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DYNAMICS OF THE LOCAL POLITICS AND DEMOCRACY IN
TURKEY: THE CASE OF ARNAVUTKÖY

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Dynamics of The Local Politics and Democracy in Turkey: The Case of Arnavutköy

Türkiye'de Yerel Siyaset ve Demokrasi Dinamikleri: Arnavutköy Örneği

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

JDP: Justice and Development Party/Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi

AKP: Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi/Justice and Development Party

MHP: Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi/Nationalist Movement Party

CHP: Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi/Republican People's Party

AP: Anavatan Partisi/Motherland Party

RP: Refah Partisi/Welfare Party

İY: İyi Parti/Good Party

HDP: Halkların Demokratik Partisi/Peoples' Democratic Party

İSKİ: İstanbul Su ve Kanalizasyon İdaresi/Istanbul Water and Sewerage Administration

IMF: International Monetary Fund/Uluslararası Para Fonu

TOKİ: Housing Development Administration/Toplu Konut İdaresi

İGDAŞ: İstanbul Gaz Dağıtım Anonim Şirketi/Istanbul Gas Distribution Industry and Trade Inc.

TÜİK: Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu/Turkish Statistical Institute

ABSTRACT

By focusing on what sort of order Turkish local politics and local political dynamics process, it is aimed to examine the relationship among the local political actors that bring electoral success to AKP. In this sense, by conducting a field research in the Arnavutköy district in which the AKP has regularly won the local elections since 2004, the intriguing subject of the AKP's electoral success and its relationship with the local political dynamics and the effects of this relationships are aimed to be unfolded. Besides, the developments in the local politics of Arnavutköy are aimed to be examined within the context of local democracy criteria.

ÖZET

Türkiye’de yerel siyasetin ve yerel siyasi dinamiklerin nasıl bir düzen içinde işlediği üzerine odaklanırken Ak Parti’nin seçim başarısını getiren yerel siyaset aktörleri arasındaki ilişkilerin incelenmesi amaç edinilmiştir. Bu bağlamda Ak Parti’nin 2004 yılından itibaren düzenli olarak yerel seçimleri kazandığı Arnavutköy İlçesinde saha araştırması yapılarak merak konusu uyandıran Ak Parti’nin seçim başarısı ve yerel siyaset dinamikleri arasındaki ilişkilerin ve ilişkilerin etkisinin ortaya çıkartılması amaçlanmıştır. Ayrıca, Arnavutköy yerel siyasetindeki gelişmelerin yerel demokrasi kriterleri bağlamında incelenmesi amaçlanmıştır.

CHAPTER 1

1. INTRODUCTION

Human being is a political wealth. Every action of human being can be political. So politics will be in where people are. Due to close relationship between people and politics, states needed to develop their political systems to be inclusive. Thus, states have developed different political institutions such as local authorities because central governments hadn't been sufficient to produce solutions for problems and demands of rural places of countries after Industrial Revolution and birth of capitalism. Central governments had deal with some local problems such as mass population, pollution and lack of infrastructure and so on. Modern local politics and local governments have come out of such historical process. Thus local governments became politically the nearest institutions of local politics to societies. The main goal of local politics was based on providing services such as collecting garbages and funeral services. These political institutions were not aiming to provide democracy in local politics at the beginning. Capitalism and urbanization are transforming the world day by day. Cities, neighborhoods, districts, villages, towns and countries are getting bigger because of capitalist development process. Thus, demands of people who are living in these areas are changing constantly with development of urbanization and capitalism progresses because capitalist system caused that people started to live in big and mega cities that excluded rural places of the world.

In this context, politics were done directly and face to face in Ancient Greece. However, politics of modern day has big and complex systems which contain different types of political regimes, institutions, local authorities, central authorities etc. Political systems have been turning to a huge organism with capitalism. Thus, people could not do politics directly in modern world. In this sense, locality concept started to become more important in modern times. People needed to express their social, economic and political problems to central governments through democratic

and direct methods. People needed to participate themselves politically in their territories. In this sense, central governments realized that people needed to express themselves through democratic ways in local politics. Thus, doors of democratic local governments/local democracy were opened to discuss in the world. Central governments started to canalize their local governments to local democratic principles. Thus, world tried to fulfill demands of citizens through legal regulations on law of local authorities.

Turkey has experienced birth of modern local government in its own way. Ottoman Empire and Turkey have regulated local politics as provider and controlling of public services. Turkish central government prepared legal regulations to expand democratic principles in local politics. However, these democratic developments couldn't provide enough and real developments to establish local democracy in local politics. Especially, after 1980's Turkish local politics entered into new period which contained important legal reforms. These reforms, which were related to local politics have started due to effects of capitalism and globalization. Furthermore, Political Islamic Tradition realized importance of local politics. Because of this reason, Islamist Political Movement started to work effectively to win local elections. Furthermore, establishment story of Justice and Development Party is important. In this sense, young politicians of Virtue Party who were tightly connected to global world, neoliberalism, democracy and United States have wanted to be more dominant in administration of Virtue Party. These young politicians were called themselves as Innovators (*Yenilikçiler*) side of Virtue Party (Tuğal, 2009). Thus, they have established Justice and Development Party in 2001. Founding leaders of Justice and Development Party claimed that they did not want to struggle with secular system of Turkey. They claimed that Justice and Development Party would not use religion into politics. Founding leaders of Justice and Development Party has even expressed that we took off National Vision Shirt (*Milli Görüş Gömleği*) (Tuğal, 2009). This situation has continued for their first ten years. Thus, after Justice and Development Party which was coming from same

root with Islamist political movement won 2002, took important decisions in local politics to protect success of local politics and power of central government.

In this context, motivation of this thesis is that local politics is becoming significant concept in the world day by day. Neoliberal transformations, transformation of nation-state concept, rising importance of local democracy and globalization caused that states needed to focus on local politics to increase power of local governments. On the other hand, Turkish political system realized that local politics has been getting more important in the world after 1980's neoliberal transformation process. In this sense, Islamist political movement perceived significance of local politics to collect support for central government and general elections. Because of these reasons, this thesis aims to research about dynamics of local politics of Turkey which are directly connected to principles of local democracy.

Furthermore, subject of this thesis is seeking to bring into open that how local political actors in Turkey such as municipality, civil society organizations, mukhtars so on establish political relations among themselves within the context of local democracy. In this sense, outcomes of field research of this thesis explain what kind of effects do global and national developments in local politics have in the field. This thesis is important to understand dynamics of local politics and anti democratic implementations which are occurred in Arnavutköy because there are no sources about local politics of Arnavutköy. Furthermore, there are a few sources about local politics and local governments of Turkey. Local politics studies contain rare researches about local governments and authorities of Turkey.

There are six different types of sources which are studying local politics of Turkey. One of these sources that focuses on rising of local politics in Turkey and significance of local politics for Political Islam. Tuğal and White are describing quite well organization process and progress of Political Islam in local politics. (Tuğal 2009, White 2002). These sources are focusing on political period before establishment of Justice and Development Party with the help of benefiting from

field researches. In this regard, Justice and Development Party has been taking power in Turkish politics for 17 years. However, Islamist political movement which had constituted birth of Justice and Development Party was effective on the development of Justice and Development Party and local political strategies of the JDP because main political cadres of Justice and Development Party had a good experiences in local politics. For example, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Melih Gökçek who were the most effective local political phenomenon in Welfare Party had become metropolitan municipality mayors of Istanbul and Ankara. Local organizations of Welfare Party and Virtue Party gained public support to organize local politics. In this sense, performances of local political organizations of the Welfare and Virtue Parties are important for this thesis to understand dynamics of local politics in Turkey. Because of this reason, evolution of local political organizations of Islamist political movement are needed to state in this thesis. However, these sources are not current to understand today's conditions of local politics. On the other hand, these resources which don't focus on developments in local democracy of Turkey don't examine effects of legal regulations in local politics.

Moreover, study of Sevinç Doğan (2016) provides current conditions of local politics of Turkey to understand dynamics of local politics in Sanayi Neighborhood, Kağıthane, İstanbul. This source explains how Justice and Development Party organized its local organizations in Sanayi Neighborhood and what kind of relations occurred in local politics of Sanayi Neighborhood. In this sense, this field research is valuable for this thesis to understand dynamics of local politics of Justice and Development Party.

There are some sources which are trying to examine legal amendments about local politics of Turkey. In this sense, these sources are looking for how these legal amendments are compatible with democratic principles (İncioğlu and Erder, 2013, Erder, İncioğlu and Semerci 2016, Tekeli 1983, Yaman and Küçükşen 2018, Toksöz 2016) and other scholars. These resources try to explain advantageous and

disadvantages of these legal regulations in local politics. However, these sources are not benefiting from field researches to understand dynamics of local politics in Turkey. Because of this reason, these sources don't examine effects of regulations in practice which are related to local politics.

Moreover, another type of these sources is related to understand relationship between local politics and local democracy. These sources describe what local politics and local democracy mean to criticize relationship between these two concepts through benefiting from field researches (Yalçın 2015, Şenel, 2014, Güven 2014). However, most of these field researches are not occurred actively in the field. For instance, if they focus on one district of Istanbul, they just benefit from written sources about this district and municipality of this district. Because of this reason, these kind of studies don't give deep and detailed debates about local politics and local democracy of Turkey. Moreover, dynamics of local politics can be understood better through constituting direct communication because these political actors are experiencing formal and informal relations, effects of legal regulations, effects of local elections processes and implementations of democratic and anti democratic principles. Due to these reasons, field research of this thesis matters to understand dynamics of local politics.

On the other hand, Semerci (2016) gives detailed criticism about local democratic developments and implementations in Turkey. However, this source which is created by different field researches in different metropolitan municipalities of Turkey provides detailed academic contributions about functions of local politics within the context of principles of local democracy. Although this research contains detailed debates about local democratic implementations of metropolitan municipalities, this research doesn't give opinions about informal and formal relations of district municipalities and other local political actors of districts of Turkey. In this sense, this source is helpful to understand dynamics of metropolitan municipalities and local democracy of Turkey for this thesis. However, this thesis will differentiate itself from this research thanks to having detailed field research in

a district of Istanbul. Furthermore, this thesis explains complex and complicated relations and structures of local politics in Turkey.

On the other hand, this thesis explains general explanation of what local politics and local democracy mean for dynamics of local politics in Turkey. In this context, this thesis mentions legal regulations which were about local politics were implemented during history of Turkish local politics. Thus, consequences of field research are criticized in accordance with effects of these legal regulations. Furthermore, this thesis aims to contribute deeper perspective to literature. It means that most of literature of local politics in Turkey is limited to understand description of dynamics of local politics. Thus, this thesis can reach important informal and formal relations within local politics of Arnavutköy because local politics is a political organization of states which contains closest relations with societies. It means that this research tries to understand the closest institution of politics to people through benefiting from local actors of Arnavutköy such as members of municipal council, mukhtars and head of civil society organizations so on. Minimized samples can give detailed opinions about dynamics of local politics of Turkey. This research tries to bring into open how these actors of local politics of Turkey are working in a district of Istanbul.

Purpose of this thesis is criticism of dynamics of local politics in Turkey within the context of local democracy with the help of demonstration of local political developments of Arnavutköy.

The main research question of this thesis is that “How do political relations among local political actors cause local democratic problems within the context of changing local political developments?”. Furthermore, there are sub questions to expand dimension of this research question. These sub questions of this research question are as follows: How does local politics work within Turkish context? What kind of relations do local actors have in Arnavutköy? How do dynamics of local politics of Turkey work in accordance with principles of local democracy? Does

Arnavutköy's local politics depend on authorities of local political individuals and institutions?

Chapter 2 is a theoretical part of the thesis. In this chapter, definition of local politics is explained. Furthermore, chapter 2 expresses why and how local politics became important phenomenon in the world. Thus, history of local politics and relations with globalization, capitalism and urbanization are discussed in chapter 2. In this context, chapter 2 clarified that how did globalization and urbanization process are affected local politics and local democracy. In addition to these analyses, chapter 2 tries to give definition of local democracy. Relationship between local politics and local democracy is discussed in chapter 2.

Chapter 3 is historical part of the thesis. This historical part is limited with Turkish context of local politics. In this sense, chapter 3 mentions what kind of developments occurred in local politics in Turkey. Furthermore, chapter 3 tries to explain what kind of local political changes introduced in Justice and Development Party Government. Moreover, these local political changes are examined within the framework of local democracy.

Field research of this thesis is examined in chapter 4. First two subtitles of Chapter 4 are related to demographic and historical features of Arnavutköy district of Istanbul. Thus, these general definitions give some basic contributions to understand local political situation of Arnavutköy. The case of Arnavutköy is important because Istanbul has been experiencing huge transformation in terms of construction, municipals and urbanization. Chapter 4 examines clientelistic relations which are occurred in local politics of Arnavutköy. Moreover, importance of professions and capital levels of local politicians are mentioned in Chapter 4. Also, Chapter 4 expresses that there are some determinant factors of local politics in Arnavutköy. Furthermore, Chapter 4 brings into open that there is effect of construction sector on municipal commissions. Also, part-state fusion and personalization of power concepts are explored in the case of Arnavutköy.

Furthermore, influences of civil society organizations, mukhtars, local associations and political parties on local politics of Arnavutköy are examined in chapter 4. Furthermore, local politics of Arnavutköy is discussed within the framework of centralization and economic tutelage. How it examines that field research of this thesis aims to bring into open what kind of informal and formal relations occurred in local politics of Arnavutköy. The field research focuses on relationship between central authorities and local authorities, and modes of relations within local authorities. Thus this field research brings to light dynamics of local politics of Arnavutköy. Furthermore, the field research aims to reveal that how these formal and informal relations in local politics are overlapping with principles of local democracy. On the other hand, this research was occurred before 31 March local elections. Therefore, I experienced and observed atmosphere of local elections and local relations in Arnavutköy.

Furthermore, this research is using both qualitative method and literature survey. It means that this thesis needs to focus on broad academic sources to reach meaningful definitions of development of local politics and local democracy in the world and Turkey. In this regard, this research benefited from academic articles, writings, books and writings of journals to improve capacity of thesis topic. Furthermore, these resources can contribute important informations to understand importance of local politics in Turkey and in the world.

Furthermore, this research implemented in depth interview method to reach to detailed and deeper discussions and ideas of people who are living in Arnavutköy. In this context, qualitative interviews are similar to surveys in terms of asking some questions. However, qualitative interview method aims to explore individuality of participant (Corbetta, 2003, p. 265). Thanks to this situation, researcher can experience informal and formal relations which occur in local politics of Arnavutköy from eyes of participants of in depth interview. Furthermore, in depth interview method makes it easier to understand terminologies and judgments of participants of interview (Corbetta, 2003, p.265). In this sense, understanding of

judgments and terminologies of individuals need to be reached for this thesis topic. In depth interview can provide opportunities thanks to its flexibility and interactive communicative methodology. On the other hand, in depth interview allows that respondents can become more visible than researcher during interview (Corbetta, 2003, p. 264). It means that researcher is on the back burner in in depth interviews. Therefore, respondent can express his or her thoughts during interview. Furthermore, this situation can provide that researcher can reach to more effective analyses for this thesis topic because development of this thesis topic is based on reliability relationship between respondent and interviewer. If researcher provides more sincerity, space and time to express their thoughts for respondents, they can give more criticisms for field research of this thesis. On the other hand, respondents should feel free herself or himself during interview because freedom of expression causes that respondent create his own perspective about the topic which is investigated by researcher (Corbetta, 2003, p. 264). Dynamics of local politics of Arnavutköy issue basically needs to reach objective, direct and extensive thoughts and contributions of individuals who are parts of local political actors. This research will not be based on surveys or other quantitative methods that can not definitely transfer every individual thoughts, feelings, terminologies and judgments of respondents. On the contrary, this research topic needs to reach to free expressions of respondents about functioning of local politics in Arnavutköy. Important point of this research is that field research part of this thesis needs to reach to answers that are expressed by eyes of participants of Arnavutköy district. Furthermore, another valuable characteristic of qualitative interview method is being flexible (Corbetta, 2003, p. 269). Thanks to this flexibility, broadness and openness of questions can be expanded in accordance with current conditions. Thanks to this situation, researcher can canalize meeting for reaching more important debates toward expectations of researcher. Because of this reason, qualitative interview method will be used to understand more specific conditions of local politics of Arnavutköy. Moreover, there is an another significant contribution of using in depth interview method. The significant contribution is based on emotions, feelings, tones and emphasis of subject who represents opinions of local political actors and

dynamics of local politics because researcher can experience every realistic moments of interview except collected informations and written informations.

I chose Arnavutköy district for this thesis because I think that Arnavutköy has wide range of ethnic and cultural diversity. Population structure of Arnavutköy contains variety because of lots of migration waves. Furthermore, Arnavutköy became district of Istanbul in 2008. Because of these reasons, I thought that Arnavutköy could be interesting to observe dynamics of local politics. More importantly, Justice and Development Party has been winning elections in Arnavutköy since 2004. That was an another reason to select Arnavutköy district as a field research. Therefore, local politics of Arnavutköy could provide significant informations about success of Justice and Development Party in local politics.

Moreover, I first visited Arnavutköy on 12 December 2018. This visit contributed to my understanding on Arnavutköy and helped to design the field research. Two pilot interviews occurred in Arnavutköy Municipality in this visit. These pilot interviews were important for this thesis, too. Because of this reason, examinations of these interviews were used in chapter 4. I visited regularly Arnavutköy for field research between 17 January 2019-31 March 2019. Most of interviews took place in offices of civil society organizations and associations, workplace of participants, Arnavutköy Municipality and its additional buildings, and district organizations of political parties.

Chapter 5 is conclusion part of the thesis. In this chapter there are general assessments of dynamics of local politics in Turkey. Furthermore, inferences of field research are discussed with existing literature of local politics.

CHAPTER 2

2. NOTION OF LOCAL POLITICS AND LOCAL DEMOCRACY IN THE GLOBAL WORLD

This chapter contains general definitions of local politics and local democracy and importance of local democracy and local politics. Historical developments of local politics that have a relation with birth of globalization and urbanization are expressed in this chapter. On the other hand, main principles of local democracy, like participation, are mentioned within this part of the thesis. Local politics and democracy have close relationship which is examined throughout this chapter. In short, theoretical and historical backgrounds which constitute basic structures of local democracy and local politics are examined in this chapter.

First of all, this thesis needs to explain what globalization means to understand effects of globalization for local politics and local democracy. In this sense, globalization means transcontinental structure which provides connection among all parts of the world. Globalization process provided freedom of movement of goods, humans, opinions, cultures, traditions and ideologies all around the world. In this sense, states which contain different cultural, economic and political background get closer in the new world order. Because of this reason, globalization progress constructs homogenous world which consume same productions, foods and films (Heywood, 2007). This homogenization process can be experienced in economic and political policies of states. Although globalization brings homogenization in the world, globalization also provides heterogeneousness in the world because political, cultural and economic reactions occurs against hegemony of standardized world. Thus, minor cultural, economic and political opinions try to increase their power in the global world. Furthermore, these minority groups become more apparent to exist in the global world. Because of the fact that globalization causes rise of homogenization of ideas, variety of opinions increases evenly.

Furthermore, significant variable of globalization process is related to economic structure of the world. The world entered into new economic period which provided freedom of movement of goods, capital and services (Marshall, 1998). In this sense, states of the global world established collaborationist and single economic market which contained international and transnational cooperations. This new system developed private sector in the economic system of the world. Thus, private sector dominated economic systems of states through privatization of public services and cooperations. Because of these reasons, states needed to open their markets to global economic market. Therefore, nation-states started to lose power of their centralist sovereignties against new world order which depended on more collaborative and open relations between states and transnational cooperations.

Globalization process affects states which depends on some rigid political concepts such as nation-state and centralism because globalization process provided different conceptualization of administration for states. Globalization process damaged regulative authority of nation-states over sovereign rights and law (Hardt and Negri, 2000). In this sense, states and societies needed to become more permeable and transparent in their own territories and international area because nation-states had controlled their political systems in accordance with their own sovereignty understanding which had been close and autocratic to transnational and international areas. Due to development of globalization, circulation of information and knowledge was not restricted within certain territories. It means that economic, political, social and technological developments of a state and its society which are at one end of the world can be easily realized by another state due to globalization progress. Because of these reasons, expectations of societies changed in accordance with development of globalization. In addition to this situation, states which depend on nation-state and centralists states needed to change their political structures in terms of bringing of globalization. Furthermore, states which embrace notions of nation-state started to lose political power over their decision making structures because international and national civil society organizations and local

governments started to gain more political authority over states (Bakan and Tuncel, 2012) On the other hand, nation-state couldn't deal with problems of globalization which necessitate transnational solutions because problems of nation state could be solved by collaboration of supra-state institutions and states. On the other hand, with the help of globalization, democratic principles became more visible and universal valuables such as human rights, protection of individual freedom and so on (Held,1991). Therefore, states which embrace nation-state and centralism needed to adopt their political structures to new democratic developments.

