17, 9.
- Kalağan, G. (2010). Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Kamu Bürokrasisi’nde Yeniden Yapılanma ve Yönetimsel Reform Çalışmaları. *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Vizyoner Dergisi*, 2(1), 81.
- Kalko, Ü. (2010). Avrupa Birliği'ne Uyum Sürecinin Türkiye'de Yerel Yönetimlere Yansımaları. İstanbul: Kadir Has Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Yüksek Lisans Tezi.
- Kamu Yönetimi Reformunda Mevcut Durum. (2006). *Türkiye Ekonomi Politikaları Araştırma Vakfı*. Retrieved 11 06, 2015, from tepav.org.tr: http://www.tepav.org.tr/tur/admin/dosyabul/upload/Kamu_yonetiminde_reform.pdf
- Kapani, M. (1978). *Politika bilimine giriş*. Ankara Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi.
- Kapani, M. (1978). *Politika bilimine giriş*. Ankara: Sevinç Matbaası.
- Kapani, M. (1992). *Politika Bilimine Giriş*. Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi.
- Kaya, F. S. (2013). Türkiye’de Yerel Yönetim Politikaları Ve Mevcut Bazı Siyasi Partilerin Yerel Yönetim Yaklaşımları. 61. İstanbul Aydın Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Yüksek Lisans Tezi.
- Keleş, R. (1994). *Yerinden Yönetim ve Siyaset*. İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi.
- Keleş, R. (1995). Yerel Yönetimler Özerklik Şartı Karşısında Avrupa ve Türkiye. *Çağdaş Yerel Yönetimler Dergisi*, 23(6), 4.
- Keleş, R. (2000). *Yerinden Yönetim ve Siyaset* (Vol. 4). İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi.
- Keleş, R. (2006). *Yerinden Yönetim ve Siyaset* (Vol. 5). İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi.
- Keleş, R. (2012). *Yerinden Yönetim ve Siyaset*. İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi.
- Kışlalı, A. T. (1987). *Siyaset Bilimi*. İstanbul: İmge Yayınevi.
- Koçak, M. (2002). *Siyasal Partiler ve Türkiye’de Siyasi Parti Yasakları*. Ankara: Turhan Kitabevi.

- Koçak, S., Ekşi, A. (2010). Katılımcılık ve Demokrasi Perspektifinden Türkiye’de Yerel Yönetimler. *SDÜ Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*(21), 295-307.
- Koçberber, S. (2006). Kalkınma Ajansları ve Sayıştay Denetimi. *Sayıştay Dergisi*(61), 37-55.
- Kösecik, M., & Özgür, H. (2005). Yerel Yönetimlerde Reform: Geleneksel Modelin Değişim Süreci. In H.Özgür, & M.Kösecik (Eds.), *Yerel Yönetimler Üzerine Güncel Yazılar - 1* (pp. 1-20). Ankara: Nobel Yayını.
- Lijphart, A. (1994). *Electoral Systems And Party Systems, A Study Of Twenty-Seven Democracies (1945-1990)*. Oxford University Press.
- Memişoğlu, D. (2006). Yeni Kamu Yönetimi Ve Yerel Yönetimler Reformu. 97-120. Isparta: Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Yüksek Lisans Tezi.
- Nadaroğlu, H. (2001). *Mahalli İdareler; Teorisi, Ekonomisi, Uygulaması* (Vol. 7). İstanbul: Beta Yayınları.
- Ortaylı, İ. (1973). Türk Belediyesinin Denetim Yetkisinin Tarihi Gelişimi ve Günümüzdeki Durumu. *Amme İdare Dergisi*, 6(4), 14-24.
- Ortaylı, İ. (1976). Osmanlı Kadı’sının Taşra Yönetimindeki Rolü Üzerine. *Amme İdaresi Dergisi*, 9(1), 95-107.
- Osborner, D., & Gaebler, T. (1993). *Reinventing Government*. New York: A Plume Book.
- Ökmen, M. (1999). Yerel Yönetimlerde Yeniden Düzenleme Girişimleri ve Son Reform Tasarısı Üzerine Bazı Düşünceler. *Türk İdare Dergisi*, 422, 139.
- Ökmen, M., & Canan, K. (2009). Avrupa Birliği’ne Üyelik Sürecinde Türk Kamu Yönetimi. *Celal Bayar Üniversitesi Yönetim ve Ekonomi Dergisi*, 16(1), 147.
- Ökmen, M.; Parlak, B. (2010). *Kuramdan Uygulamaya Yerel Yönetimler İlkeler Yaklaşımlar ve Mevzuatlar* (Vol. 2). Bursa: Alfa Akademi.