In this context, democratization and localization which actually represent basis issues of this thesis became new transformative powers of nation-state and centralism. In this sense, nation state entered into crisis which was caused by globalization process because nation states needed to comply with interconnectedness of economic, political and social values among them. Thus, societies of these nation states affected each other in accordance with democratic principles. Therefore, nation states couldn't deal with problems of interconnectedness. Because of globalization process, economic and political developments of nation state couldn't be restricted in specific regions. In this sense, economic and political developments and problems of the global which passed over borders of states became transnational issues. Because of this reason, states needed to develop transnational and global solutions for problems and developments of globalization process. In this sense, localization progress of local governments and participation of civil society organizations, associations and societies matter for development of local governments in the eyes of nation-state and centralized states because these nation-states and centralized states couldn't deal with problems and developments of globalization progress (Bauman, 1998). Because of these reasons, nation-states and centralized states needed to enter into localization process which provides also democratization process.

Furthermore, localization and globalization concepts which matter to understand democratic developments of local politics have bilateral relationship. Because of

the fact that globalization changes structures of states, localization process became complementary body of globalization progress. In this sense, nation-states need to collaborate with local governments to develop local polities in their own territories. In this sense, central governments started to share their political and technical powers with local governments which represented democratic institutional parts of states. In addition to this situation, central governments needed to share political power with civil society organizations, societies and local associations.

In this context, localization process of centralist political structures brought democratization process to nation-states at the same time because basic factors of localization process depend on development of democracy.

“In this context, the meaning and place of democracy has to be rethought in relation to a series of overlapping local, regional, and global structures and processes. There are at least two key consequences of globalization that are essential to absorb: first, processes of economic, political, legal, and military interconnectedness are changing the nature of the sovereign state from a number of directions; and, second, global interconnectedness creates chains of interlocking political decisions and outcomes among states and their citizens which alter the nature and dynamics of national political systems themselves.”
(Held, 1991, p. 203)

As this quotation shows that interconnectedness of different states affected situations of nation-states. On the other hand, this interconnectedness established common or similar political dynamics and consequences in different territories of the world. Because of these reasons, democracy became another discussion issue for local governments and central governments in the globalized world. In this context, participation of civil society organizations, associations and citizens became significant issue at both international and national levels. These political actors which represented democratic development in nation-states and centralized states became new workmates of traditional states.

In this context, because of globalization process, erosion of nation-states and rising of democratization and localization processes in centralized states, local politics became significant issue for the world.

2.1 Importance and Definition of Local Politics Within The General Perspective

States are developing their political, economic and social structures in accordance with global developments in the world. Therefore, political institutions, political reforms, legislative regulations and political principles which were important can be changed by central governments day after day because political structures establish bilateral relations with societies which have to right to express their problems, demands and necessities. Thus, central governments of states attempt to regulate their political, social and economic system. In addition to this condition, global world means that there is a superior power over all countries which actually constitute functions of global world. It means that some politically and socially powerful states dominate future of the world. Both citizens and these powerful states can change political mechanisms of the world. It means that concepts of local politics and local democracy were stated in the history of the world by these two political actors. Thus, local democracy and local politics became more important in the world politics thanks to transformation of states and societies which were occurred at the end of collapse of nation states. It means that states needed to open their borders to other cultures, traditions, societies and economies. At the same time, societies demanded more democratic atmospheres and they were affected culturally and socially by each others. Thus, local democracy and politics became significant issues of the world politics. In this context, local politics became an important political area after neoliberal economic and political transformations of states because neoliberal transformation caused political developments in local governments of states. In this sense, central governments noticed importance of local governments through these investment process. Local democracy which aims

to protect main political rights of individuals raised within this context because people wanted to express their demands and problems more to central governments.

Human being has been experiencing politics with the authorities of central and local politics. It means that societies are political structures which are reasons of birth of local politics. When political history of human being is examined, communities had needed to reach public services, to express their problems and demands to higher political authorities because these kinds of situations are necessities of societies. In this sense, local politics had occurred within this kind of political atmosphere. Local politics is occurred from relationship between citizens and local authorities. In this sense, local politics expresses decision making process about issues of local governance. In this sense, topics of local governments are urban policies, delivery of public services, demands of civil society organizations and associations, protection of principles of local democracy and social policy etc.

“Local self-government denotes the right and the ability of local authorities, within the limits of the law, to regulate and manage a substantial share of public affairs under their own responsibility and in the interests of the local population.” (Council of Europe, 2010).

As European Charter of Local Self-Government mentions, local politics contains political decisions and regulations which are related to general problems of urbanization in cities such as problems of relationship between local authorities and central governments, collecting taxes, providing of fundamental necessities of communities. In this sense, main principles of local governments are needed to explain to understand local politics. One of main principles of local government is that this institution of central governments are needed to recognized legally by central governments (Ndreu, 2016). Thus, duties of local governments can be determined in law by central governments. Furthermore, another principle of local government is that local governments need to take decision about their taxation policies to produce independent budget in their territories (Ndreu, 2016). On the

other hand, local governments need to provide participation principle of local democracy for their local communities. Thus, citizens of local governments can enter to decision making process of local politics. Moreover, local governments need to be decentralized from central governments through having independent political movement area. Furthermore, the last principle of local governments is being protector of rights and interests of citizens (Ndreu, 2016).

In addition to these issues, urban transformation and unearned income from real estate are other significant topics of local politics because real estate sector and construction sector became economic locomotive to protect and sustain capitalist economic system in the world. This kind of economic development which is based on construction sector creates problem of slumming/squatting in local politics because central and local governments decide to transform these slums of urban. In this sense, these slums create unearned income areas for local authorities and investors of these construction projects. Because of all these reasons, these local issues are considerably problems of local politics. On the other hand, local governments need to provide important public services for citizens. One of these public services is related to usage of goods and services of states (Tekeli, 1983). It means that societies should benefit from goods and services of local governments freely. Furthermore, local governments need to be provider of efficiency in local politics. In other words, local governments have to be productive to provide goods and services in local governance.

At the end of this conceptualization of local politics, local government expresses the right to city.

“The right to the city is, therefore, far more than a right of individual access to the resources that the city embodies: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city more after our heart’s desire. It is, moreover, a collective rather than an individual right since changing the city inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power over the processes of urbanization.

The freedom to make and remake ourselves and our cities is, I want to argue, one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights.” (Harvey, 2008).

As Harvey mentioned, the right to city means more than reaching to public services in the cities. Concept of the right to city means political tendency within itself because basic of the right to city is based on shaping of cities in accordance with demands of citizens. In this sense, the right to city is a definition which extremely expresses politicization of local citizens within their territories. Therefore, the right to city can be connected with principles of democracy in local politics. If citizens want to change and shape their living space independently, central and local governments need to open democratic political channels for these people. That means that central and local governments need to constitute principles of democratic local politics in local governments. Because of this reason, conceptualization of the right to city of David Harvey is valuable to understand local politics and local democracy. Thus, definition of local democracy and principles of local democracy can be examined in the next part.

2.2 Determination of Local Democracy

Concept of local democracy depends on political attitudes of local governments and central governments. Therefore, first of all, concept of democracy is needed to be examined before description of local democracy because local democracy depends on democracy theory which states basic principles of local democracy. Therefore, functions and definition of local democracy can be understood easily through explanation of democracy.

Democracy means sovereignty of demos which had power and authority in Ancient Greek (Heywood, 2007). However, every part of society wasn't included into demos. These parts of society were women, slaves and angels. In this context, people who were discussing about daily issues and political issues in center of city-

states had been constituting basics of democracy in Ancient Greek. These people could reach solutions and decisions during these discussions. Because of this reason, democracy was related to sovereignty of people which provides opportunity for people to decide politically about their political, economic and social problems between each other.

There are different democracy theories. However, the world has adapted itself mostly to representative democracy theory. In this sense, representative democracy means that citizens who vote in elections determine politicians who will control and manage every decision of a state. People just vote to choose representatives. In this context, these representatives decide about every social, economic and political issues of citizens. Therefore, they represent opinions of their supporters. However, their supporters don't have a right to participate themselves in decision making process. Decisions which are taken by politicians/representatives shape public policy and future of a state (Özbank, 2013). In this sense, these representatives can not take decisions for their political and economic interests. They have to take care of interests of society which is represented by them. Furthermore, that these representatives should express opinions, demands and problems of society in decision making process. In this sense, essentials of representative democracy are freedom, equality, hegemony of majority and election principles. Therefore, representative democracy creates a political system that citizens are pacified instead of election periods. As mentioned before, there are two main duties of local governments. These duties are providing public service and providing self-governance principle (Kaypak, 2012). It means that local governments can provide one of these principles in accordance with democratic conditions of states. If a state which considers democratic participation and participatory democracy, this state most likely provides democratic self-governance in its territory. If a state adopts its political system to representative democracy, local authorities depend on hegemony of central government (Kaypak, 2012). Thus, central government can describe duties of local governments as provider of public services. Democratic participation, accountability, participation of citizens, self-governance and

collaboration of local community and local authorities cannot be provided in representative democratic system of local government. Because of this reason, people who are living in representative democratic political system demand principles of participatory democracy. In this regard, participatory democracy contains all principles of representative democracy within itself. In addition to these principles of representative democracy, participatory democracy tries to reach to conditions of direct democracy (Yaman, 2017). It means that participatory democracy tries to include citizens into politics. Thus, people shouldn't be restricted with voting behavior. Participatory democracy wants that people can express their problems freely. According to participatory democracy, people should produce solutions for their problems. Furthermore, these people participate to implementation process of policies which are related to their problems and demands. In this context, participatory democracy wants that governments need to consult about decisions and problems to citizens. Furthermore, citizens should attend to decision making process, implementation process of policies and controlling of these policies (Vetter and Kersting, 2003). In this sense, direct participation of citizens is an important principle in participatory democracy. Because of this reason, participatory democracy can have significant relationship with local governments. People should express their demands and problems to local authorities. Therefore, local governments is the first step for citizens to express themselves. This expression process is related to participation principle. If people want to participate themselves in local politics with their demands and problems, political system which is the closest system to participatory democracy can be provided in this kind of local government. Thus, democratic local politics can be implemented.

Local democracy mainly expresses that a political system which provides a close organizing system and good service process for needs and demands of citizens (Çukurçayır, 2008). However, this definition of local democracy is not enough to make a political system democratic. Main principles of democracy are needed to canalized a political system for establishment of local democracy. However, local

election which is the main principle of democracy is not enough to provide democracy in local politics because elections are made in determined periods. Societies need to participate and express their problems and demands in local politics through democratic ways. Therefore, local elections which have restricted political opportunities of citizens can not provide total understanding of democratic political system. Principles of local democracy depend on democratic duties of two local political actors that are citizens and local governments. In this sense, principles of local democracy can be categorized to understand development of local democracy under these two local actors. Principles of local democracy which depend on citizens are participation of citizens to political process of local politics, participation to decision making process and maintenance of decision making process, existence of democracy perception among citizens, control of citizens over local institutions and plurality (Sisk, 2001). On the other hand, principles of local democracy which depend on local governments to provide well-organized local democracy in local politics. These democratic principles are having authority and financial-technical sources and accountability principle (Sisk, 2001). If these principles are clarified in this part, definition of local democracy can be clearer. In the next paragraph, these principles are explained in details.

In this sense, one of these principles is that citizens need to participate themselves in decision making process of local governments (Sisk, 2001). Furthermore, citizens are needed to participated to functioning of local authority. Thus, societies of states can govern themselves democratically. Furthermore, participation of citizens to decision making process of local governments provide democratic solutions of local issues and more beneficial solutions for local problems. If central governments and local governments can not give political participation rights of citizens to individuals, democracy can enter into a process which is anti democratic (Beetham, 1996). Thus, local democracy of this kind of state can not survive anymore among local governments and citizens.

On the other hand, participation of citizens is shaped by different processes in local politics. These processes are political and administrative. Political participation means that individuals, organizations, political parties, associations and institutions which are parts of local politics are elected by citizens/individuals (Görün, 2006). Furthermore, citizens have right to affect these associations, organizations so on. Moreover, administrative phase of participation expresses that citizens affect decision making process of political cadres of local governments (Görün, 2006). Furthermore, there are some local participation methods in local politics. These methods are elections, public meetings, attendance to meetings of municipal councils, consultative committees of municipalities, city councils and local agenda 21. Due to these methods, citizens can be effective in participation to local politics.

Another principle is related to capacities of local governments. It means that local governments have to have independent financial and technical resources to provide better local services in their regions (Pustu, 2005). These authorities need to create well developed cadres to deal with problems of local issues. Thus, these local authorities can reach democratic local politics. In addition to this situation, thanks to independent financial resources, these local authorities don't need to depend on central governments economically. Economic independence of local authorities brings political independence in their own territories. In addition to this issue, political independence is directly related to democracy. That means that if there is no political independency within local governments, these local authorities may not provide principles of democracy theory. If there is a dependent economic relation between local authority and central authorities, local authority can not independently decide about what their citizens need. Moreover, if local authorities can not determine independently their technical capacities such as personnels, these local governments become dependent to central governments (Pustu, 2005). Thus, local democracy may not be provided in these local governments. Moreover, these local authorities need to open their annual plans, budgets, incomes and consumptions.

According to openness principle, local authorities need to constitute well established communication channels which can be using of social media, mass media or face to face relations. In this context, citizens can make political contribution to local issues. Openness principle and good communication between local authorities and societies are strengthening democracy in local politics (Held, 1991). On the other hand, citizens should enter meetings of municipal councils. Thus, meetings of parliaments of municipalities can be more transparent. Local authorities should get opinions of citizens about policies of municipalities and daily issues of their district. This situation can develop democratic politics in local. If these local governments hide income and expense reports, budget planing, annual plans and meetings of municipal councils, this situation may exulcerate basis of local democracy. It means that local authorities need to establish and develop strong democratic communication system with their citizens.

In this sense, citizens have to be conscious about democracy. If they know necessities of democracy, they can demand democratic local governments from central governments. However, if they don't have consciousness about democratic valuables, local authorities can control society how they want. All of these principles are essential conditions of local democracy which are also duties of citizens and local governments. These principles show that central governments and societies share political power in local issues. In accordance with implementation of these democratic values, local politics can be more democratic or anti-democratic. If central and local governments can establish this kind of local political system, this political system can reach aim of democracy. It means that democratic principles are canalized to local politic in this kind of local government. If these democratic mechanisms are not working well in local governments, these local governments create the problematic of local democracy.

To sum up, if the case of local democracy is summarized, local democracy means totality of these principles; local self governance, participation of citizens to decision making process of local government, freedom of speech, right to live,

political equality, efficiency of local government, transparency of local government, accountability of local authority.

2.3 Relationship Between Local Democracy and Local Politics

Local Politics and democracy theory have close relationship because citizens can contact directly with state institutions and representers of these institutions in local politics. Because of this reason, democratic tendencies can be experienced in local politics. There are some different definitions of relationship between local politics and democracy. Because of this reason, these different definitions are needed to explain briefly at first.

If local democracy is needed to provide in a region, there should be a local authority in this region. In this sense, local authority depends on central authority. Because of this reason, democracy is based on central governments and local authorities. Democracy can not be provided at local level without dependency to central government. Due to this reason, democracy shouldn't be localized. Local governments should be democratized. On the other hand, local democracy means that principles of democracy such as participation and freedom are provided to local governments. Thus, citizens can participate themselves in local politics. Furthermore, local democracy is based on relationship between democracy and local politics. Features of democracy are needed to be canalized to local authorities (Hill, 1974, p. 79). On the other hand, another perspective of relationship between local democracy and local politics is that there is no bilateral relationship between democracy and local governments (Görmez, 1997). That means that local governments can be established without democratic principles. Furthermore, local governments can work with anti democratic implementations.

Local politics which can be performed in political system is the smallest basis of democracy because elected people and electors can directly contact and communicate each other in their regions. Electors can express their problems,

demands, wishes and furiousness to elected people, if there is a democratic political system. This thesis believes that democratic understanding of local politics contains correlation with central government. It means that both of them can not provide democracy on their own. Therefore, if there is no democratic political process in central politics, local politics also can not be democratic. On the contrary, central governments and institutions have distances with ordinary people in modern times. These central institutions were located at the top level of politics. Because of this reason, people may not directly reach to political representatives of central governments. Local politics and its representatives are closer to ordinary citizens than central governments and their institutions. In this sense, relationship between local politics and democracy is important. Moreover, if democracy and local governments work together, these concepts can provide freedom of human being, right of freedom of speech, participation of citizens and political education (Mill, 2001). Local democracy is the only structure that can provide solutions for problems of citizens at the lowest level of politics. Local democracy had existed before occurrence of state systems and central governments. Therefore, local democracy had occurred because of needs and contributions of local communities. Due to these contributions of human being, local democracy was developed as a self-governance system.

In this context, local governments can create opportunities for societies to govern themselves. Therefore, local governments can be constituted by central governments as basis of self-governance because local governments are the closest institutions of central government to citizens (Oktay and Pekküçükşen, 2009). Thus, people can produce solutions for their problems and demands in local politics through democratic ways. It means that democracy and local politics work together in local. If democracy doesn't exist in local politics, people can not make politics in their regions. It also means that democracy can not exist in these regions because democracy and people contain bilateral relationship among themselves to make politics in local.

CHAPTER 3

3. DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL POLITICS IN TURKEY

This chapter is related to local political developments of Turkey. In this sense, first part of this chapter expresses historical developments of local politics in Turkey. Historical developments, legal regulations, implementations of Ottoman Empire and Turkish governments are examined to understand basis of local politics of Turkey in this part of the chapter. Furthermore, implementations of local politics in Justice and Development Party government is clarified in other part of this chapter. This part mentions legal regulations such as 2004-2005 and 2012 new metropolitan municipality model. The last part of this chapter is based on discussion about new municipality model and other local political implementations of Justice and Development Party. Thus, legal regulations of Justice and Development Party are examined within the context of local democracy.

3.1 Significance of Local Politics for Turkish Political System and Historical Development of Local Politics in Turkey

Local politics has never become priority in Turkish politics until the 1980s and the 1990s. Political parties have been struggling to get authority of central government of Turkey. Because of this reason, political parties didn't take care of local politics until the 1980s. Neoliberal political developments which became global power raised in the world in the 1980s. Turkish governments were affected to reform local politics in Turkey. Thus, local politics became more important issue in this period. Importance of local politics which was noticed by Islamist political movement reached at the top level in the 1990s (White, 2002) because Islamist political movement thought that local politics was the key to reach administration of central government of Turkey. In addition to this, Islamist political movement noticed that local politics were providing an environment to establish strong and close relations with ordinary people of Turkey. In this context, Justice and Development Party

inherit function and importance of local politics to win local elections in Turkey. Thus, Justice and Development Party reached first goal of them which was winning general elections in 2002. Afterwards, Justice and Development Party became stronger in other general and local elections thanks to local politics. In this context, local politics wasn't examined as a place for democratic principles in the political history of Turkey. Local politics was an area for providing public services. However, with the help of accession process of European Union, local politics became more democratic political field for citizens. However, this democratic development process of local politics didn't continued for a long time. Local politics was controlled with centralist ideology and economic tutelage after new metropolitan municipality law.

Historical development of local politics idea briefly is needed to explain to understand current local politics and local democracy problem of Turkey. Basis of local politics was established in Ottoman Empire. Because of this reason, some critical and important developments which are related to local politics will be mentioned in next paragraph. All developments of Ottoman Empire which are related to local politics will not be explained in this chapter. Furthermore, developments of local politics which have happened until 1980's will be examined in this part of the chapter.

Idea of municipality had been came with idea of municipal council to Turkey. Ottoman Empire had modernized state institutions. In this context, Ottoman Empire had established new political and administrative system for cities (Toksöz, 2016). Ottoman Empire has governed some cities and towns through *Kadis* (Muslim Judges). These *Kadis* normally was interested in legal issues of countries of Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, these *Kadis* have regulated issues which were related to military, administrative situations, financial developments and municipality. *Kadis* were sharing local power with some religious groups, non Muslim groups, associations and corporations in these cities and towns. This situation was really decentralized local politics (Ortaylı, 1985). However, after

Treaty of Commerce with England, Ottoman Empire has preferred to change *Kadis* which couldn't work well. Thus, Ottoman Empire has established *İhtisas Nazırlığı* and *İhtisap Müdürlükleri* (Toksöz, 2016). First municipality of Turkey was established in Istanbul. Reason of establishment of this municipality was Crimean War because soldier who came from England, France and Italia increased population of Istanbul extortionately. Because of increased population, health, transportation and cleaning problems occurred (Toksöz, 2016). Because of this reason, Istanbul Şehremaneti was established in 1854 (Ortaylı, 1985). Istanbul Şehremaneti was working like metropolitan municipality. Furthermore, daires of municipality was established in 1857. These daires were treating like district municipalities. Establishment of municipalities which were in rural territories of Ottoman Empire was started in 1864 by regulations. On the other hand, establishment of district, province and brigade municipalities was made necessary by regulations of *Idare-i Umumiye-i Vilayet* in 1871 (Ortaylı, 1985). Municipalities have reached constitutional base through 1876's constitution. Furthermore, Dersaadet Municipal Law was brought into force in 1877. Due to this municipal law, current structure of municipal council and 1877's structure of municipal council are similar. On the other hand, Vilayat Municipal Law was brought into force in 1877. This municipal law has provided obligation for establishment of municipalities in every city and town. Furthermore, Vilayat Municipal Law has caused establishment of metropolitan municipalities in cities, if population of these cities was over 40.000. On the other hand, position of mayor was a problematic issue. Some part of parliament has pretended that parliament should assign mayor of municipality. Other part claimed that mayor of municipality should be elected through elections by members of parliament.

These two municipal laws have been on the agenda until 1930's Municipal Law. 1930's Municipal Law was based on different municipal perspectives of Europe and world. In this sense, localization, political autonomy and democratic governance were main background of 1930's Municipal Law (Toksöz, 2016). This municipal law was based on these three values. In this sense, these principles are

needed to explain to understand basis of modern municipal structure of Republic of Turkey because current municipal system was constructed on 1930's Municipal Law which was the first constitutional amendment in the history of Turkey. 1930's Municipal Law provided some important authorities for municipalities. For instance, municipalities had preparing zoning plan, organizing of traffic and social services thanks to this municipal law. Therefore, this situation caused localization in local governments of Republic of Turkey (Toksöz, Özgür, Uluçay, Koç, Atar and Akalın, 2009).

Thus, 1930's Municipal Law provided comprehensive localization for local politics of Turkey (Emeralp, 1994). However, center government has wanted to control this localization process. Because of this reason, central government has decided to create strength controlling over decisions of municipal councils. For instance, central government has right to regulate studies of municipalities directly (Toksöz, 2016). Moreover, enfranchisement of woman was given to women in 1930's Municipal Law. On the other hand, 1930's Municipal Law caused that mayor of municipality was elected through voting system by municipal council. Furthermore, full autonomy was not allowed by Turkish government. However, this kind of discussion was occurred among members of government. These discussions and decisions showed level of democracy of Turkish government. Furthermore, if a person wanted to be member of municipal council, condition of being Turk was decided in this municipal law (Toksöz, 2016).

Another important issue of local politics of Turkey is related to relationship between mayor of municipalities and member of municipal council because this relationship may show democratic situation of local politics. It means that local democracy problem of Turkey can be understood through this topic. Mayors were elected by municipal members until 1961. In 1961, new constitution which contained laws about local governments was constituted. He claims that mayors of municipalities have started to vote by citizens due to Constitution of 1961. In this sense, this rule was implemented firstly in 1963 local elections (Toksöz, 2016).

Furthermore, presidency system was implemented in municipalities due to Constitution of 1961. However, he argues that there was no mechanism to check and control power, authority, implementations and policies of mayors. This situation has caused that municipal councils have started to lose their powers. It means that municipal councils were the main actors which check and control mayors of municipalities. Because of lack of check and balance system, mayors of municipalities have gained more power on local politics. Therefore, Constitution of 1961 caused that new local political system was evolved to strong mayor-weak municipal council political system. For example, municipal council could suspend power of mayor before implementation of Constitution of 1961 (Toksöz, 2016). If municipal council wants to dismiss power of mayor, council needs to make a decision to dismiss power of mayor by 2/3 majority of votes. This situation is still continuing.

After 1980 coup, Turkey has started to enter into neoliberal political atmosphere. Economic and political life were regulated and organized in accordance with neoliberal political perspective. In this period, neoliberal policies have been increasing around the world. For instance, Margaret Thatcher's United Kingdom and Ronald Reagan's United States of America were leading representation of neoliberalism in the world. In this sense, Constitution of 1982 provided some important developments which were related to local politics. These developments were based on political atmosphere of 1980. It means that Constitution of 1982 changed local politics of Turkey in terms of neoliberal local politics. In this sense, Constitution of 1982 which created metropolitan municipalities increased power and authority of local governments. However, legal regulations of Constitution of 1982 reached the final version in 1984. Furthermore, the law no. 195 Delegated Legislation, the law no. 2972 Election Law and the law no. 3030 Legal Regulations created final situation of 1982's legal arrangement (Erder, and İncioğlu, 2008). In this sense, metropolitan municipality regulations created strong metropolitan municipality and weak district municipalities. Furthermore, metropolitan municipalities have been established by district and town municipalities. District

and town municipalities have become partners of metropolitan municipalities. Thus, municipal councils of metropolitan municipalities have been established by some district and town municipalities. These municipalities which were in border of metropolitan municipalities sent their members of municipal council to councils of metropolitan municipalities. However, all of members of district and town municipalities weren't sent to councils of metropolitan municipalities (Toksöz, 2016). District and town municipalities have decided some representatives from their councils. These representatives have tried to represent demands, problems and opinions of their own district and town. Because of this reason, district and town municipalities have lost more power. These institutions directly entered into hegemony of metropolitan municipalities.

In addition to these developments in local politics, the law no. 3030 caused that mayors of metropolitan municipalities had authority over municipal councils and members of municipal councils. In this sense, metropolitan law of 1984 caused that if municipal council dismisses power of mayor, they need to collect 3/4 majority of general votes. On the other hand, mayors of metropolitan municipalities have veto right. Thus, mayors of metropolitan municipalities could veto decisions of municipal councils. If municipal councils wanted to pass law, they needed to reach 2/3 majority. It means that this situation has consolidated strong power of mayors of metropolitan municipalities over councils of metropolitan municipalities (Erder and İncioğlu, 2008).

“The Act also stipulated that the Metropolitan Municipal Mayor was empowered to review all the decisions taken by the Metropolitan Municipal Council and district municipal council. The Mayor could return these decisions to councils in question. The councils could insist on their earlier decisions only by a two-thirds majority. The Metropolitan Municipal Mayor could transfer some functions of the Metropolitan Municipality to district municipalities. At the same time the Metropolitan Mayor was empowered to take all measures necessary for rendering services provided by district

municipalities more effective and to have the activities of district municipalities inspected on site.” (Heper, 1987, p. 7).

As Heper examined that mayors of metropolitan municipalities have been strengthening their political authorities over metropolitan municipal council and district municipalities. This situation has created hegemony of mayors over municipal decisions. Members of municipal councils who were elected in local elections by votes of citizens have been representing opinion, demands and problems of citizens. In this sense, these kinds regulations which increased power of mayors have been creating single man political regime in local governments.

“The Metropolitan Municipality now had more extensive powers of supervision over the decisions of District Municipalities on the construction of buildings.”(Heper, 1987, p. 8).

Furthermore, this constitution provided zoning plan opportunity and authority to municipalities. Constitution of 1982 caused that central government lost its approval authority over zoning plan. This situation had some impacts in local politics. Thus, people who were interested in real estate sector and construction sector were effective in local politics between 1980-2010 (Erder and İncioğlu, 2008). It means that local politics became opportunity and center for economic rent.

Moreover, central government decided to change economic capabilities of municipalities. Local authorities have had right to control and change prices of local and daily issues until Constitution of 1982 because Constitution of 1982 withdrew economic authority from municipalities. In this sense, central government blocked economic interventions of municipalities. Furthermore, budgets of municipalities were increased in Constitution of 1982 (Toksöz, 2016).

“The Act in question also increased the revenues of the Metropolitan Municipality. The Metropolitan Municipality would now receive not one but

three per cent of all the revenues collected by the central government within the metropolitan municipality area. This share could be increased to as high as six per cent by a decision of the Council of Ministers. In addition, the Metropolitan Municipality would now have as additional revenues all taxes, dues and fees paid by users of social and cultural institutions, stadiums, playgrounds and places of rest and amusement, and taxes on advertisements and bulletins in the metropolitan area.” (Heper, 1987, p. 7-8).

Analysis of Heper shows that the law for metropolitan municipalities provided strong economic authority which could also provide political power over their territories (Heper, 1987, p. 7-8). Because of this economic legal regulation, metropolitan municipalities became new attraction centers for politicians and entrepreneurs who thought that metropolitan municipalities could be new economic areas within the context of neoliberal transformation process of Turkey.

In this context, neoliberal transformation of Turkish economy after the 1980s is important to understand transformation in local politics. Turgut Özal who has taken political power after 1980 military coup d'état has started to investigate to institutionalize neoliberal economic structure in Turkey through receiving help from IMF. There are two important periods which are related to transformation of Turkish economic system. In this sense, financial liberalization transformation which was one of the main basis of neoliberal economic understanding has been started to implement in 1980. Furthermore, capital liberalization transformation which was another main basis of neoliberalism has been introduced in 1989. In the beginning of economic reforms, Turkish economic system entered to neoliberal global economic system after 1980. January 24 Decisions specified new economic system of Turkey which was actually based on neoliberal basis. So, Turkey which was rely on import-substitution economy has started to open its economic system to international and global field (Balaban, 2016). Furthermore, Judgment 32 that was decided to practice in 1989 caused Turkish financial system started to canalize itself into international financial system (Balaban, 2016). These two dimensions

prepared economy of Turkey for new global economic system. In this sense, new economic system which was put into practice after 1980 was rely on exportation of goods. This system provided neoliberal understanding of economy that gave a chance for development of capital in Turkey. In this sense, budgets of local authorities were increased in the 1980s. Thus, municipalities has increased their economic capacities to invest for local developments.

Due to these developments, idea of centralist local government which strengthened power of mayors and metropolitan municipalities, and neoliberal municipal consciousness was inherited to Justice and Development Party Government.

3.2 Birth of Justice and Development Party Within the Context of Rising Turkish Local Politics

There is an important and brief historical explanation that focuses on reasons of birth of Justice and Development Party. In this sense, Turkey has been dealing with political and economic problems before 2002 elections. The most significant determinative principle which prepared success for Justice and Development Party in 2002 elections depended on economic crises in 1998, 1999 and 2001. These economic crises have created huge lack of confidence among citizens against political parties of that time. On the other hand, political conditions were not stable in the eyes of citizens because there were coalition governments in the 1990s. In the eyes of citizens of the 1990s coalition governments could not provide economic and political stability for Turkey. Coalition governments could not take decisions to develop economic and political situations of Turkey for future of society. Moreover, there was a tension among Turkish Military Forces and Turkish government in the 1990s because Islamist and conservative political parties have raised their political supports such as Welfare Party in the 1990s (Onis, 1997). Islamist parties could have a chance to be a party to Turkish government in this period. This situation caused disfavor among military authorities. In this context, Constitutional Court of Turkey closed Islamist political parties through using

closure cases. Examples of these Islamist Parties that were closed by Constitutional Court were Islamist political movement in different periods. This political interventions have created victimization on the eyes of citizens about Islamist Parties. Thus, Virtue Party, Welfare Party and Justice and Development Party could use this political victimizations to construct their political support (Açikel, 1996). On the other hand, struggle and armed conflict with Kurds reached the highest level in the 1990s. Moreover, rising power of Kurds, armed conflict with Kurds, economic crises and political instabilities caused that society wanted powerful state and government (Öktem, 2012). In this context, Justice and Development Party observed these conditions well. The AKP planned their political strategies in accordance with these conditions. When Justice and Development Party came to power, the party focused on continuity of Kemal Derviş's economic structure (Önis, 2004). In this sense, Justice and Development Party has implemented Kemal Derviş's economic regulations to get rid of economic crisis until the end of 2001 economic crisis. Foreign direct investment reached the top level between 2002 and 2008. In this sense, Justice and Development Party prepared state and society for capitalist system to compete with global economic powers. On the other hand, Justice and Development Party has tried to establish social justice system for Turkish citizens. Furthermore, the AKP has provided material opportunities and democratic rights for Turkish society. Moreover, Justice and Development Party has constituted reformist political perspective to maintain political power in domestic and international politics (Öniş, 2004). Because of this reason, they have constructed good relationship with European Union both politically and economically. In this sense, Justice and Development Party tried to perform reforms of European Union to be a member of EU. Justice and Development Party took over some important European Union's progress from former coalition government (Özcan, 2009). Coalition government started to develop good relationship with European Union in last period of coalition. They tried to enter into process of EU accession. Thus, they wanted to change democratic structure of Turkey through accession packages. In this sense, the AKP continued this developed relationship with European Union to adapt Turkish political structure to understanding of

political structure of European Union. Thanks to good relationship with European Union, the JDP government tried to change some anti democratic policies to democratic policies. In this sense, Justice and Development Party has dealt with military and its anti democratic implementations to create and sustain democratic political conditions for Turkish Republic (Özcan, 2009). In this sense, leaders of Justice and Development Party have presented themselves as provider of justice and stability. Thus, Justice and Development Party has given economic and political hopes for society. These economic and political hopes were constructed in the local level through using local authorities, municipalities, civil society organizations and local associations. Due to these developments, Justice and Development Party has brought about its political hegemony for 16 years in Turkish politics.

As mentioned above Turkish society has been experiencing the government of Justice and Development Party for seventeen years. Justice and Development Party is a type of party which attaches importance to local governmentality. The important point is about birth of metropolitan municipality model in Turkey. This municipality model emerged in 1984 local politics reform. This municipality model developed local services of local authorities (Erder and İncioğlu, 2013). Actually Justice and Development Party benefited from advantageous of metropolitan municipality model to create its local support. When history of Justice and Development party and root of the AKP which is based on Welfare Party and National Vision Movement are examined, there was always focusing on local politics within Welfare Party and Justice and Development Party. Politicians of National Vision Movement knew efficiency of making local politics to affect masses and individuals politically. Every individual wants to reach basic necessities that needed to be provided by states. If governments and their local authorities do not provide basic needs such as garbage system, new constructions, transportation systems and social aids etc. for citizens, citizens can change their political choices in local elections and general elections. In this sense, Justice and Development Party prepared its general political understanding in accordance with importance of

local governmentality. Justice and Development Party succeeded in 2002 elections through obeying rules of local politics. They used strategies of local politics to influence political ideas of citizens. For instance, they were really effective in Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality in periods of Welfare Party and Justice and Development Party. They provided a lot of social aids for citizens who need to deal with bad living conditions through using sources of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. For instance, Justice and Development Party created policies for people who are dealing with poverty. On the other hand, municipalities of Justice and Development Party has been providing food, clothes and sheltering needs for citizens with application condition. Thanks to these social helps, Justice and Development Party prepared their electoral base for next elections. They could consolidate their political power through distributing important social services for citizens. Moreover, social aids has increased in term of Justice and Development Party government. Prior to Justice and Development Party's social aid action, social aid policy started in some municipalities that were controlled by Welfare Party. In that time some politicians like Recep Tayyip Erdoğan constructed their political supports through helping people who were dealing with low living standards. Especially in term of Justice and Development Party social aids reached peak level in Turkish political history. In Turkish political context, these social aids are provided by municipalities, provincial special administrations and foundations.

In 2005 social aids were legalized through municipality regulations (Akpınar, Şahin and Zengin, 2012). After this legalization period municipalities became organizational body for social aids. For instance, municipalities can open protection houses for women and children. Another example is related to local authorities can provide social aids through using budgets of municipalities for people who are under bad economic conditions. In this sense, municipalities are direct relationship with citizens. Citizens can find responses of their requests and needs easily in municipalities. Furthermore, municipalities can give an answer for requests of citizens. That means that communication between local authorities and individuals is more flexible and reachable. On the other hand, another important resource that

also offers reachable communication opportunity between local authorities and citizens is foundations. These foundations are Foundation of Social Help and Solidarity. Foundation of Social Help and Solidarity is working for Directorate General of Social Assistance. These Foundation of Social Help and Solidarity has been providing family aids, health aids, disabled aids, educational aids and special aids for citizens (Akpınar et al. 2012). The important point of Foundation of Social Help and Solidarity is related to some claims that are constructed by opponent political sides such as CHP. Therefore, important point is about distribution of coals, macaronis or money for people who are living in under standard living conditions. These kinds of aids are provided by Foundation of Social Help and Solidarity. In this sense, Justice and Development Party provided fuel, food, clothes, educational needs and jobs for people who need these kind of basic necessities. Furthermore, if mothers who are dealing with really bad economic conditions want to send their children to the school, Justice and Development Government gives some money for these mothers. This social aid is extremely important to understand how the AKP construct its political power in local level because this example shows that Justice and Development Party has been touching life of citizens through providing social aids for families. In this sense, family concept is expressing more than other individualistic concepts because family is corner stone of Turkish society. Because of this reason, Justice and Development can reproduce its local power through helping for families which are huge and crowded structures of society.

Justice and Development Party, and its local organizations and participators have reached to citizens of Turkey economically and socially. At times these governmental actors can come to your home for providing social aides and basic needs such as fuel, food or clothing. On the other hand, any type of citizen can meet with participators and volunteers of Justice and Development Party. These volunteers can have an exchange of ideas about political, economic and social requirements with citizens in the street or at home. For example, when Justice and Development Party decided to make a policy about health sector and hospitals,

every citizens who are using public health opportunities will be affected and met with this new policy of the AKP. That is to say that decisions for local issues which are taken by central government and municipalities of Justice and Development Party have an effect over Turkish society. Local politics and local government are directly related to individuals. In this context, central governments and their local governments organize health care system, garbage collection, social aids, transportation, new roads, new constructions etc. These kinds of services are important to affect life of individuals. Because of this reason, governments can produce their political power and political supports for next elections through using their local organizations and municipalities.

On the other hand, when Justice and Development Party took power in Turkish politics, economic powers of local authorities which were controlled by Justice and Development Party increased. It means that the AKP has been providing more budget for local authorities for economic and social developments. For instance, the latest data which is related to total budget of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality indicates 4.219.740 Dollar that was provided by the municipal council in 2019 (İBB Kurumsal, 2019) On the other hand, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality has two other sources of income. These sources of income are provided by İSKİ and İETT. Due to these actors, budget of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality is 10.425.417 Dollar (T24, 2019). In this sense, increased budgets of municipalities gained favor for municipalities which were controlled by Justice and Development Party because increased budget situation were not distributed equally for all municipalities. Some metropolitan municipalities which were especially conducted by Justice and Development Party's hegemony has been benefiting from budget of Turkish government more than other municipalities. Economic differences between municipalities have been providing more effective political control over voters for municipalities that are controlled by Justice and Development Party. In this context, economic hegemony of municipalities has been creating a chance to reproduce political power easily in local elections. On the other hand, central government of Turkey hasn't distributing budgets for district municipality fairly. District

municipalities which are controlled by opposition parties are benefiting less than other municipalities which are controlled by Justice and Development Party. Even some district municipalities of Istanbul are experiencing similar situation such as Arnavutköy Municipality. This issue will be discussed in chapter 4 in detail. In this context, distribution of budgets of local authorities can have an effect in life of citizens because local authorities can have a potential to provide general services which are related to every citizen's life. Furthermore, every citizen can observe this process differently due to unequal distribution of budgets of municipalities. Because of this reason, political perspectives of individuals can change from municipality to municipality and election to election.

Due to globalization, Turkey has opened its market to foreign countries economically. This global economic development created different type of local governmentality which is based on urban development, construction sector and property sector. In this sense, globalization and capitalization of urban and society raised in local politics. Furthermore, as Sevinc Doğan mentions that local authorities reached more political power over their territories. Justice and Development party made up municipal proposed law, budgets of special provincial administration proposed law, metropolis proposed law, regional development agencies proposed law (Doğan, 2016). Thanks to these contributions, local authorities had a chance to expand their effectiveness over their territories. It means that they can work together with private sector and the government to invest for economic developments. In this context, as Turkish society observed that new roads were/are constructed by municipalities, the Ministry of Highways and partisan entrepreneurs. Because of this reason, partisan entrepreneurs constitute clientelistic relations to win tenders with local and central authorities. Another remarkable example of rising power of local authorities is related to new mass constructions in Istanbul and other cities. Justice and Development Party aimed economic development which came through urban rant, real estate and construction sectors. Thus, local authorities have entered a new relation shape that has been providing economic power, authority over urban rant and construction sector, and

collaboration with private sector. Slums were emptied by local authorities afterwards municipalities have given empty territories for big companies to construct new big buildings, residences and shopping malls (Doğan, 2016). This kind of development causes sociological impacts on society. Furthermore, there will be political and economic consequences of this transformation in slums. This transformation can bring into open different economic and political interests of society who are living near to these slums. It means that people who are living slums can deal with some disadvantages or advantages of these transformations. If they can earn a lot of money from construction firms and municipalities, their living standard will be effected in a good way economically. In this sense, they can continue or start to support local policies of Justice and Development Party. On the contrary, this situation can affect life of those people in a bad way. This sociological development is important to understand affects of decisions of local authorities and relationship between voters of the AKP and Justice and Development Party.