- Ömürgönülşen, U. (2003). Kamu Sektörünün Yönetimi Sorununa Yeni Bir Yaklaşım. In M. Acar, & H. Özgür (Eds.), *Çağdaş Kamu Yönetimi I* (p. 20). Ankara: Nobel Yayın Dağıtım.
- Öner, Ş. (2002). Globalleşme Sürecinde Yerellik: Demokratik ve Katılımcı Yerel Yönetimin Kurumsallaşması. In B.Parlak, & H.Özgür (Eds.), *AB Bütünleşme Sürecinde Türkiye’de Yerel Yönetimler*. İstanbul: Alfa Yayını.

- Özdemir, A. (2011). Mahalli İdarelerde Halk Katılımı Bağlamında Kent Konseyleri. *Sayıştay Dergisi*(83), 29-55.
- Özel, M. (2015). *Yerel Yönetimlerde Yerel Kamu Politikası Yaklaşımları*. Çizgi Kitabevi.
- Özel, M. (2015). *Yerel Yönetimlerde Yerel Kamu Politikası Yaklaşımları*. Çizgi Kitabevi.
- Özgül, B. (2002). Seçim ve Seçim Sistemleri, Türkiye'deki Seçim Sistemi Uygulamaları ve Bir Model Önerisi. Isparta: Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Yüksek Lisans Tezi.
- Özok, Ö. (2005, 05 26). Siyasal Partiler ve Demokrasi. Ankara. Retrieved 10 6, 2015, from <http://www.barobirlik.org.tr/AcisKonusmalari-4-80.tbb>
- Öztekin, A. (2000). *Siyaset Bilimine Giriş* (2 ed.). Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi.
- Perinçek, D. (1995). Siyasal Partilerin Hukuki Rejimleri. *Siyasi Partiler ve Demokrasi* (p. 146). Ankara: TESAV.
- Pirler, O., Gürsoy, E. Z., & Başsoy, A. (1999). *Belediyelerde Teşkilatlanma – Kadro İhdası Personel İstihdamı ve Eğitimi*. Ankara: Türk Belediyecilik Derneği – Konrad Adenauer Vakfı Yayını.
- Pratchett, L. (2004). Local Autonomy, Local Democracy and New Localism. *Political Studies*, 52, 362.
- Resmi Gazete. (2011, 6 23). 2011 Genel Seçim Sonucu. Retrieved from <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/main.aspx?home=http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2011/06/20110623.htm&main=http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2011/06/20110623.htm>
- Sarıbay, A. Y. (2001). *Türkiye’de Demokrasi ve Politik Partiler*. İstanbul: Alfa Yayınları.
- Sekizinci Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı. (n.d.). *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kalkınma Bakanlığı*. Retrieved 11 17, 2015, from [kalkinma.gov.tr:Pages/content.aspx?List=8661bcf7-9da5-4ecb-a190-fd4aadbacc02&ID=2&Source=http%3A%2F%2Fwww%2Ekalkinma%2Egov%2Etr%2FPages%2FKalkinmaPlanlari%2Easpx&ContentTypeId=0x0100B6043AD55C311E41A48571E65B9E1AD1](http://www.kalkinma.gov.tr:Pages/content.aspx?List=8661bcf7-9da5-4ecb-a190-fd4aadbacc02&ID=2&Source=http%3A%2F%2Fwww%2Ekalkinma%2Egov%2Etr%2FPages%2FKalkinmaPlanlari%2Easpx&ContentTypeId=0x0100B6043AD55C311E41A48571E65B9E1AD1)
- Seymen, Ü. B. (1990). 1930-1946 Tek Parti Dönemi Belediyeciliği İzmir: Behçet Uz Örneği. *Türk Belediyeciliğinde 60. Yıl* (pp. 159-192). Ankara: Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi Yayınları.

- Shatkin, G. (2000). Obstacles to Empowerment Local Politics and Civil Society in Metropolitan Manila, The Philippines. *Urban Studies*, 37(12).
- Siyasal Partiler Kanunu. (1983, 04 24). 22. 18027 sayılı Resmi Gazete. Retrieved 11 26, 2015, from <http://www.yargitaycb.gov.tr/belgeler/site/documents/SPartiler30102015.pdf>
- Sobacı, M. Z. (2015). Türkiye'nin Avrupa Yerel Yönetimler Özerklik Şartı'na Uyumlu Özerklik Miti. (120), 18-21.
- Süer, S. S. (2011). Catch All Siyasi Partiler. *TBB Dergisi*, 51-52.