On the other hand, political developments caused that municipalities became more independent from governorships, ministries and provincial special administrations. Justice and Development Party has been trying to change status and duties of local authorities and local organizations. Furthermore, Justice and Development Party reformed for local politics in 2004 and 2005 (Erder and İncioğlu, 2013). In this sense, there was an important contribution of European Union process and criterias for reforming municipal laws. This new relation type had created municipalities as more powerful and independent from central authority. However, Justice and Development Party government entered into a new period which was related to administration of local authorities (Erder and İncioğlu, 2013). This new period was based on more powerful centrist political authority. Metropolitan Municipalities are still one of the most important sources for Justice and Development Party for election periods. However, there is no more idea of district municipality in Turkey. Furthermore, mayors have been becoming more powerful than municipal council. These political and technical developments have been changing dynamics of local

politics. Details of all these political developments are discussed in the 3.3 part of this thesis.

Furthermore, transformation in power of local authorities has been creating reactional expression within society. When election successes of Justice and Development Party in election competitions of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality are examined, election successes of the AKP shows that the party has a constant continuity in electoral competition for Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality until 31 March local elections. When total vote of Welfare Party that was place of birth of Justice and Development Party is analyzed in 1999 mayoral election, Virtue Party was the first party in 1999 mayoral elections that is organized for head of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality through taking %27,5 of total votes (Yüksek Seçim Kurulu, 1999). When total vote of Justice and Development Party in 2004 mayoral election that was organized for head of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality is analyzed, the AKP firstly took political power in 2004 election through gaining %45,3 of total votes (Yüksek Seçim Kurulu, 2004). Justice and Development Party joined mayoral election competition for the first time in 2004. However, if results of mayoral election of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality in 1994 are examined, Motherland Party (the AP) and Welfare Party (the RP) that get highest votes in 1994 elections. Motherland Party got %22,14 of total votes. Welfare Party got %25,19 of total votes in this election (Yüksek Seçim Kurulu, 1994). It means that there is no clear and crushing success of Welfare Party in 1994 election in Istanbul. However, when electoral successes of Justice and Development Party in Istanbul are examined, there is a clear and crushing supremacy in Istanbul province according to election results. These conditions are stating voters who support and tend to support Justice and Development Party have strong relation with the party. In this sense, this strong relationship makes a sensation. This situation that contains compelling conditions within itself should be searched because Justice and Development Party has been taking political power for a long time in Turkish politics. The AKP changed and transformed social, political and economic dimensions in Turkey such as presidential system. Any party which is taking power

in Turkish politics for extended period of time leave a significant and valuable impression for Turkish politics and Turkish society. Political decisions of Justice and Development Party will have an impact for future of Turkey. The AKP has been determining the future of Turkey and society of Turkey.

3.3 The Function of Local Politics in Justice and Development Party Government

First of all, Justice and Development Party is describing local politics as nest of services for nation (Türk, 2018). Furthermore, when 31 March local election is analyzed, researchers can see that Justice and Development Party was underlying importance of public service and winning the hearts (*gönül*) municipalism. In this sense, traditions of local politics of Turkey has been based on providing services for citizens. Local politics is never seen as provider of local democracy in Turkey. Local politics of Turkey that was under hegemony of central government was controlled always by central government. Making politics was forbidden in municipalities for a long time in Turkey. Therefore, central governments of Turkey have used local governments to provide public service. Because of this reason, local politics of Turkey was away to provide democratic developments in municipalities. On the other hand, neoliberal tendencies of Turkish government aimed to change perspective of local governments. Therefore, local governments became providers of urban transformation and construction of new infrastructures. Thus, authorities of local governments were limited to construction of new infrastructures and buildings. Thus, local governments became dependent to project fetishism which constitutes basis of local investments (Erder, İncioğlu and Semerci, 2016).

Turkish government prepared The 8th Five Year Development Plan which contained years between 2001 and 2005 which depends on effects of European Union accession process in accordance with progress of globalization and localization (Mengi, 2007). In this context, globalization wanted to enlarge authorities of local governments in local politics that was controlled by centralist

governments and nation-states. Therefore, effects of globalization could be observed between 2001 and 2005 in local politics of Turkey. Because of the fact that globalization progress wanted to decrease authority of centralist government of Turkey over local governments, This 8th Five Year Development Plan was prepared to expand power of local governments (Mengi, 2007). In this sense, effect of globalization can be observed in political interventions of European Union Accession Process in Turkey. European Union which was established as a supranational organization in accordance with development of globalization can affect general and local politics of Turkey which is not even part of European Union.

In this context, when Justice and Development came to power in 2002, the AKP had comprehensive political changes which were related local governments and authorities. In this sense, Justice and Development Party has started to change local political understanding of Turkish government. Justice and Development Party has implemented local government laws between 2004-2005. Justice and Development Party has reformed local politics of Turkey democratically between 2004-2005. In this sense, reform packages of European Union and negotiation process with European Union were effective reasons to establish democratic local politics of Turkey between 2004-2005. Thus, Justice and Development Party government could provide subsidiarity and good governance principles which supported democratic development of local politics in Turkey through establishment of reforms of European Union. In this context, New Municipalities Law created a participatory environment for civil society organizations, trade associations and universities. In this sense, these local government laws are the law no. 5216 Metropolitan Municipality Law (2004), the law no. 5393 Municipal Law (2005) and the law no. 5302 Provincial Private Administrations Law (2005) (Çiçek, 2016). These local government laws changed perspectives of local authorities of Turkey. So Justice and Development Party tried to increase level of participation to local politics through these laws. Furthermore, Justice and Development Party government established check and control mechanisms over local governments. For

instance, the AKP provided opportunity for municipal councils through giving written and oral parliamentary questions right (Toksöz, 2016). On the other hand, local authorities could establish parliamentary investigation committees and inspection commissions due to these legal amendments. On the other hand, members of commissions were must be distributed equally (Toksöz, 2016). That means that political parties who have members in municipal council have also their representatives in commissions of municipality in accordance with their voting rate in local elections. Furthermore, Justice and Development Party government tried to expand impacts of civil society organizations in local governments. Therefore, civil society organizations could have effective situation in decision making process of municipal councils (Toksöz, 2016). City councils were established for participation of civil society organizations. Furthermore, veto rights of mayors was abolished in 2004. Furthermore, metropolitan municipality has had more controlling power over district municipalities (Toksöz, 2016). Furthermore, New Municipalities Law enlarged authorities of Provincial Private Administrations which were depend on governorships (İncioğlu and Erder, 2013). Furthermore, Justice and Development Party government increased budgets of municipalities and capacities of metropolitan municipalities. In this sense, technical substructures of municipalities were developed at the same way after 2004. On the other hand, Justice and Development Party provided legal opportunities which increased political authorities of Provincial Private Administrations. However, Turkish government didn't provide increased budgets for Provincial Private Administrations. Because of this reason, Provincial Private Administrations didn't become politically and economically powerful as much as metropolitan municipalities (İncioğlu and Erder, 2013). Furthermore, mayors of district municipalities and members of district municipalities were elected by citizens. In addition to this, mayors of metropolitan municipalities were elected in local elections. However, members of metropolitan municipalities weren't elected by citizens. Parliaments of metropolitan municipalities were constituted from mayors of district municipalities and some members of district municipal councils. On the other hand, Justice and Development Party determined duties of district municipalities in new metropolitan

municipalities model. According to this law, districts municipalities were interested in daily services of their territories. On the contrary, Justice and Development Party government determined duties of metropolitan municipalities (İncioğlu and Erder, 2013). These duties of metropolitan municipalities were based on bigger projects. Therefore, these situations created strong mayor among local authorities. In the contrary, district municipalities, parliaments of metropolitan municipalities and district municipalities became less valuable. Utilization of duties which were assigned by central government of Turkey depended on hegemonies of mayors of metropolitan municipalities (İncioğlu and Erder, 2013). Therefore, European Union accession process provided limited democratization process in local politics of Turkey. Because Justice and Development Party didn't constitute totally economically and politically independent local governments through reform packages. It means that Justice and Development Party government aimed to restricted local governments. With the help of these developments, local politics of Turkey has entered a new period which contained centralist definition of local governments. Thus, local authorities started to depend on more centralist ideology of Justice and Development Party. This centralist perspective of local governments was occurred after a historical development. This new era of local politics was related to neoliberal enlargement of Turkish economy and developments in construction and finance sectors. In this context, Turkish government has opened its economy to international market after 1980 coup. Economic system of Turkey has been prepared to join import oriented economic system. Thus, Turkish economy was entered into neoliberal economic atmosphere. On the other hand, Turkey started to represent itself in global world. It means that Turkey tried to comply with globalization of the world. In this sense, Justice and Development Party prepared conditions of Turkish economy to develop. However, this economic development was planned through focusing on real estate and construction sectors. This economic development was depended on banking system (İncioğlu and Erder, 2013) because construction companies have been constructing new buildings intensely. On the other hand, real estate sector have been trying to sell new flats of big projects. In this context, citizens have needed money to buy these flats from

these big projects. Because of this reason, financial and banking system were canalized to construction and real estate sectors. These developments affected relationships between local authorities and central government of Turkey (İncioğlu and Erder, 2013). Turkish government entered centralization period after 2011 because 2008 economic crisis and economic development pushed Turkish government to establish more centralized local governments. In this context, Justice and Development Party regulated rights of ministries of Turkish government. Thus, some ministries had direct political interventions in local governments such as Ministry of Family and Social Policies, Ministry of Environment Forestry and Urbanization etc. (Toksöz, 2016). These ministries increased hegemony of central government over local governments. In this sense, the law no. 6306 which was passed in 2012 expressed that some authorities of local governments were transferred to Ministry of Environment Forestry and Urbanization (İncioğlu and Erder, 2013). These authorities which were taken from local governments were based on zoning plan of local governments. For example, local governments couldn't take decisions about infrastructure issues of their territories, building licenses and occupancy permits etc. The most important legal regulation of local governments of Turkey that caused centralization of local governments was new metropolitan municipality model which was created in 2012 by Justice and Development Party (Uşaklıgil, 2014). This law was started to implement after 2014 local elections. According to this new model, 30 provinces of Turkey which weren't controlled by metropolitan municipality model had metropolitan municipality statute (Gül, Özgür and Efe, 2017). This new metropolitan municipality model changed a lot of things in local politics. In this context, town municipalities were changed to neighborhoods statutes. Thus, their legal statutes were dispossessed by new metropolitan municipality model. This situation caused an important problem. This problem is that new neighborhoods had no directly right to affect policies of local governments (Toksöz, 2016) because these new neighborhoods which depended on town municipalities in the past lost their municipal councils and municipalities. Furthermore, abolishment of legal statues of villages was another important part of evolution in local politics. Legal statutes of these villages were

changed to neighborhood statute (Gül, Özgür and Efe, 2017). Moreover, territories of metropolitan municipalities and district municipalities were expanded. Thus, territories of metropolitan municipalities were expanded to provincial border. Due to new metropolitan municipality model, metropolitan municipalities started to control rural places of their territories. Furthermore, district municipalities started to control all territories of districts. Thus, district municipalities also obtained strong and broad authority (Arıkboğa, 2016). On the other hand, district municipalities have been independent from metropolitan municipalities before 2012 legal regulation. Due to new metropolitan municipality law, these district municipalities entered under hegemony of metropolitan municipalities. It means that these district municipalities became organs of metropolitan municipalities. Because of this reason, district municipalities lost their independence in local politics. District municipalities became dependent local authorities to center. This situation also caused that district municipalities lost their independent authorities in decision making process (Toksöz, 2016). In addition to this regulation, metropolitan municipalities can control decisions of district municipalities which are related to zoning plan. In this sense, Council of Ministers of Turkish government became significant follower of zoning issues of local governments. Furthermore, prime minister (now president) of Turkey had direct effect on decision about big zoning projects (İncioğlu and Erder, 2013). Furthermore, Provincial Private Administrations were closed through implementation of new metropolitan municipality model. This new metropolitan municipality model provided being effective in public services (Toksöz, 2016). On the contrary, this new model constituted anti-democratic atmosphere for local governments. A lot of authorities of local governments were changed and started to control by central government. Democratic bases of local governments tied to authority of central government and its local representatives. Furthermore, there are some reasons of this new metropolitan municipality model.

3.3.1 Examination of Local Political Developments in The Context of Local Democracy

Firstly, when historical developments of local politics of Turkey are examined, local politics of Turkey follows a wavy graphic. Tradition of local politics of Turkey is based on delivery of public services which is one of main duties of local governments. Local democracy and democracy issues are not important as much as delivery of public services in local politics. Because of this reason, Justice and Development Party has took over tradition of local politics which was working for instrumental objectives. However, Justice and Development Party has took decisions about local politics of Turkey in first years of their governance because these decisions were depending on membership process of European Union. Thanks to reform packages of European Union, Justice and Development Party enlarged power of local authorities between 2004-2005. However, these democratic developments didn't provide full independence within local authorities. Justice and Development Party designed these local authorities within the limited perspective. Thus democratic principles couldn't be provided completely in local governments. In this sense, new metropolitan municipality model which caused anti-democratic developments in local politics was created by Justice and Development Party. Thus, Justice and Development Party government constituted centralization of government over local governments and economic tutelage over local authorities through implementation of new metropolitan municipality model. According to Justice and Development Party, there were some reasons and effects of new metropolitan municipality model. In this context, effects and reasons of new metropolitan municipality model is discussed in the next paragraph.

Furthermore, there were three reasons for the emergence of new metropolitan municipality model (Arikboğa, 2016). Justice and Development Party government thought that a lot of municipality had been taking care of small populations. Another reason was that populations of villages have been expanding day by day. Because of this reason, villages have needed to establish municipalities in their own

territories to deal with increased population and their demands and problems. Reason of increased population in villages were based problem of migration. Most of immigrant have been migrating to big cities of Turkey. Therefore, these people have needed to deal with economic difficulties of daily life. In this sense, villages of big cities which provided easier living conditions were the best locations for them. Thus, establishment of new municipalities in villages created problems in local politics. This situation caused separation of power and authority between central and local governments. According to Arikboğa (2016), central municipalities and municipalities of periphery have problems with planning, zoning plan, coordination, equality and providing services. Because of this reason, Justice and Development Party government thought that single and strong local governments could be more effective to provide services. Thus, while small district municipalities, villages authorities and Provincial Private Administrations were being closed, Justice and Development Party thought to control these regions under more strong and single local authorities. Thus, Justice and Development Party government closed approximately 1500 municipalities and 16000 village authorities. 51 provinces weren't be assigned as metropolitan municipality (Arikboğa, 2016). Therefore, these 51 provinces has been working in accordance with old local government system. Therefore, there are still Provincial Private Administrations, village authorities and small municipalities in these provinces. In this sense, district and metropolitan municipalities have been sharing local authority between themselves due to new metropolitan municipality model. Furthermore, public services are provided by both of them. Some of services are provided by district municipalities. Some of them are controlled by metropolitan municipalities. However, most of public services are being provided by metropolitan municipalities. Due to this situation, local politics have been becoming more centralized because district municipalities and peripheries of big cities depended on authorities of metropolitan municipalities (Erder, İncioğlu and Semerci, 2016). Thus, democratic principles and system may not work well in local politics. Furthermore, financial resources are shared by them. However, metropolitan municipalities have right to check and control planning and zoning issues over

district municipalities. In this sense, establishment of metropolitan municipalities are partially based on district municipalities (Erder, İncioğlu and Semerci, 2016). Municipal councils don't have too much authority in local politics. Local politics of Turkey created weak municipal councils as representative body, decision maker and controlling body. In this sense, municipalities are based on strong presidency which has control mechanisms over bureaucracy and executive body of municipalities. These two elements of municipalities are the main determinant actor of local governments. Therefore, this situation caused that parliaments of municipalities became supporter organs of mayors of municipalities because political parties which are constituting majority in municipal councils are supporters of mayors who have identities of political parties. On the other hand, before parliaments of municipalities decide about a municipal issue, municipal groups of political parties firstly decided about this municipal issue (Arikboğa, 2016). Another important issue of new metropolitan municipality model is related to that how agendas of municipalities are constituting. It means that bureaucracies of municipalities are working under hegemony of mayors. In this context, agendas of municipal councils are created by interventions of directorates and other bureaucratic organs of municipalities. Furthermore, some of agendas of municipal councils are conveyed by mayors of municipalities. Mayors want that members of parliaments of municipalities approve these kind of agendas (Arikboğa, 2016).

Mayors of municipalities created pressure over municipal councils and decision making process. Furthermore, members of municipal council are trying to state common perspective about agendas in meetings of party groups of municipalities before meetings of municipal council.

Moreover, new metropolitan municipalities model affected local democracy in terms of local authorities. This new law closed Provincial Private Administrations in some regions which metropolitan municipalities were established in. Furthermore, mukhtars of villages were abolished due to this new law. On the other hand, new metropolitan municipalities law closed a lot small municipalities. All of

these implementations affected local democracy in Turkey because these institutions were suppliers of democracy in local. Thus, local democratic institutions were affected badly because of these legal interventions. Erdem and İncioğlu (2013) argue that mayors of district municipalities are elected through simple majority method as mayors of metropolitan municipalities. This situation causes hegemony of governmental party in both councils of metropolitan and district municipalities. Due to this issue, opposition political parties which are representing other parts of Turkish society may not represent themselves in councils of metropolitan municipalities and district municipalities. Furthermore, this understanding of local politics can benefit for political parties which are representing interests of majority of Turkish society. In this sense, opposition parties which are representing minority groups of Turkish society indirectly benefited from opportunities of local democracy. They may not express demands, problems, needs and interests to central government that is dominating local politics. This situation may cause authoritarian localities in local politics (İncioğlu and Erder, 2013). On the other hand, local governments which are controlled by Justice and Development Party is not working democratically (Erder, İncioğlu and Semerci, 2016). It means that some members of Justice and Development Party and opposition political parties can not express their opinions about decisions because municipal councils of Justice and Development Party is not consulting to these opposition parties and normal members of Justice and Development Party about municipal issues. New model expanded authority and power of mayors of municipalities. On the contrary, parliaments of municipalities started to lose their authority against mayors of municipalities. Because of this reason, mayors of municipalities became more effective in decision making process. In addition to this situation, councils of municipalities are not representing every part of Turkish society because of electoral law because political parties have to pass % 10 threshold to send their candidates of municipal council. Because of this reason, parliaments of municipalities are under the hegemony of political parties that win local elections in their territories. Therefore, main idea of democracy theory which is based on representation of different opinions and ideologies of citizens in politics may not

be provided under this kind of political regime. Furthermore, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality depends on control of the president. Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality is governed from central of Turkish government (Erder, İncioğlu and Semerci 2016). We can understand power of the president of Turkey over local governments in 31 March local elections because the president was the strong figure during process of 31 March election campaign. This issue also is creating anti democratic situation for local governments of Istanbul because district municipalities directly depend on contributions and enforcements of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. Big projects which are planned to do in districts of Istanbul are indirectly controlled by President of Turkey. This kind of centralization of local governments are stating anti democratic atmosphere in local politics of Turkey. Resources of local governments are not enough for their necessities. Furthermore, these resources are shared according to political parties. It means that Justice and Development Party is reserving more financial and technical resources for municipalities which are governed by Justice and Development Party (Erder, İncioğlu and Semerci 2016). Because of this reason, municipalities which are controlled by opposition parties can not reach enough budgets and technical capacities which are held by central government. Due to this situation, local politics of Turkey can not reach democratic valuables. In addition to these anti-democratic developments, new metropolitan municipality model provided some benefits for local politics of Turkey. New metropolitan municipality model expedited decision-making process of local governments. Furthermore, this new metropolitan municipality model provided efficiency in local governments. Thus, these two features of new metropolitan municipality model increased investments in local (İncioğlu and Erder, 2013).

In this sense, new metropolitan municipality model established some anti democratic developments in local politics of Turkey. This new metropolitan municipality model provided efficiency in local governments. However, this model caused that municipalities were based on hegemony of mayors and central

government, and economic tutelage of central government. Thus, local politics of Turkey has been dealing with the problem of local democracy.

In this chapter, historical developments of local politics which were coming from Ottoman Empire to Justice and Development Party government were explained and examined. In this context, this chapter tried to mention what kind of anti-democratic and democratic developments that were related to local politics occurred in the history of Turkey. Thus, this chapter examined that how local politics occupied a place in local governments of Turkey. In this context, last developments which occurred in Justice and Development Party government were more important for this thesis to understand current position of local politics in Turkey. Because of this reason, 2004-2005 local politics reforms and new metropolitan municipality model were explained and analyzed in detail in this chapter of the thesis. At the end of this explanation and analyzation process, this chapter reached an opinion which means Justice and Development Party government established efficient and anti-democratic local governments.

CHAPTER 4

4. THE CASE OF ARNAVUTKÖY

This chapter is composed of eight parts explaining dynamics of local politics of Arnavutköy in detail through benefiting from a field research based on in-depth interviews. First two parts of chapter 4 which construct basic informations of Arnavutköy to understand consequences of field research are related to demographic background and history of Arnavutköy. Furthermore, functioning of municipal council and commissions are important to conceptualize dynamics of local politics of Arnavutköy Municipality within the context of democratic principles. In addition to this, other local actors such as mukhtars, civil society organizations etc are playing important role in local politics of Arnavutköy. Because of this reason, third part of chapter 4 is based on effects and relations of these local actors with Arnavutköy Municipality. Moreover, Arnavutköy Municipality is working under hegemony of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. Istanbul is a point of contention for political parties because Istanbul has been experiencing huge transformation and enlargement economically and politically. It means that there are huge construction projects, urban transformation projects, infrastructural investments and trade relations. Thus, government of Istanbul became financially attractive for political parties. In this context, financial attractiveness brought political struggles between political parties. Because of these reasons, this relationship between Arnavutköy Municipality and Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality is needed to be examined. On the other hand, political and bureaucratic relations within Arnavutköy Municipality are representing other part of dynamics of local politics of Arnavutköy. Furthermore, Justice and Development Party which controls both Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and Arnavutköy Municipality is an important political actor in local politics of Arnavutköy. Because of this reason, Arnavutköy district organization of Justice and Development Party is analyzed in an another part of this chapter. Moreover, city councils which were established for democratic reasons in normal situations are

other important actor of local politics in Arnavutköy. Therefore, another part is related to effects of city councils in Arnavutköy's local politics. Last part of this chapter is conclusion and discussion part which explains total consequences of the field research. In this context, chapter 4 tries to bring into open formal and informal relations which takes place in local politics of Arnavutköy.

In this sense, details of field research should be mentioned. Therefore, participants of the field research were members of parliament, parliament commissions and city council of Arnavutköy Municipality, members of district organizations of political parties, mukhtars, head of civil society organizations and local associations, members of Arnavutköy district organizations of political parties and deputy mayor. Thus the field research aimed to reach informations which were related to dynamics of local politics from different channels of local politics. This type of sampling provided simplicity to understand different local relations of Arnavutköy which were based on top-down and bottom up processes.

I reached to 8 of 19 participants interviews through my direct communication. It means that I didn't receive help from anyone to reach these 8 persons. However, I had to use snowball sampling method to reach 11 participants of this field research because if I tried to reach other participants through normal way, I couldn't organize meetings with these people. For instance, I couldn't find contact informations of some of them because some people rejected my meeting offers. Some of these people were politicians or member of municipal council of Arnavutköy Municipality. They argued that they were so busy to attend to my meetings. So they also rejected my offers. Furthermore, most of these 11 persons of field research were members of municipal council and officers of Arnavutköy. However, some people rejected and passed my interview offers because of 31 March elections because they were getting ready for local elections. 10 participants of the field research allowed that I used a recording device. Thus, I could decipher meetings easily and effectively to use in the thesis. 9 participants of the field research didn't want that I recorded their voices. In short, doing this field research was hard for me

because it was hard to reach local political actors in election process because of the fact that some of them didn't want to talk about these issues, some of them argued that they were so busy.

Furthermore, 19 individuals joined to this research. 2 of them were mukhtars in Arnavutköy. 2 of participants were working in one mukhtar. 1 of these participants was officer in public relations department of Arnavutköy Municipality. 2 of participants were officer both in municipality and city council. One of participants was deputy mayor. One of participants was municipal member of Nationalist Movement Party. 3 of them were head of civil society organizations and local associations. 4 of them were municipal member and member of municipal commissions of Justice and Development Party. One of participants was from district organization of Justice and Development Party. One of participants was head of local organization of Felicity Party. There is also one religious leader in this field research. There is one female municipal member among participants of field research. She was also head of woman's branches of district organization of Justice and Development Party. The aim of this selection was based on distribution ratio of gender in Arnavutköy Municipality. Also there is one female municipal officer. Names of participants are not real because this research aims to protect confidentiality rights of participants.

4.1 History and Demographic Background of Arnavutköy

According to academic researches, history of Arnavutköy is based on ancient periods of the world. Arnavutköy was memorialized with Trikos Castle which was constructed in period of Eastern Roman Empire. On the other hand, According to archives of Arnavutköy Municipality, Filiboz Desolation (Farm) which was settlement area in ancient period was designated within the boundaries of Arnavutköy. Furthermore, Durusu (Terkos) was another settlement area in period of Eastern Roman Empire. Arnavutköy was important for waterways that were transporting water for centre of Istanbul. The name of Arnavutköy that was name

of a villager was used firstly in archives of Ottoman and maps (Arnavutköy Belediyesi, 2018).

Arnavutköy is fourth largest county of Istanbul in terms of land size. Land size of Arnavutköy is approximately 450.28 km². Furthermore, population of Arnavutköy was 160.000 people in 2008. On the contrary, current population of Arnavutköy was approximately 261.655 people in 2017. In addition to that information, 136.170 of 261.655 people is men. 125.485 of 261.655 people is women (Arnavutköy Belediyesi, 2018).

Arnavutköy was a district of Gaziosmanpaşa Municipality for 45 years. Arnavutköy became an independent municipality in 2008 through the law no 5747. Thus Arnavutköy became a county and municipality of Istanbul. Hasan Kayım who was from Motherland Party was Mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality between 1987 and 1989. Bahtiyar Sağlam who was from Welfare Party was mayor between 1989 and 1999. Bayram Eminel who worked for Democratic Left Party became mayor between 1999-2004. Ahmet Haşim Baltacı who is part of Justice and Development Party has been conducting Arnavutköy Municipality since 2004.

Futhermore, voting rates of local elections of Arnavutköy Municipality is important to understand voting behavior among voters of Arnavutköy. In this context, as Table 1 shows that results of last 5 local elections needs to be examined to make sense of popularity of Justice and Development Party. Political tendencies can be revealed to understand cyclically changes on political behaviors of society of Arnavutköy.

Three big transformations had occurred in last century. First transformation has started with The '93 War. Ottoman Empire and Russia made war between 1877 and 1888 which is called as The '93 War. At the end of the war Ottoman Empire was completely defeated from Balkans and Caucasus. Because of this reason, Muslim families who were living in Balkans and Caucasus had to migrate to Anatolia. In

this sense, some of these families have migrated to Arnavutköy (Yılmaz and Pamuk, 2014).

Another demographic transformation came out after the Balkan Wars 1912-13. According to Yılmaz and Pamuk (2014), Balkan Wars caused the first mass migration to anatolian territories.

Balkan Wars has occurred between Ottoman Empire and Balkan States between 1912-1913. During Balkan Wars migration wave had came from Kosovo, Macedonia and Bulgaria to Turkey. Arnavutköy was one of their stations in Anatolia.

Last and the biggest migration wave was related to exchange of population issue. After Turkish War of Independence Treaty of Lausanne was conducted to solve migration issue between Greece and Turkey. In this sense, Greek of Turkish nationality who were living within Turkish territories sent back to Greece. However, Istanbulite Greek of Turkish Nationalities had not been sent back to Greece. Moreover, all Muslims who were living within territories of Greece had been sent back to Turkey except Western Thracian Muslims. Due to this important exchange of population, society of Arnavutköy met newcomers (Yılmaz and Pamuk, 2014).

Erzurum	%11.82 (24.375)
Istanbul	%11.36 (23.433)
Sinop	%6.34 (13.070)
Samsun	%5.31
Ordu	%4.50
Muş	%4.27
Ardahan	%3.40

Tokat	%3.30
Giresun	%3.10

Table 2: Place of Birth of Peoples in Arnavutköy, Source: (Pamuk, 2014)

Furthermore, social structure of Arnavutköy has changed because of five demographic reasons. These reasons are Ottoman-Russia War, Balkan Wars exchange of population, immigration from Bulgaria (1950-1970) and 1980-1990 domestic migrations. 1980-1990 migrations were different than other demographic transformations. Arnavutköy allowed immigrants from Eastern Anatolia Region, Southeastern Anatolia Region and Black Sea Region of Turkey. Due to 1980-90 immigrations, demographic situation of Arnavutköy was shaped as a heterogeneous social structure (Yılmaz and Pamuk, 2014). Population informations which are presented below with a table are based on TUIK's datas of 2014 year. According to Yılmaz and Pamuk (2014), results of population research was based on place of birth of peoples who were living in Arnavutköy.

On the other hand, people have been immigrating to Arnavutköy for 16 years. Research of Yılmaz and Pamuk was basically orally history. In this sense, one of the participant of this research claimed that people who immigrated to *KİPTAŞ*, *TOKİ* and Kayaşehir raised cultural level of Arnavutköy because participant argued that these newcomers did not come from Anatolian side of Turkey. They have come from Black Sea Region, Thrace Region and Central Anatolia Region.

Moreover, economy of Arnavutköy is mainly based on agriculture and husbandry. Furthermore, some parts of Arnavutköy society earn money from forestry and coal. There are people who are selling carpets (*kilimcilik*) in Arnavutköy. Certain parts of society have been working in factories. There are also fishers in Karaburun. Furthermore, people who are working at *ISKI* and Terkos create civil servant class of Arnavutköy (Yılmaz and Pamuk, 2014).

4.2 Clientelistic Relations of Local Politics in Arnavutköy

First of all, favoritism is a global discussion issue for states. Basis of clientelism and patronage relations are based on favoritism. Favoritism can occur in decision making process and distribution of public resources. In this sense, clientelism means that public resources of a state are distributed to political partisans of the ruling political party. Patronage and clientelism mean that voters can reach social, economic and political privileges through power of their votes (Sayarı, 2011). It means that ruling party of a state provides economic, social and political benefits and opportunities for its political supporters. These economic, social and political privileges can be a position institutions of state or a social aid. (Corstange, 2017). In this sense, clientelistic relations are bilateral relations among citizens and states. Thus, this government party constitutes political hegemony over individuals because supporters of government party know that if ruling party lose power in government, they can not benefit from these privileges and opportunities. Because of this reason, these individuals vote in every election for government party until these privileges are cut by government party. Furthermore, Islamist political movement used local political actors to construct clientelistic relations since 1994. In this sense, Welfare Party and its follower Justice and Development Party have used favoritism in state and social aids. It means that Justice and Development Party created its own cadres that were coming from same political tradition with the JDP in state institutions. Due to this reason, people who are appointed to jobs in state institutions by the JDP think that if Justice and Development Party don't win local and general elections, they will lose their jobs because if a new political party takes power, this political party may regulate cadres in state institutions. On the other hand, Justice and Development Party developed social aid programs for people who lived under standard life conditions. However, provider of these social aids were seem like Justice and Development Party rather than Republic of Turkey. In this sense, Bilecen (2016) argues that Justice and Development Party has been providing social aids like philanthropy. Thus, Justice and Development Party was seen like supplier in the eyes of people because Justice and Development Party and former Islamist political

movement have been focusing on social aids to get supports of citizens in general and local elections. Social aids were one of the most popular criteria in party constitution of Justice and Development Party. Because of this reason, people who benefit from these social aids think that if Justice and Development Party lose its power in local and central governments, social aids will be cut. Thus, Justice and Development Party provides political support from people who benefit from social aids.

“In the context of rapid urbanization, industrialization and infrastructural development, the pro-Islamic parties relied heavily on patronage and clientelistic linkages. The party was expected to provide social and infrastructural services to individuals and communities in exchange for their votes.” (Marschall, Aydođan and Bulut, 2015, p.13)

In this context, Justice and Development Party tends to use patronage and clientelistic relations to get supports of Turkish society which constitute conservative and economically middle and lower classes.

Explanation of Fikri shows that there is a favoritism in local politics of Arnavutky. Although Arnavutky Municipality represents fairness and objectivity in local politics, people who can reach to members of municipal council of Arnavutky Municipality solve their personal problems. In this sense, these people who can reach to members of municipal council are supporters of Justice and Development Party politically. It means that members of municipal council don't help people who are not supporters of Justice and Development Party. In this context, favoritism of political supporters causes patronage and clientelism relations in local politics of Arnavutky. On the other hand, explanation of Fikri shows another dimension of patronage and clientelism relations of local politics of Arnavutky.

“I want to be candidate one more time for my civil society organization because when I am not in municipal council, services of my civil society organization

may be disrupted. If services of my civil society organization will not be disrupted, I never want to be part of municipal council.”(Fikri, 40)

According to statement of Fikri, Arnavutköy Municipality has been providing material and non material opportunities for his civil society organization which is a branch office of a religious civil society organization. This religious civil society organization provides financial and non material supports for students of Imam Hatip High Schools. In this sense, Arnavutköy branch office of this civil society organization is taking support from Arnavutköy Municipality through Fikri. On the other hand, Justice and Development Party government has been supporting developments of Imam Hatip High Schools and students of Imam Hatip High Schools for a long time. Transfer of public resources of Arnavutköy Municipality to this civil society organization expresses that Arnavutköy Municipality established clientelistic relations with civil society organizations and associations.

“Under clientelism, party-voter linkages are based on exchange—namely the distribution of selective benefits to individual voters or groups of voters in exchange for their votes.” (Marschall, Aydoğan and Bulut, 2015, p.6)

In this sense, statement of Marschall, Aydoğan and Bulut (2015) is significant to understand meaning of quotation of Fikri because Arnavutköy Municipality is expressing hegemony of one political party which is Justice and Development Party. Therefore, if Arnavutköy Municipality doesn't continue to provide material and non material opportunities for his civil society organization, attitude of Fikri can be different indirectly against Arnavutköy Municipality and Justice and Development Party. There is a clientelistic relation between Arnavutköy Municipality and Fikri because their relation depends on exchange as mentioned by Marschall, Aydoğan and Bulut. It means that Fikri accepted that there is clientelistic relation between his organization and Arnavutköy Municipality because he thought that if he is not member of municipal council, Arnavutköy Municipality can cut aids to his civil society organization. In other words, existence of Fikri in municipal

council provide priorities for his civil society organization. His association was taking some benefits from Arnavutköy Municipality and Fikri was paying price of these benefits as a member of municipal council.

Furthermore, Turkish political system has been working in accordance with clientelistic features and favoritism. It means that people generally want to solve their legal problems through using their own relations which are from state institutions because this kind of problem solution method can contribute concrete and better solutions for these people. Moreover, if these people try to solve their problems through using legal procedures, their problems can be solved in long time or can not be solved their problems. Because of this reason, society of Turkey generally prefer to use these kinds of political and bureaucratic linkages which depend on clientelistic relations. In this senses, this field research brings into open that members of municipal council are working like problem solvers of problems of citizens of Arnavutköy. People want to reach members of municipal council directly to solve their problems which depend on Arnavutköy Municipality. Reason of this behavior of citizens can be related to that legal and bureaucratic issues of Arnavutköy Municipality may not solve problems of individuals and may solve a long time. Because of these reasons, people tend to solve their problems through reaching members of municipal members.

“People try to reach members of municipal council. Members of municipal council are bridge between society of Arnavutköy and Arnavutköy Municipality. People of Arnavutköy firstly consult municipality to solve their problems. When they can not solve their problems in municipality, they reach members of municipal council to solve their problems. People directly reach to members of municipal council to solve more important problems such as fine for unlicensed construction. On the other hand, he argued that people directly communicate with municipality to solve less important issues such as tax declaration.” (Ahmet, 36)

“Youths have demands which are related to directorates of municipality, *İSKİ*, *İGDAŞ*, metropolitan municipality and other institutions. In this context, he argued that he helped them to solve their problems. Thus, I’m representing youths in this way in municipality because I have been president of youth branches of Justice and Development local organization between 2007 and 2014. Currently youths can contact with me easily as a member of Arnavutköy Municipality. They express their problems and demands to me to solve in Arnavutköy Municipality. I’m still organizing meetings with youths.” (Ahmet, 36)

Furthermore, some municipal members have still relations with their political backgrounds as Ahmet mentioned above. It means that these municipal members have strong relations with their political parties and partisans of their political parties. Thus, these municipal members can be seen as a source of solutions of their problems in the eyes of partisans because clientelistic relations provide priority and interests for both sides. In this sense, local politics of Turkey has been working constantly with this situation. Thus, people who are living in a district of Istanbul prefer to solve their problems through reaching to municipal members that have background with these people. Ahmet claims that he is representing youths because of his old duty in Justice and Development Party. He is providing this representation of youths through helping for their problems and organizing meetings. Actually, this situation shows that there is a patronage-clientelism relationship between members of parliament of Arnavutköy Municipality and their supporters.

Moreover, another reason of this kind of relationship between society and members of municipality can be related to geographical conditions of Arnavutköy district because members of municipal council of Arnavutköy Municipality are living in Arnavutköy. It means that these members have neighborhood relationship with community of Arnavutköy. This situation is creating close relationship between members of Arnavutköy Municipality and society of Arnavutköy. As Fikri mentioned that:

“Arnavutköy is a closed society and territory because it’s field is covered by sea and forests. Because of this reason, every municipal personnel is living in Arnavutköy such as mayor, deputy mayors, directorates and members of municipal council. Because of this reason, there is no communicational problem between administrators and society of Arnavutköy. Every member of municipal council is from every neighborhood of Arnavutköy. Due to this situation, members of municipal council is directly witnessing problems of their neighborhoods. Thus, they can bring problems of their neighborhoods to group meetings or council of municipality.” (Fikri, 40)

To sum up, clientelism and favoritism are general problems of politics in the world because people want to solve their problems from easy way. Furthermore, these people want to obtain priorities which ordinary people don’t reach. In this sense, bureaucrats and politicians also have political interests such as getting votes of these people. Thus, citizens and politicians constitute clientelistic relations which are based on favoritism. In this context, Turkey is an important case to understand clientelism and favoritism because local relations and individual relations depend on clientelistic relations between politicians and citizens. Arnavutköy district and municipality are significant examples to realize clientelism and favoritism in the local politics. In this sense, the case of Arnavutköy is not different from other examples of Turkish local politics.

4.3 Local Politics as Expertise and Capital

Central and local politics of Turkey are controlled by professions and people who have good capital. That is to say that important decisions of Turkish politics are taken by people who are expert in this issue. In this sense, government of Justice and Development Party has been controlling Turkish politics in accordance with authorities of individuals who have capital and professions. In this sense, effects of this situation are reflecting to local politics of Turkey. Therefore, when we analyze

the case of Istanbul to understand this issue, Kağıthane district which is controlled by Justice and Development Party is a good example for this issue. Furthermore, members of municipal council and the AKP's local branch don't contain labour and indigent people. Most of head of neighborhood branches are artisans and entrepreneurs (Doğan, 2016, p.102). In this sense, when we analyze findings of the field research of this thesis, most of participants are interested in trade, entrepreneurship, real estate, construction or international trade. In this sense, we can argue that local political elites of Arnavutköy have good economic conditions to exist in local politics because I haven't encountered any participant who describes him/herself as working class or indigent. Although they preferred to identify themselves as middle class, I realized that their perception of middle class was different than real conditions of Turkey because I realized that they have been having good income but they didn't want to express that they are upper or upper-middle class. Therefore, local politics of Arnavutköy are controlled by people who have good capital. In this sense, the case of Arnavutköy district is matching with general conditions of Turkish politics.

Furthermore, most of participants who are doing their own jobs also have university degree. These people who graduated from universities have been controlling issues of municipal commissions. In this sense, this field research reaches an information which there is another important criteria for being a candidate in local elections. According to participants of the field research, professions of candidates of municipal council are essential to be candidate in local elections because some of members of municipal council need to be qualified people. Thus, these qualified people can be president and vice president of municipal commissions. In this regard, this situation shows that Justice and Development Party government has been defining local politics as expertise. It means that local politics is controlled and organized by people who are experts on specific jobs. Thus, these kinds of local politicians can establish political authority in local politics because of their professions. This kind of political development can not provide a local politics which ordinary people can participate their opinions and problems about local

political issues. Due to these reasons, representation and participation of people which are basis of local democracy can not be provided in local politics.