- Tanilli, S. (1996). *Devlet ve Demokrasi Anayasa Hukukuna Giriş* (Vol. 8). İstanbul: Çağdaş Yayınları.
- Teziç, E. (2009). *Anayasa Hukuku* (Vol. 13). Beta Yayıncılık.
- TODAİE. (1991). *Kamu Yönetimi Araştırması (KAYA) Genel Raporu*. Ankara: TODAİE Yayını.
- Toksöz, F. (2011). *İyi Yönetişim El Kitabı*. İstanbul: TEPAV.
- Tortop, N., Aykaç, B., Yayman, H., & Özer, M. (2006). *Mahalli İdareler*. Ankara: Nobel Yayın.
- Tosun, E. K. (2007). Avrupa Birliğine Üyelik Sürecinde Türkiye'de Yerel Yönetimler ve Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları. *Ekonomi, Sosyoloji ve Politika Dergisi*, 3(2).
- Tunaya, T. Z. (1982). *Siyasal Kurumlar ve Anayasa Hukuku*. Bursa: Ekin Yayınevi.
- Tunaya, T. Z. (1998). *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler*. İletişim Yayınları.
- Tuncer, E. (2003). *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Seçimler (1877-2002)* (2 ed.). Ankara: TESAV Yayınları.
- Tuncer, E. (2006). Türkiye'de Seçim Uygulamaları/Sorunları Işığında Temsilde Adalet - Yönetimde İstikrar İlkelerinin İşlevselliği. *Anayasa Yargısı Dergisi*, 23, 167-182.
- Tunç, H. (1999). *Anayasa Hukukuna Giriş*. Ankara: Nobel Kitabevi.
- Türk, H. S. (2006). Seçim, Seçim Sistemleri ve Anayasal Tercih. *Anayasa Yargısı Dergisi*, 23, 76.
- Türkiye'deki Siyasi Partiler Listesi. (n.d.). Wikipedia. Retrieved 11 26, 2015, from https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/T%C3%BCrkiye%27deki_siyasi_partiler_listesi#Di.C4.9Fer_Par

- Urhan, V. F. (2008). Türkiye’de Yerel Yönetimlerin Yeniden Yapılandırılması. *Sayıştay Dergisi*, 70, 88-89.
- Urul, A. K., & Serteser, S. (2015, 06). Siyasi Partilerin Seçim Beyannamelerinde Yerel Yönetimler. TEPAV. Retrieved 11 15, 2015, from http://www.tepav.org.tr/upload/files/1433323934-7.Siyasi_Partilerin_Secim_Beyannamelerinde_Yerel_Yonetimler.pdf
- usak.org.tr. (n.d.). Retrieved November 13, 2015, from http://www.usak.org.tr/kose_yazilari_det.php?id=2280&cat=376#.VpfLxhWLTIU
- Usta, A. (2013). Kamu Politikaları Analizine Kuramsal Bir Bakış. *Yasama Dergisi*. Retrieved 01 17, 2016, from http://www.yasader.org/web/yasama_dergisi/2013/sayi24/78-102.pdf
- Uyar, H. (2001). *Vatan Cephesi - Türk Siyasal Yaşamında Cepheleşmelere Bir Örnek*. İzmir: Büke Yayınları.
- Uysal, B. (1984). Siyasal Katılma ve Katılma Davranışına Ailenin Etkisi. *TODAİE* , 209, 166.
- Ünal, F. (2011). Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Türkiye’de Yerel Yönetimlerin Yasal Ve Yapısal Dönüşümü. *Dumlupınar Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*(30).
- Wolman, H. (1990). Local Government and Market Decentralization: Experiences in Industrialized, Developing, and Former Eastern Block Countries. In R. J. Bennet (Ed.), *Decentralizasyon: What It is and Why We Should Care?* New York: U.N. University Press.
- Yalçındağ, S. (1993). Bitmeyen Senfoni: Yerel Yönetimler Reformu. *Amme İdaresi Dergisi*, 26(1), 69.
- Yavaşgel, E. (2004). *Temsilde Adalet ve Yönetimde İstikrar Açısından Seçim Sistemleri ve Türkiye’deki Durum*. İstanbul: Nobel Yayınları.
- Yayman, H. (2008). *Türkiye’nin İdari Reform Tarihi*. Ankara: Turhan Kitabevi.
- Yazıcıoğlu, R. (1995). *Bu Sistem Değişmeli*. Erzurum: Birey Yayıncılık.
- Yüksek Seçim Kurulu. (n.d.). Milletvekili Genel Seçimi Arşivi. Ankara. Retrieved 10 18, 2015