“Profession statutes of candidates are another important factor for being nominated. Advocate, public accountant and engineer are essential professions for political parties. Women and youths are another important factors for being member in municipal council. There were one youth and women among first 5 candidates for municipal council.” (Ahmet, 36)

Political parties are interested in people who have qualified and profession features for local elections. Being qualified person was important for Justice and Development Party to nominate Fikri as candidate in local election.

“There was no too much population in Arnavutköy. Therefore, it was too hard to find qualified people in Arnavutköy. In this context, Justice and Development Party knew that capabilities and capacity of me. Thus, they wanted to see me in list of candidates of municipal council.” (Fikri, 40)

Furthermore, explanation of Fikri which is below is underlying importance of professions of candidates of municipal council in Arnavutköy Municipality. In this sense, while Justice and Development Party is constituting candidate list of Arnavutköy Municipality, they are noticing that importance of professions of candidates for working of municipal council better because commissions of municipal council need to contain people who are knowledgeable about technical and bureaucratic capacities of their commissions. Because of this reason, Justice and Development Party is creating candidate lists from people who are advocate, or engineer so on.

“Justice and Development Party chooses candidates for municipal council in accordance with what these candidates can provide for us and municipal council.

If you are a certified public accountant, an engineer or a successful trader, your statue matters in the eyes of decision maker.” (Fikri, 40)

However, most of members of municipal council don't have a profession which necessitates university degree or master degree in municipal council of Arnavutköy Municipality. It means that most of members of municipal council are self-employed person in their own jobs. However, these uneducated mass of municipal council who are passive are not taking important positions in council of municipality and commissions of municipality. For example, Kadir who was member of Nationalist Movement Party in municipal council of Arnavutköy Municipality was doing his own job (real estate agent and building contractor). Furthermore, he didn't have a university degree. It means that he hasn't been playing important role in municipal commissions. In this context, when I asked questions about functioning of municipal council and commissions, he couldn't understand my questions or he expressed that he didn't have any opinion about technical issues of commissions and council. Actually, this situation is compatible with general situation of how local politics is done in Turkey. Therefore, this situation also shows that local politics of Arnavutköy are controlled by people who are expertise on specific professions. It means that local politics is evaluated as expertise in the eyes of political parties.

In short, local politics of Turkey is controlled in accordance with professions and income of local politicians because if you want to be politicians in central and local governments, you have to have good income level to deal with expending of politics. Because of this reason, when income level and professions of members of municipal councils are analyzed, we can realize that these politicians have professions which provide high income level. In this sense, professions of these politicians general are related to trade, international trade, construction, real estate, advocacy, public accountant or doctor. Therefore, we can claim that local politics of Turkey is restricted by some specific profession groups and specific classes. Because of this reason, representation and participation of different political groups

are limited within this kind of local political context. Due to this reason, principles of local democracy are not be provided in local politics of Turkey.

4.4 Determinant Factors of Local Politics in Arnavutköy

Local politics has some determinant principles which are important to understand how local politics is working in Arnavutköy and Turkey. In this sense, fellow-townsmanship, age-gender and tradition of Welfare Party are important determinants of local politics in Arnavutköy.

First of all, fellow-townsmanship is a determinant factor in local politics. It means that citizens have been preferring to support politicians who are from same city, town, village and neighborhood. In this sense, political parties are trying to get votes of some specific groups which are based on sects, hometowns, ethnicities so on. Thus, these political parties trying to nominate individuals from these specific groups in elections (Uysal and Topak, 2013, p.112). In this sense, while political parties are determining their candidates in local elections, these political parties are trying to nominate politicians in accordance with population rates of hometowns of citizens because these politicians have social capital to win local elections due to this situation. According to Kurtoğlu (2005), fellow-townsmanship associations depend on congregational bases which contain human population and resource mobilization. Because of these reasons, fellow-townsmanship associations are attractive local organizations for political parties and politicians to reach a lot of electorate. Furthermore, politicians and political parties prefer to use fellow-townsmanship channels of these candidates to organize their local election campaigns because political parties can reach huge amount of electorate in local elections through using these channels. Moreover, fellow-townsmanship associations are another significant local political actor in local politics of Turkey because these associations are constituting and expressing opinions, problems and demands of their hometowns through having huge amount of population. Because

of this reason, political parties are trying to establish good relations with powerful fellow-township associations in local elections and local politics.

Field research brings into open to fellow-township is an important criteria which can affect results of local elections for political parties for being member of municipal council. As member of municipal council Kemal argues:

“I was not presented as candidate for municipal council. List of candidates of Justice and Development Party was affected because of *Cumhur* Alliance. It means that candidates of the MHP entered to lists of Justice and Development Party. On the other hand, there is fellow-township criteria for being candidate. For instance, mayor candidate (Ahmet Haşim Baltacı) of Arnavutköy Municipality is from Trabzon. Fellow countrymen associations are very effective on local politics. For example, political parties need to take care of *Erzurumlular*, *Sinoplular*, *Kastamonulular* and *Tranbzonlular* associations which are influential on local politics, when municipality decides municipal nomination. In this context, political parties nominate candidates according to population density of fellow countrymen associations. For example, population of *Erzurumlular* is the highest in Arnavutköy. Because of this reason, political parties nominates more candidates from *Erzurumlular*. If political parties nominates less candidates from *Erzurumlular*, these political parties can not take enough vote from.” (Ahmet, 36)

As Ahmet says hometowns of candidates of municipal council are important to enter political competition in local elections. People who are from Erzurum is controlling local politics of Arnavutköy. In this sense, political parties noticed importance of fellow countrymen associations in local elections. On the other hand, Ahmet couldn't be candidate again because of his hometown and other candidates of Nationalist Movement Party. In this sense, alliance between Justice and Development Party and Nationalist Movement Party have an effect on municipal councils. Furthermore, fellow-township associations constitute close relations

with municipalities and political parties in Istanbul (Uysal and Topak, 2013, p.114). In the case of Arnavutköy, people who are from Erzurum are too much effective in local politics of Arnavutköy. Most of the participants of the field research claimed that local association of Erzurum and head of this association are playing important role in local politics of Arnavutköy. Because of this reason, political parties are nominating more candidates who are from Erzurum. In this sense, the case of Arnavutköy is compatible with the case of Istanbul.

“People want to see familiar persons who are candidates for municipal council. Because of this reason, fellow-townmanship is important in local politics.”
(Fikri, 40)

Explanation of Fikri also supports that fellow-townships of members of municipal council have significant role for Justice and Development Party in local elections (Schüler, 1999). Therefore, local politics of Arnavutköy district is shaping within the context of effects of concept of fellow-townmanship and fellow-townmanship associations because fellow-townmanship is a general problem of Turkish politics.

Furthermore, when I was analyzing local newspaper of Arnavutköy, I realized that Felicity Party advertised their candidates of municipal council. However, there is an interesting point in this advertisement because all candidates of Felicity Party were advertised in accordance with their hometowns. That is to say that hometowns of candidates are important on the eyes of society of Arnavutköy and political parties.

On the contrary, one participant claims that fellow-township associations are not effective in local politics and local elections. However, this participant is head of a big fellow-township association. So, while he was analyzing, he realized that fellow-township is an important issue. His explanation is:

“While political parties are getting strong, civil society organizations and associations are losing their power in local politics. Justice and Development Party has been getting votes over %50 of general votes between 2009-2014. Civil society organizations and associations can not affect results of this kind of political party that have big amount of supporter. Local authorities of Justice and Development Party doesn’t care to get support from fellow countrymen associations. The reason of 7 candidates who are from Erzurum on the list of Justice and Development Party is based on bilateral relations.” (Fatih, 38)

“Apart from the over-representation of certain professional groups, the representativity of Turkish municipal councils has been also weakened due to the overwhelming influence of townsmen (*hemşehri*) networks founded upon sentiments of belonging to a specific locality or a culture.” (Bayraktar, 2007, p.21)

In short, as Bayraktar (2007) expressed that specific professions and fellow-townsmen are represented higher than other professions and hometowns in local politics of Turkey. Because of this reason, representation and participation principles of local democracy depends on certain townsmen and profession groups. Therefore, other groups which can not be represented in municipal council and commissions can not provide express their opinions, problems and demands about local political issues. Because of this reason, we can argue that over-representation of specific professions and hometowns cause anti-democratic political atmosphere in local politics of Arnavutköy.

Furthermore, Islamist political movement has been playing important role to identify how local politics should be done to be successful. In this sense, Islamist political movement differentiate itself from other political movements in local politics through constituting a local politics tradition. This local politics tradition depended on constituting face to face relations with electorates. Thus, Islamist political movement had a chance to listen problems, demands and opinions of

citizens. Furthermore, citizens thought that Islamist political movement has been taking care of them due to this local political tradition.

“The turning-point in the evolution of RP into a major political movement came with the municipal government elections of March 1994 during which the party managed to capture the mayorships of the two key metropolitan areas of Istanbul and Ankara.”(Öniş, 1997, p.1)

Quotation of Öniş (1997) shows that Welfare Party tradition knows importance of local elections because Öniş (1997) claims that evolution of Welfare Party came from local politics. It means that local politics which was cared to much to reach success by Islamist movement means:

“These foot-soldiers went door-to-door spreading the party message of “Just Order” and providing material, emotional, and spiritual support in the form of food, financial assistance, solidarity, spiritual and emotional support.” (Marschall, Aydoğan and Bulut, 2015, p.10)

Furthermore, as Marschall, Aydoğan and Bulut (2015) argue that Islamist political movement has constituted its political support through constituting face to face relations with citizens at local level. In this sense, founders of Justice and Development Party knew that local politics is significant factor to reach success in central elections. Because of this reason, Justice and Development Party has been regarding effects and importance of local political relations. Thus, we can argue that Justice and Development Party has won election in local and central. In this sense, Arnavutköy district organization of Justice and Development Party is continuing to practice tradition of Welfare Party in local politics. That is to say that local organization of Justice and Development Party is going from door to door in neighborhoods of Arnavutköy. Especially, women’s branch of Arnavutköy district organization is working effectively in the field. In this sense, foot-soldiers of Welfare Party were women too in local politics. In addition to women’s branch,

youths of district organization of Justice and Development Party are taking role in local politics of Arnavutköy. In this sense, statements of Yasin and Fatma are explaining situation of fieldworks of Justice and Development Party:

“Point of view against women has changed in Arnavutköy. Women of Arnavutköy wanted to be more active in local politics after hegemony of Justice and Development Party. They couldn’t find women volunteers for women’s branch at the beginning. They were going from door to door to find women volunteers two election terms ago. However, women are coming to participate themselves in politics nowadays. Furthermore, women’s branch started to work in the morning until evening today. If woman don’t knock doors, these doors aren’t opened. Woman don’t attend election studies on the evening. Woman’s branch is doing voter screening, home meetings with society of Arnavutköy. Context of home meeting is based on political speech, recognition of family of house, listening of problems and demands of families. She preferred to listen people in this election period. Home meetings are so effective for local elections. (Fatma, 41)

“Women’s branch of Arnavutköy local organization of Justice and Development Party is working actively. Women’s branch is trying to darkening someone’s door of every houses in Arnavutköy. Furthermore, Justice and Development Party communicated with all young person who will vote in 31 March local elections. On the other hand, youth branch of Arnavutköy local organization of Justice and Development Party started to meet with youths of Arnavutköy.” (Yasin, 32)

In short, Justice and Development Party local branch is maintaining local politics tradition of former Islamist political movement in Arnavutköy because they know that success in local and central elections can be reached through this kind of local political understanding.

According to OECD's data, percentage of women parliamentarians of Turkey was 14.9 in 2017 (OECD, 2017). Thus, Turkey is among the countries which contain least women participation rates in the world. Furthermore, Justice and Development Party nominated 24 women as candidate in 31 March local elections. Total number of candidates of Justice and Development Party was 1297 in 31 March elections. It means that women candidate constituted %1.25 of total number of candidates (Damcı, 2019). In this sense, we can argue that Justice and Development Party government doesn't give important roles in executive body of Turkish political system. Furthermore, all political parties of Turkey haven't been giving equal conditions for women except Peoples' Democratic Party (the HDP). In this context, politics is determined as job of men in political tradition of Turkey. On the contrary, percentage of women is higher in Turkish Grand National Assembly. Therefore, representation and participation of Turkish women is quite under world average. In this sense, Justice and Development Party is using women more in legislative body of Turkish political system as approval actor of political system. Justice and Development Party hasn't been giving important positions to women in administration of state. Because of this reason, traditional understanding of women's political role is still continued in the same way by politicians of Justice and Development Party. However, when structure of municipal councils of Arnavutköy Municipality is examined, there is no equal distribution in gender and age. Most of members of municipal council are higher than 40 years old. In this sense, Uysal and Topak (2013) made a research which was about age average of political leaders in central and local politics. According to their research, total average of leaders's age is approximately 45 years old. In this sense, the case of Arnavutköy is compatible with general view of Turkish politics. On the other hand, population of woman members of municipal council were four in 2014's municipal council. It means that women are not effective as much as men in local politics of Arnavutköy. Because of this reason, there is no equality between numbers of women politicians and men politicians in local politics of Arnavutköy. In this sense, explanation of Fatma is important:

“There is male dominance in local politics and daily life of Arnavutköy. Because of this reason, women can’t take role in politics and civil society organizations. According to politics of Justice and Development Party, every one of four candidates need to be youth and woman. However, this rule is not implemented by Arnavutköy district organization of Justice and Development Party.” (Fatma, 41)

To sum up, fellow-townsmanship, age-gender and local politics tradition of Welfare Party are valuable variables of Arnavutköy’s local politics. Local politic of Turkey is determined in accordance with population size of hometowns. It means that political parties are nominating candidates who have huge social capital. Furthermore, representation of women politicians in local politics is below the average of world’s average. In addition to this situation, age averages of local politicians are still older. Moreover, Justice and Development Party has been obeying rules of Welfare Party to reach success in local elections.

4.5 The Importance of Commissions in The Context of The Construction Sector

Economic system has had different dimensions which contribute economic development for states. Big amount of economic development depends on construction sector in the neoliberal and capitalist world. In this context, states tied their economic developments to enlargement in construction sector. Thus, construction sector became one of the biggest developer in these states (Dang and Low, 2011) because the world needed to find an answer for economic stagnations. Therefore, construction sector became an answer for economic regressions. However, this kind of economic development also reached its existential end in the world and Turkey because this kind of economic development didn't provide sustainable improvement. For instance, economic crisis of 2008 was based on crisis of construction sector and its financial side (Balaban, 2016). Furthermore, Turkey

has been dealing with economic underdevelopments and crisis nowadays because of the fact that economic development of Turkey depended on just construction sector.

Furthermore, construction and real estate sectors are the most effective economic developers of Turkish economy for a long time. In this sense, construction sector reached its peak levels for two times in Turkish history. These years are 1980's and 2000's (Balaban, 2016). However, significant year for this thesis is after 2000 because Justice and Development Party government caused this kind of economic development which also had impacts on political atmosphere of Turkey. In this sense, Justice and Development Party prepared legal regulations that provided opportunities to construct more living space projects for construction sector. In this sense, Public Housing Administration (*TOKİ*) which was established in 1980's mostly benefited from these legal regulations. According to Balaban, development of construction sector aims three objects. These objects are massive political support, solution for decreased real wages and for short term economic development (Balaban, 2016). In this sense, construction sector developed extremely in Turkish economy. Thus, investments and controlling in construction sector became significant factor for local governments and central government of Turkey.

Moreover, legal regulations which were done in 2004, 2005, 2008 and 2015 created an economic development which was based on construction sector and real estate sector in Turkey (Doğan, 2016). Thus, economic development was depended on economic enlargement of construction sector which produced unearned income for local actors. These legal regulations constituted that municipalities had an ability to create economic relationship with capital and market. In this sense, local authorities which became more powerful economically started to have more authority on decisions about zoning and construction issues because these local authorities became more independent from central government in zoning issues (Doğan, 2016, p.177).

“Municipalities have been establishing companies to invest for huge investments. Thus, they have been benefiting more from sources of central government.” (Doğan, 2016, p. 178).

In this sense, these local authorities started to constitute new relations which were related to construction sector and real estate sector. Thus, micro entrepreneurs and construction and real estates sectors were supported by central and local governments during this process. Due to these legal regulations, TOKİ which was established in 1980's became the most important organization which provided financial and technical support for urban transformation projects. In this sense, the crazy projects of Justice and Development Party which meant huge construction projects were announced in this urban transformation process. These crazy projects especially were constructed in Istanbul. For instance, some examples of these crazy projects were Canal Istanbul, third airport, third bridge so on. In this sense, all of these crazy projects are in territories of Arnavutköy or so close to Arnavutköy. Due to these crazy projects, real estate sector has been developing in Arnavutköy. Values of lands increased ten times more than old prices of these lands. Ordinary and low class based people started to become real estate agent after announcement of third airport, third bridge and Canal Istanbul projects. In this context, urban transformation projects and construction projects provided a lot of unearned money for upper class and middle class of Turkey (Savaşkan, 2019). As Savaşkan's statement shows that these low and middle classes of Arnavutköy have been getting richer. Furthermore, these crazy projects affected prices of houses because new apartments were constructed in Arnavutköy at the same time. Thus, these new houses changed atmosphere of Arnavutköy both economically and architecturally.

“ For example, after announcements of Canal Istanbul, third airport and third bridge, if square meters prices of lands were 10 liras, these prices increased to 200-300 liras. People who were worker, ordinary citizens and small artisans became real estate agents during this process. Thus, you can see these people

while these people are driving top model cars such as Range Rover. These projects made extremely richer these ordinary people.” (Rıza, 55)

Furthermore, construction of hospital, shopping mall, highways and transformation opportunities were occurred after authority of Justice and Development Party government. In this sense, Justice and Development Party is evaluated as provider of civilization of Arnavutköy in the eyes of citizens of Arnavutköy. In this sense, statements of İhsan, Önder and Yasin are important:

“There were no asphalt and roads in Arnavutköy. We were going to school and job of us by muddy roads. However, Justice and Development Party government changed this condition of Arnavutköy.” (İhsan, 58)

“We didn't have roads, highways, hospital, shopping mall before government of Justice and Development Party. If one citizen of Arnavutköy went to Istanbul by his minibus, we were going to Istanbul with him because there was no transportation opportunity before the AKP. Furthermore, we can go to cinema thanks to construction of new and first shopping mall of Arnavutköy because there were no shopping malls in territory of Arnavutköy.” (Yasin, 32)

“Before construction of state hospital of Arnavutköy, we were going to hospitals which were in other districts of Istanbul. Justice and Development Party provided this opportunity for us” (Önder, 30)

In this context, decisions of municipalities and commissions are generally based on zoning issues and legal procedures of these zoning issues. It means that zoning commissions of municipalities became the most active commission among other commissions (Savaşkan, 2019). This situation can be observed in district municipalities and metropolitan municipalities because this situation depends on general manner of central government of Turkey. In this sense, general attitudes and legal regulations of central government affected Arnavutköy district as much

as the case of Istanbul because effects of legal regulations which were related to urban transformation process, mega projects, infrastructure and upper structure investments can be observed in Arnavutköy district. In this sense, importance of municipal commissions are affected in accordance with effects of these legal regulations. In this sense, there are three important commissions of council of Arnavutköy Municipality. These commissions are planning and budget, law and zoning commissions because Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and central government of Turkey tied economic progress to developments in construction sector. Thus, metropolitan municipalities and district municipalities became approval centers of new construction projects rather than being provider of principles of local democracy. Because of this reason, these commissions are generally working because Arnavutköy Municipality generally are interested in zoning issues. Because of zoning issues, law commissions of municipalities need to work effectively to solve judicial problems which are related to zoning plans etc. Furthermore, planning and budget commissions of municipalities are looking general budget issues of municipalities. Because of this reason, these commissions of council of Arnavutköy Municipality are important. This also shows that members of municipal council of Arnavutköy are generally taking decisions in these fields.

“Important commissions of municipal council are zoning board, law, planning and budget respectively.”(Fatih, 38)

“District municipalities generally make decisions about zoning issues. Furthermore, this zoning issues are analyzed according to lawfulness of zoning decision. Committee on planning and budget is interested in inputs of municipality. Because of this reason, these commissions are more significant than others.”(Fikri, 40)

To sum up, neoliberalism and urbanization process of the world affected Turkish politics. After 1980's Turkish politics and economic system were canalized to neoliberalism, capitalism and urbanization. However, this process was gotten deep

after hegemony of Justice and Development Party. In Justice and Development Party government, mass urbanization and neoliberalism processes were experienced. Moreover, mega projects and huge urban transformation projects were outcomes of this mass neoliberalization and urbanization process. In this sense, Justice and Development Party prepared groundwork of this process through constituting legal regulations. In this context, effects of this mass urbanization process were experienced substantially in Istanbul. Thus, this process also affected districts and district municipalities of Istanbul.

4.6 Centralization and Economic Tutelage: From Central to Local

First of all, local politics of Turkey was designed within centralist perspective. It means that political actors of central government are controlling local politics in Turkey. Therefore, local politics can not constitute principles of local democracy in the field. Centralization process of local politics is established both politically and economically. Especially, new metropolitan municipality model caused this centralist hegemony over local politics in Turkey. As mentioned in chapter 3 Justice and Development Party increased authority of metropolitan municipalities and mayors to control district municipalities and municipal councils. Thus, provincial private administrations, 1500 municipalities and 16000 village authorities (Arikboğa, 2016). Due to these legal regulations, Turkish local politics depended on control of central government and political figures of central government. Because of this reason, municipal councils, members of municipal councils and commissions started to lose their political authorities in local political issues because they haven't been taking decisions independently without any intervention of central government and political figures of central government. Thus, new metropolitan municipality model established a local political system which was based on strong mayor-weak council. This situation also shows that there is centralization within municipalities. Furthermore, there is a depended relationship between metropolitan municipalities and district municipalities because when metropolitan municipalities prepare a new project which will be done in territories

of district municipalities, metropolitan municipalities don't consult or inform to district municipalities. Moreover, big amount of budget resources of district are collected by metropolitan municipalities such as taxes of highways. Because of these economic and political dependencies, district municipalities can not act in accordance with principles of local democracy independently. Furthermore, as mentioned above there is a depended relation between metropolitan municipalities and district municipalities because Turkish political system is based on majorities of political parties. It means that if a political party took power in metropolitan municipality by majorities of votes, decisions are mostly taken by group of this political party. In this sense, this situation caused political problems between district municipalities and metropolitan municipalities because district municipalities depend on authorities of metropolitan municipalities both economically and politically. Because of this reason, if a political party which control A metropolitan municipality doesn't provide majority in district municipality of A city, this district municipality doesn't benefit as much as other district municipalities which are controlled by same political party.

Furthermore, city councils are the good examples to understand centralization issue within municipalities because local political system of Turkey designed city councils which depend on authoritative political figures of central government as restricted political institutions of municipalities.

Furthermore, municipal council of Arnavutköy Municipality doesn't have independent budget and council directorate. That means that municipal council of Arnavutköy Municipality was depended on higher authorities of local government and central governments. As Erder and İncioğlu (2013) claim that the law no. 6360 caused that mayors of metropolitan municipalities increased their political hegemony over councils of metropolitan municipalities. In this sense, this law created a local political system which provided strong mayor-weak council in metropolitan municipalities. On the other hand, this New Metropolitan Municipalities Law constituted a local politics in Turkey which strengthened

metropolitan municipalities against district municipalities and councils of district municipalities economically and politically. Because of New Metropolitan Municipality Law, Provincial Private Administrations were closed. In addition to this situation, the law no. 6360 changed statutes of villages to neighborhood statute. Because of these developments, influence area of metropolitan municipalities increased territorially and politically. Because of this depended relationship between municipal council and Arnavutköy Municipality, municipal council can not decide about issues of local politics independently. In this sense, Fatih expresses that there is a hegemony of mayor over municipal council of Arnavutköy. Therefore, this situation shows that members of municipal council can not represent necessities and problems of their supporters in meetings of municipal council.

On the other hand, municipal council doesn't have economic independence in local politics of Arnavutköy. This situation cause economic tutelage over municipal council. Thus, municipal council of Arnavutköy Municipality can not take decision which necessitate budget and economic freedom. Because of this reason, central authorities of Arnavutköy Municipality established their economic hegemony over institutions of Arnavutköy Municipality. This situation examines that there are hegemonic relationship and implementations which don't provide principles of local democracy within Arnavutköy Municipality. Statements of Fatih and Önder is too much important for this part:

“How can municipal council be independent from mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality without having council directorate and budget of municipal council? If you have an idea to do, you need to take approval of municipal council. So your project which passes from municipal council may not be approved by mayor of municipality. So member of municipal council and municipal council depend on one person.”(Fatih, 38)

“Decisions of municipality are decided in municipality council. At the end of decision making process all decisions are based on decision of mayor of

Arnavutköy Municipality.” (Önder, 30)

An institution of Arnavutköy Municipality which must to depend on central government in normal conditions are working under the authority of local government. This institution is Employment Center of Arnavutköy Municipality which normally means Turkish Employment Agency. This situation states that local and central governments have intricate relations among themselves. Centralization of local politics can be observed within state’s institutions. In this sense, expression of Önder is valuable:

“Employment center of Arnavutköy Municipality is one the office of Turkish Employment Agency (*İŞKUR*). *İŞKUR* doesn’t have offices in every district of Istanbul. The closest office of *İŞKUR* is in Büyükçekmece. Because of this reason, administration of Arnavutköy Municipality made a decision which was related to opening a office of *İŞKUR* within Arnavutköy Municipality in 2010. Thus, every operations which are made by *İŞKUR* are made by Employment Center in Arnavutköy.” (Önder, 30)

Operational progress within Arnavutköy Municipality is based on top down relations. In the sense, demands and problems are solved by directorates or mayor. This situation expresses that there is hierarchical relationship within the municipality. Personnels or institutions of Arnavutköy Municipality are not working independently like problem solver or provider of demands.

“Organizational structure of municipality is based on significance of demands. If there is small demand, this demand can be solved by directorates. However, if there is a huge demand or problem, this issue need to be solved by mayor of municipality. Some subjects are solved through benefiting from top-down method. However, some issues are solved through using bottom up method.” (Ahmet, 36)

As we know that New Metropolitan Municipality Model created strong metropolitan municipalities and weak district municipalities because district municipalities became political extents of metropolitan municipalities. Thus, metropolitan municipalities can restrict political authorities of district organizations. Because of this reason, district municipalities couldn't be liberalize from control of metropolitan municipalities. Furthermore, mayors of metropolitan municipalities became the most powerful political actors in local politics of Turkey. Because of this reason, representation and participation of people who are living in districts are restricted. In this context, this power relation between metropolitan municipalities and district municipalities and effects of New Metropolitan Municipality Model can be observed in relation between Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and Arnavutköy Municipality. In this sense, council of Arnavutköy Municipality is ineffective in this relationship. It means that Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality which is at the top in hierarchical relation doesn't consult to opinions of members of municipal council of Arnavutköy Municipality. Therefore, members of municipal councils can not represent their opinions in decision making process which occurs between Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and Arnavutköy Municipality. In this sense, mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality has closer relationship with Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality because mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality can inform Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality about their necessities, problems and projects. However, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality can not establish this kind of relationship with other district municipalities which are controlled by opposition political parties. This situation shows that Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality which has to be representative of all district municipalities and people of Istanbul is favoring, protecting and supporting district municipalities that are controlled by ruling political party. In this sense, statements of Ahmet and Fatih are valuable to understand situation:

“Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality doesn't consult about municipal projects from council of Arnavutköy Municipality. Council of Arnavutköy Municipality can only demand some services from Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality such

as bus station, construction of belt highway etc. For instance, belt highway was demanded by council of Arnavutköy Municipality. Council of Arnavutköy Municipality had decided to construct closed car park in the center of Arnavutköy. Thus, council of Arnavutköy Municipality has demanded these two project from Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality to construct these projects.” (Ahmet, 36)

“Mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality firstly reports problems to Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. This situation is valid for district municipalities which are controlled by Justice and Development Party. Municipalities which are controlled by opposition parties can not constitute this kind of relationship with Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. Projects which will be done by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality is informed mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality. Municipal council of Arnavutköy Municipality has no idea about what Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality is planning to organize in Arnavutköy.” (Fatih, 38)

Another important dynamic of local politics of Arnavutköy is related that consequences of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and Arnavutköy Municipality that are managed by same political party. General opinion among members of municipal councils is that if Justice and Development Party doesn't control Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, local governments of Istanbul deal with some problems such as lack of local investments in local authorities of Justice and Development Party. In this sense, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and district municipalities are controlled by same political party is providing advantages for district municipalities of Istanbul. Therefore, this situation demonstrates that there is a dependent relationship among local authorities. The reason of this situation is that legal system of local governments of Turkey constructs dependent relations among local authorities. Because of this dependent relation, district municipalities can not take decisions and produce new projects independently in their own territories because these district municipalities don't have independent budgets and political

system. For instance, taxes of main roads of Arnavutköy are collected by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality so Arnavutköy Municipality can not obtain any budget from these main roads which are producing huge amount of budget of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. In this context, statement of Fikri is important:

“Arnavutköy Municipality is not even collecting garbages. Therefore, if metropolitan municipality is from another party, Arnavutköy Municipality have to face with so serious problems in terms of trouble in providing services. For example, main roads of Arnavutköy are controlled by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. Taxes of main roads are collected by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and services of main roads are provided by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. If district and metropolitan councils are from same political parties, this situations is absolutely advantages for both sides.” (Fikri, 40)

“Important and huge projects which were related to Arnavutköy and Arnavutköy Municipality were done by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. If Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality is not controlled by Justice and Development Party, Arnavutköy Municipality can not reach these important and high investment projects. Because of this reason, Arnavutköy Municipality may not provide some services in Arnavutköy. When same political party dominates in metropolitan municipality and district municipalities, this situation provides a lot of and important advantages for district municipalities.” (Ahmet, 36)

Furthermore, these quotations show that authority of local politics was centralized rather than decentralized because if political party which control metropolitan municipality lose its power over metropolitan municipality, people think that workings of district municipalities will be stopped. This situation shows that district municipalities and local political actors became dependent to authority of metropolitan municipalities. The reason of this situation is that centralization and authoritarianization of political regime because central government of Turkey

wants to control every part and actor of politics through constituting hegemony. Thus, local politics of Turkey also is centralized and authoritarized.

Moreover, city councils which need to provide democratic environment in local politics depend on control of central authorities. This dependency situation is controlled both economically and politically by central authorities. It means that city council can not use their budgets which are controlled by Arnavutköy Municipality. If city council organize an organization which need to transportation and food, consumptions of these requirements are provided by Arnavutköy Municipality. In this sense, this economic dependency cause political dependency indirectly for city council of Arnavutköy. In other words, city council of Arnavutköy Municipality can not decide independently what kind of projects and events are organized because of economic dependency. In addition to this, duties of city council of Arnavutköy Municipality are determined by central authorities such as mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality and central government of Turkey. Because of this reason, city council of Arnavutköy Municipality has restricted working space. In this sense, statements of Kamil and Fatma take an important place:

“Some opinions and projects of city councils are evaluated by Arnavutköy Municipality. Some of them are made actual by directorates of Arnavutköy Municipality. City councils have no impacts on decision of municipal council. City councils are working like civil society organizations. City councils have budget but this budget is controlled by Arnavutköy Municipality. Therefore, city council actually doesn't have its own independent budget. Actually, city council can not use their budgets for their projects. City councils are not working well in Arnavutköy. Idea of city councils is good but it isn't be operated well. In short, city councils express nothing for Arnavutköy Municipality. Furthermore, city councils can work how central authorities allow.” (Kamil, 59)

“City councils have never produced big and effective projects in Arnavutköy.

City councils are working for advice and solutions. There is no more effects of city councils.” (Fatma, 41)

In this sense, city councils which have to work as a democratic tool in local politics are not working well in Arnavutköy because as Kamil and Fatma claim that city councils are working as advisory body of Arnavutköy Municipality. However, their proposals are needed to be evaluated effectively by Arnavutköy Municipality. In this sense, city councils are restricted by local political authorities which control political balances in local politics. Thus, we can argue that local politics of Arnavutköy is not working in accordance with principles of local democracy.

Furthermore, head of city councils and deputy mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality are the same person. Because of this reason, local authority tries to control city councils. Therefore, development of opposition is not allowed in city councils. Explanation of Fatih is valuable:

“City councils are working as recommendation bodies of municipality. Implementations of projects of city councils depend on decisions of mayor of municipality. Head of city councils is also deputy mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality. Thus, mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality doesn’t allow opposition within city councils.” (Fatih, 38)

Furthermore, projects of city councils and other institutions of Arnavutköy Municipality depend on mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality. In this sense, mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality established an authority over all institutions of Arnavutköy Municipality. All policies and implementations of Arnavutköy Municipality depend on consent of mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality. This situation shows that control and supervision of one person over complex structure of Arnavutköy Municipality. In this context, statement of Hilal is valuable:

“Women, culture and art center has a project team that determines annual

projects and events. If these projects and events are approved, contents of these projects and events are created. These projects and events are presented to obtain approval of the director. Afterwards, these projects are approved by vice president. At the end of this process, these projects are approved by mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality.” (Hilal, 28)

However, heads of women and youth council of city council of Arnavutköy expressed that city council of Arnavutköy Municipality is working effectively. However, all municipal members and deputy mayor claimed that city councils express nothing for Arnavutköy Municipality. City council of Arnavutköy Municipality has no effect on decisions of municipal council and commissions. It means that city councils can not enter into decision making process of municipal council. Explanations of heads of youth and women councils would be considered as these people have worry about their jobs. Because of this reason, their statement can not show reality of city councils.

In short, relationship between Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and Arnavutköy Municipality is working like one-sided relationship because as consequences of field research show that Arnavutköy Municipality doesn't have right to affect decisions of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. On the other hand, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality doesn't consult about projects and policies which are related to Arnavutköy district. In this regard, mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality may be informed about policies and projects. Furthermore, mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality is the most effective political actor within Arnavutköy Municipality. It means that functioning of Arnavutköy Municipality depends on decisions of mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality. In this sense, relationship between Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and Arnavutköy Municipality, and functioning of Arnavutköy Municipality within itself don't seem like compatible with principles of local democracy.

4.7 Impacts of Party-State Political System in Local Politics

Turkish political system has been transforming itself to party-state. Party-state means that one political party control every level of state. As we know that Turkish political system is a democratic political system which is based on multi-party democracy. However, after government of Justice and Development Party, Turkey entered into new political system. In the sense, Justice and Development Party has took power constantly since 2002 to 2015 in general elections. They also argue that Turkish Grand National Assembly couldn't be constituted without the AKP. Therefore, Justice and Development Party created dominant-party system through its political success (Ete, Altunoğlu and Dalay, 2015, p.185). This political system depends on hegemony of single party within multi-party democracy. This dominant party system caused union between Justice and Development Party and state. That means that Justice and Development Party has been controlling all institutions of state within multi party democratic system. Other political parties which are in Turkish Grand National Assembly can not enter state cadres of Turkey because all ministries of Turkey are controlled by ministers of Justice and Development Party. Furthermore, Justice and Development Party assigns its people to other state institutions. Furthermore, presidential system which was accepted in presidential referendum in 2017. Thus, Turkish political system entered under control of the political party and the president. Because of these reasons, we can claim that Turkish political system transformed to party-state political regime.

In this sense, decisions of municipal council are not being taken in meetings of parliament of municipality because majority of municipal council which is constituted by Justice and Development Party is taking decision in their group meetings. In this context, decisions of municipal councils are taken in group meetings of political parties in Turkish local politics. If any member of municipal council act against decision of party group, these members can be fired from their jobs (Arikboğa, 2019, p.54). That is to say that municipal council of Arnavutköy Municipality has been taking decisions in accordance with general situation of

Turkish local politics as was mentioned by Arikboğa (2019). Furthermore, the main principle of local democracy is based on deliberation. Members of municipal council discuss about some political issues to reach solutions. However, members of municipal council of Justice and Development Party are using meetings of municipal council as approval body of Arnavutköy Municipality. This situations also shows that members of Justice and Development Party aren't considering opinions of members of Nationalist Action Party in decision making process of municipal council. Therefore, manner of members of Justice and Development Party is not corresponding to principles of local democracy.

“Political party group meetings are more important than municipal council meetings. Group meetings of Justice and Development Party sometimes are continuing for hours. Group of Justice and Development Party has some value judgments about decisions. When Arnavutköy Municipality want to earn money, municipality can sell its territories or take a loan. Municipal group of Justice and Development Party had decided not to take a loan. In this sense, thanks to group meetings, when municipal council is opened to take a decision, they make a decision in 5 minutes. He mentioned that according to municipal law no.5393, municipal council make a decision about selling its own territories, taking a loan, helping to other public institutions, collaboration with civil society organizations and zoning arrangement (the most important function of municipal council).” (Fikri, 40)

In this sense, explanation of Fikri shows that decisions of municipal council are taken within 5 minutes. It means that members of Justice and Development Party is looking for municipal council as a tool which provides efficiency for Arnavutköy Municipality because, due to group meetings, members of Justice and Development Party annihilate discussion session of municipal council which may cause long time decisions. This situation shows party-state structuring occurred within municipal council of Arnavutköy Municipality because other political party which is represented in the municipal council can not enter into decision making process. It

means that the AKP's party group of Arnavutköy Municipality has been just representing their opinions about local political issues in decisions of municipal council. However, Arnavutköy Municipality and municipal council of Arnavutköy are not representing only opinions of Justice and Development Party. Because of this reason, we can claim that party-state structuring reached even to local politics.

Furthermore, AKİM, BİMER and CİMER are other problematic units of state in terms of constituting of party-state concept. It means that these units of state are used by citizens for every basic problem. Furthermore, people are waiting solutions from Justice and Development Party and president of Turkey. In normal conditions, people have to wait solutions for their problems from state. In this sense, this political attitude of citizens can be observed in Arnavutköy district. Community of Arnavutköy has been consulting to CİMER (the president/political party leader) to solve their personal and local issues. This situation shows that people don't expect that state and state institutions can solve their problems in Arnavutköy. They are expecting that political party leader and the president which are the same person can solve their problems. That is to say that local politics of Arnavutköy and Turkey has been moving away from representation, participation and other principles of local democracy because local institutions haven't been working effectively. Furthermore, another reason of this situation is related to political atmosphere of Turkey which is based on attitude of political parties and important political individuals. Because of these reasons, people lost their faiths on local institutions. Thus, they are expecting solutions from higher authorities which depend on central authority. It means that there is a political system which is based on party-state conceptualization.

“As “true and mere servants of the nation,” in order to “close the traditional gap between the state and the nation,” the foundation of communication centers such as AKİM (AK Party Communication Center), BİMER (Communication Center of Prime Ministry), and lastly CİMER (Communication Center of Presidency) are the most notable examples of such populist institutional

designs, promoted with a discourse of “you govern.” This study focuses on these centers importance for the neoliberal governmentality of the party, their role in the reproduction of the party power in the electoral processes, as well as the dangers they pose for the development of a deliberative public sphere.” (Boyraz, 2018)

As Boyraz (2018) claims that these communication centers are constitution party power in election process because these centers are establishing close relationship and populism between citizens and the AKP which can be based on clientelistic relations. In this sense, explanation of Kemal is important:

“We are taking a lot of complaints from CİMER. People are consulting to CİMER to solve their local and individual problems. One persons applied to CİMER about official of Arnavutköy Municipality or one guy applied to CİMER about street dogs. People are not using CİMER meaningly.” (Kemal, 36)

Another issue which is related to functions of local branch of Justice and Development Party is success on solving of problems of citizens. Arnavutköy local branch of Justice and Development Party is reaching easily Arnavutköy Municipality to solve problems of citizens who inform their problems to district organization of Justice and Development Party. Therefore, people prefer to reach district organization of the party rather than mukhtars. Furthermore, there is a good communication and connection between Arnavutköy Municipality and district organization of Justice and Development Party. However, district organizations of other political parties can not establish this kind of relationship with Arnavutköy Municipality because municipalities which are representing demands, problems and necessities of all part of society in normal conditions must be impartial institutions of central governments. In this sense, local government of Arnavutköy which is controlled by Justice and Development Party is favoring only local organization of Justice and Development Party except other political parties.

Furthermore, if a local branch of a political party establish strong relations with a municipality to solve problems of a community, we can claim that this political system became party-state political system because people shouldn't go to reach a local branch of a political party to solve their problems. In addition to this situation, a political party shouldn't act as a state institution or a branch of state institution. Therefore, Arnavutköy branch of Justice and Development Party is acting like a state institution to solve problems of Arnavutköy's community. Because of this reason, there is a party-state consolidation in Arnavutköy's local politics as central political administration of Turkey. This situation is not corresponding to principles of local democracy because of unfair attitude of Arnavutköy Municipality. In this sense, contribution of Yasin explains this topic:

“Arnavutköy local organization of Justice and Development Party has local authorities unit within itself. When a citizen comes to Arnavutköy local organization to inform them about inactive street lamb, excess of pariah dogs or asphalt, local authorities unit reaches to Arnavutköy Municipality to solve that kind of local problems. Arnavutköy district organization of Justice and Development Party and units of local authorities have a good communication and coordination with Arnavutköy Municipality. Solutions of local problems have been taking more time through muhktars. On the contrary, citizens of Arnavutköy can solve problems with units of local authority of Justice and Development Party easier than muhktars. District organization of Arnavutköy is working like control mechanism in local politics. All units of district organization of Arnavutköy are always in the field. Mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality can not be take care of all problems, wishes and complaints of Arnavutköy' s citizens. In this context, district organization of Justice and Development Party comes into play at this instant. Arnavutköy District Organization is communicating on WhatsApp groups. Problems of Arnavutköy are firstly transmitted to head of district organization. Afterwards, these problems are transmitted to mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality.” (Yasin, 32)

“The president got %66 yes vote from Arnavutköy. Reasons of this issue were services and dialogues which were made by local organization of Justice and Development Party in Arnavutköy” (Yasin, 32)

Furthermore, explanation of Yasin which is mentioned above shows that there is consolidation between an institution of state and local branch of Justice and Development Party because he could considered success of the president of Turkey equal to hard working of Arnavutköy’s local branch. Reason of this issue depends on general attitude of central government of Turkey because central government was evolved to part-state consolidation in time by Justice and Development Party. Therefore, impacts of this general political attitude can be observed in Arnavutköy district.

To sum up, party-state consolidation is a common problem of Turkish political system because central government is controlled by one political party which assign its bureaucrats and people to state institutions. Because of this reason, local politics also is affected by political attitude of Justice and Development Party. In this sense, we can see reflections of this political attitude in local politics of Arnavutköy. Party-state consolidation can be observed in local branch of the AKP, Arnavutköy Municipality and society of Arnavutköy. Because of this reason, we can claim that there is consolidation between local politics and central politics in terms of party-state concept.

4.8 Personalization of Power: Strong Individual Politics

In Middle Eastern countries and Arab countries have been dealing with hegemony of political leaders because political leaders of these regions have been arguing that their elected political authorities are expressing hegemony of king. Name of this concept is president for life (Owen, 2014). In this sense, these political leaders tie their endless existence to existence of all society. Thus, if this society need to survive, they need to protect power of these political leaders. Therefore, these

political leaders can sustain their political powers for a long time. One of the outcomes of this situation is related to personalization of power of political leaders because these kinds of leaders constitute their political hegemony over their states. Thus, politics depends on authorities of individuals rather than institutions.

In this context, Turkish political system is not based on institutions. It means that Turkish political system depends on political individuals. After transition to presidential system, this situation was accepted legally because presidential system of Turkey depends on president which took power directly from society. It means that all decisions and authorities are controlled by the president (Arikboğa, 2019, p.54). Therefore, political authority depends on powers of decisions of individuals in Turkey. Because of this reason, internal functioning of institutions of Turkish state depends on decisions, attitudes and psychology of political figures. Thus, internal functioning among state institutions can not work independently. This situation shows that authorities of individuals are higher than authorities of institutions. Because of this reason, Turkish political system can not be provide principles of democracy within this context. Furthermore, this general and central problem of Turkish political system can spread to local politics and local political institutions. Local political institutions, organizations and units should work in accordance with principles of local democracy. It means that political individuals and leaders should not create their hegemonies over their independent systems. Local political institutions have to legislate and execute policies without any interventions of political individuals and leaders. However, when we focus on local central political system of Turkey, hegemonies of political figures can be observed easily.

First of all, nomination process of candidates of municipal council is an important evidence to realize hegemony of individuals over political organizations in Arnavutköy. Arnavutköy district organizations of political parties are attaching importance to different criteria of candidates in local elections. In this sense, nomination process of Justice and Development Party will be analyzed. So

nomination process of the AKP's local branch is working differently because there is an intervention of two important political figures which are mayor of Arnavutköy and party leader. Nomination process of Justice and Development Party is like:

“There are two sides of nomination process. These are visible and secret sides of nomination process. Visible nomination process is that nominating process starts with nomination candidacy process. These nomination candidacies invest money to head office of Justice and Development Party. At the end of this process, interview is made. Mayor candidate of Arnavutköy, president of district organization of Justice and Development Party, presidents of district women's and youth branches, provincial vice president, presidents of provincial women's and youth branches and regional coordinator have an interview with these nomination candidacies. These interviews are made for formality. Mayor candidate determines his/her workmates before interviews. Interviews aim that these determined workmates of mayor candidate meet with district and provincial political actors of Justice and Development Party. I am pleased to this kind of nominating process. Alternative ways cause multi-headed/multifaceted (*çokbaşlılık*). For instance, if there is preselection for municipal membership which is based on voting process, some candidates can be opposite to mayor next election because they may argue that I got more votes.” (Fikri, 40)

This quotation shows that nomination process of candidates of municipal council is not occurred democratically by Justice and Development Party. There is a hegemonic authority of mayor candidate over local politics and elections of Arnavutköy. Before candidacy interviews of Justice and Development Party, candidates are decided by mayor candidate of Arnavutköy Municipality. Therefore, candidacy interviews are being used as acquaintance meetings of administrative cadres of central authorities of Justice and Development Party. On the other hand, this type of nomination interview process of candidates are taken it normally by members of municipal council. In this sense, latest legal regulations established a

local political system which strengthened mayors of municipalities (İncioğlu, Erder, 2013). Therefore, we can observe impacts of these legal regulations which strengthen power of mayor in local politics of Arnavutköy. This hegemony of mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality is creating anti-democratic local politics.

In addition this situation, when Fatma's explanation about nomination process is examined, there is also hegemony of party leadership over candidates. It means that if party leader doesn't want to nominate a person in local elections, he can reject application of this person at the end of all nomination process. Actually, this situation shows that all nomination and interview process depend on consent of one person which has authority over all actors of local politics. Therefore, hegemony of one person over local politics is disaccording with principles of local democracy. In this sense, we can see impacts of centralized and one man's authoritarian political understanding policies which are developed by central government.

“Candidates who pass interviews of district organization have an another interview with provincial government of Justice and Development Party. If they pass this interview too, the president has to ratify candidateships of these candidates at the end of all process. If the president doesn't want to see a candidate who will represent Justice and Development Party in municipal council of Arnavutköy Municipality, this person can not be candidate for elections” (Fatma, 41)

Furthermore, another important issue of local politics is related to municipal council of Arnavutköy Municipality. In this sense, agenda of municipal council is specified by directorates of Arnavutköy Municipality. However, mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality can determine agenda of municipal council for some specific issues. Majority of members of municipal council expressed that members of municipal council don't have authority to determine next agendas of council which is discussed in meetings of municipal council. This situation shows that dynamics of local politics depend on directorates and mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality.

Municipal members are representing people of Arnavutköy. Furthermore, these members are closest representatives of Arnavutköy Municipality. However, they can not have an authority to shape agendas of municipal council. Agendas of municipal council are determined by one person and directorates which also depend on mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality. This kind of strong mayor regime can not develop democratic political atmosphere in local politics because other local political actor will always depend on one man regime which is strengthening his political authority due to new legal regulations. This situation shows that personalization of power in politics can be observed in every part of local politics of Turkey.

“A new agenda of municipal council comes to directorates of Arnavutköy Municipality. Related directorate prepares a folder which is related to agenda. These folders are transmitted to municipal council. Municipal council transmits these folders to municipal commissions. Commissions organize sessions to discuss these folders until the last day of council meeting. Folders are analyzed in detail. We may not change some articles of folders which are forwarded by council and directorates. However, some articles of folders can be changed by them. At the end of this process, these folders are again forwarded to municipal council to be approved. Agendas of municipal council are decided by directorates of Arnavutköy Municipality. If there is a special issue which is needed be approved by municipal council, this special issue can be transmitted by mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality.” (Ahmet, 36)

Another important part of municipal councils is commissions of Arnavutköy Municipality. These commissions are established with members of municipal council. However, mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality have a right to decide which member of political party can enter to these commissions. It means that there are two political parties in parliament of Arnavutköy Municipality. Majority of municipal council is established by members of Justice and Development Party. If mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality doesn't want to see any member of Nationalist

Movement Party in commissions, these members can not enter to meetings of commissions. Therefore, there is a hegemonic political behavior of mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality over commissions of Arnavutköy Municipality. Furthermore, important members of commissions are presidents and vice presidents of commissions. Other members are not taking active role in studies of commissions. It means that some members of municipal council of Arnavutköy are not participating actively in decision making process of Arnavutköy's local politics. Moreover, these members who were elected in local elections don't demand taking active role in decision making process. Therefore, if a person has higher authority in small institutions of municipality, this person control all issues of this institutions. It means that local politics of Arnavutköy depends on positions of individuals. In this sense, Ahmet's explanation is important:

“Important members of commissions are presidents and vice presidents of commissions. Members of commissions were formed from municipal members of Justice and Development Party between 2009-2014. However, mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality decided to give chance for municipal members of National Movement Party in commission. He decided to make them member in every commission. Mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality decides which members of political parties will be in commissions.” (Ahmet, 36)

Moreover, there is an another outcome of this field research which is related to importance of party leader/president in local politics of Turkey. This outcome is that citizens of Arnavutköy who are supporting and voting for Justice and Development Party in local elections don't vote for developments, investments, success of Arnavutköy Municipality. These people vote for president who establishes strong relations with his supporters. The reason of this situation can be related to political discourses of president and political continuity of central government. In this sense, authority of central government over local governments can be seen easily. Supporters of Justice and Development Party can not think local government without central government because political statements of the party

leader/president expressed importance of unity. It means that if Justice and Development Party lose its political power in local governments, perpetuity of Republic of Turkey will enter dangerous. This situation also shows that party leader of the JDP constituted his political authority and features of charismatic leadership over his supporters. In this sense, statements of Fikri, Fatih and Mercan prove the reason:

“Reason of success of Justice of Development Party in local elections of Arnavutköy is not related to hard work of mayor and municipal council. Reason of this success is based on the president.”(Fikri, 40)

“People are voting for the president in local elections. They aren’t voting for successful services and mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality. People started to distinguish between Justice and Development Party and the president.”(Fatih, 38)

“The president of Turkey is a brand. People vote for a political party where at the president is. People don’t vote for enormous efforts of municipality mayors, council members or deputy mayors. People don’t vote for Justice and Development Party, they vote for the president. The biggest factor is the president and its character. They believe the president. Furthermore, people vote for perpetuity of Turkish Republic, unity and solidarity and republican alliance.” (Mercan, 49)

In this sense, statements of Mercan, Fatih and Fikri shows that president/party leader is a significant political figure in local politics of Turkey and Arnavutköy. It means that these quotations show that authority of president is higher than authorities of mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality, the municipality, other political actors and public services. Because of this reason, we can argue that party leader/president contains features of charismatic leadership concept of Max Weber. In this sense, charismatic leadership means that political actors which contain

charisma differentiate themselves easily from other people because charisma comes from the birth of these charismatic people. In time people can not gain charisma which means extraordinary characteristic features (Weber, 1947). In this context, people who believe these charismatic leaders rely on authorities in politics. Authorities of charismatic leaders are more superior than every authority. Furthermore, people believe these charismatic people whatever they do. Because of this reason, we can argue that president is a charismatic leader of Turkish politics because as field research shows that people located president above other local political authorities. Moreover, people rely on president whatever he does.

Furthermore, there is an another effect of party leader of the AKP in local politics of Arnavutköy. Fikri expresses that some mukhtars are solving problems of neighborhoods which is controlled by them through reaching to party leader. This situation shows that some problems and necessities of Arnavutköy can not be solved within dynamics of local politics of Arnavutköy. Because of this reason, mukhtars can prefer to attend to mukhtar meetings which are organized by president/party leader to state their problems. Furthermore, this situation shows that local governments of Turkey are weaker and more insufficient than authorities of central government. Thus, central government of Turkey establish hegemony over local governments because individuals, members of civil society organizations and associations and mukhtars will try to reach party leader/president to solve their problems.

“Mukhtars give some petitions in this meetings which are organized by the president. Thus, these petitions are evaluating faster and more effective than other petitions. For instance, a mukhtar of Arnavutköy gave a petition in meeting with the president. According to this mukhtar, he wanted some impossible demands such as apartment or house provided to an employee by his employer, carpet pitch etc for his neighborhood. He was called about these demands instantly by municipality.” (Fikri, 40)

Furthermore, operational progress within Arnavutköy Municipality is important to understand dynamics of local politics. In this context, some issues of Arnavutköy Municipality are working harmoniously with legal procedures. On the contrary, if they need to solve problems of society of Arnavutköy faster, they prefer to informal ways to solve these problems. In this sense, Önder's statement is important:

“Decision making mechanism of municipalities is higher than decision making mechanism of bureaucracy. In state associations every process is subjected to written petitions. Municipalities are political phenomenons. Papers, petitions and documents are the last way and solution in municipality. Municipality mayor has an instruction which is if a citizen comes to appeal for help from you, you need to help this citizen. In this context, this calling for help is more important than petitions and documents.” (Önder, 30)

Statement of Önder is revealing another issue which is related to hegemony of mayor and weakness of Arnavutköy Municipality. A statement of mayor can change all order of a state institution. This situation shows that there is a huge power of mayor over Arnavutköy Municipality and rules of Arnavutköy Municipality. In this sense, Turkish local politics depends on two local political actors. These local political actors are mayors and local branches of political parties (Arikboğa, 2019, p.53). In this sense, mayors are at center of local politics in Turkey. In this sense, the case of Arnavutköy Municipality is compatible with general condition of Turkish local politics.

Furthermore, this situation can cause other problems in local politics of Arnavutköy. That means that people must solve their problems in accordance with legal procedures because this principle provides equality and fairness among individuals. However, this statement of mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality can cause injustice and inequality in Arnavutköy because this kind of problem solving method is open to patronage and clientelism. This situation shows that there is a problem in merit principle within Arnavutköy Municipality. Statement of mayor of

Arnavutköy Municipality is so compatible with general situation of Turkish politics because legal procedures is not working well in Turkish politics. Turkish politics depends on statements of political individuals rather than laws.

Furthermore, personalization of power expanded to internal affairs of local branch of the AKP. It means that local branch of Justice and Development Party is controlled by head of local branch. That is to say that every decision of local branch which is taken by board of directors of local organization needs to take consent of head of local organization. In this sense, decision making process of local organization of Justice and Development Party is working in accordance with top-down decision making system. This situation shows that political tradition of central government of Turkey depends on political authority which is provided by one person. In this context, local politics and central political tradition of Turkey is compatible in terms of personalization of power. Different local political institutions can contain control of strong authorized person within themselves. In this sense, statements of Fatma and Yasin are valuable:

“Local organization of Arnavutköy is based on top-down system in terms of authority. Everybody and every decision depend on decision of head of local branch. President of local branch is also head of group.” (Fatma, 41)

“Decision making process of Arnavutköy local branch depends on decisions of head of local branch and management of district organization. For instance, If you have a new idea about local politics of Arnavutköy, you should obtain permission to make realize that idea from management of district organization. Also, you need to take constant of head of Arnavutköy local branch at the end of process.” (Yasin, 32)

To sum up, personalization of power is a general problem of Turkish politics. Turkish politics has been transforming to one-man regime from democratic political regime day by day. Due to this situation, political system of Turkey has been

moving away from democratic atmosphere and democratic principles. In this sense, impacts of personalization of power which occur in central government expands to local politics. As this field research examined that personalization of power in local politics can be observed in Arnavutköy Municipality, local branch of the AKP and society of Arnavutköy. Because of this reason, we can recognize that local politics of Turkey is becoming more anti-democratic.

4.19 Representation and Participation Problems of Local Political Actors

Civil society organizations, local associations, city councils, opposition political parties and mukhtars are significant local political figures to sustain and protect principles of local democracy because these local political actors are representing different opinions, demands and problems of citizens. Furthermore, these local groups are more close to individuals. Therefore, these local actors are participating main principles of democracy through representing their opinions about local issues.

However, Turkish local politics has been centralizing and personalizing from day to day. Because of this reason, local political actors can not enter into decision making process and express their opinions about local political issues. Thus, existence of local political actors such as civil society organizations is conflicting with existence purpose of them. Their existential purpose depends on providing of principles of democracy at local level. However, centralization and personalization of politics at central level and local level are preventing participation and representation of local political actors in decision making process. Therefore, the case of Arnavutköy will be examined in this part of the thesis.

First of all, Arnavutköy Municipality has limited communication with civil society organizations and local associations which the main actors of local democracy. Furthermore, parliament of Arnavutköy Municipality doesn't have any relation with district organizations of political parties which are representing opposition side of

Turkey such as Republican People's Party and Felicity Party. Furthermore, mukhtars have restricted relationship with Arnavutköy Municipality. In this context, civil society organizations, associations, mukhtars and opposition parties of Arnavutköy can not enter into decision making process of parliament of Arnavutköy Municipality. In addition to this situation, district organizations of political parties which represent opinions, demands and problems of their supporters can not express themselves. Therefore, these district organizations can not participate themselves democratically in local politics of Arnavutköy. Furthermore, civil society organizations and local associations which are representing people of Arnavutköy aren't included to decision making process by Arnavutköy Municipality. These organizations and associations of Arnavutköy can only use fields and transportation opportunity of Arnavutköy Municipality for their events. In this sense, this kind of opportunity which is provided to civil society organizations and local organizations by Arnavutköy Municipality is valuable for local politics of Arnavutköy. However, participation and representation principles of local democracy are not working effectively in Arnavutköy.

“Arnavutköy Municipality couldn't systemize relation between civil society organizations, associations and municipality. Other municipalities systemized these relationship such as Esenler Municipality. There is a consultant of mayor for just civil society organizations and associations. Arnavutköy Municipality couldn't realize this kind of system. Because of this reason, a lot of associations and civil society organizations needed to close their associations and organizations. These civil society organizations and associations couldn't face with their own consumptions. However, mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality had decided to give buildings for associations in neighborhood parks. These parks were debited to these associations. Arnavutköy Municipality has never produced a project with associations and civil society organizations. However, Pendik Municipality had created a team which has been producing projects with civil society organizations. Civil society organizations and associations are not receiving financial support from municipality. If associations and civil society

organizations want to organize an organization in places of municipality, Arnavutköy Municipality can just provide this opportunity.” (Fikri, 40)

“When associations and civil society organizations need some necessities which should be provided by municipality, these associations and civil organizations appeal to Arnavutköy Municipality. However, this kind of issue depends on execution of mayor, deputy mayor and management of municipality. This is not job of members of municipal council. Associations and civil society organizations of Arnavutköy have been benefiting for their social activities from municipality. For instance, if an association decides to organize an organization which needs vehicles and place, municipality supplies these needs. These associations and civil society organizations mostly are using social opportunities of municipality such as picnic area.” (Ahmet, 36)

Moreover, as Ahmet mentioned above, members of municipal council have no right to express their opinions about demands and problems of civil society organizations and local associations of Arnavutköy. Regulations which are related to demands of civil society organizations and local associations depend on mayor and management of Arnavutköy Municipality. Therefore, we can argue that effects of personalization of power can be observed in this case because mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality constituted his hegemony over all decisions through benefiting from legal rights of new metropolitan municipality model. It means that there are strong mayor and weak municipal council in Arnavutköy. Because of this reason, members of municipal council can not create political dialogue with civil society organizations and associations to help them. However, if members of municipal council express their ideas about issues of these organizations and associations, Arnavutköy Municipality can reach more democratic atmosphere in local politics.

Furthermore, politicians of Arnavutköy Municipality think that civil society organizations, associations and other political parties which are working actively in Arnavutköy can not affect policies of municipal council and commissions. On the

contrary, if commissions of municipal council of Arnavutköy Municipality want to consult civil society organizations and associations, they can get opinions of these local actors about studies of commissions. However, politicians of Arnavutköy Municipality think that members of civil society organizations and associations have never wanted to work with commissions. Furthermore, commissions of municipal council have never consult to these local actors. In this sense, if statements of Fatma, Fatih and Ahmet are mentioned:

“Civil society organizations, associations and other political parties don’t have an impact on decisions of municipal council of Arnavutköy Municipality. Furthermore, municipal council doesn’t consult to these groups about policies and decisions of municipal councils. Decisions are taken in council. On the other hand, these groups aren’t included to studies of commissions of Arnavutköy Municipality. They may affect politics of municipalities in other districts.” (Fatma, 41)

“Demands of associations and civil society organizations are based on cabinet decree. If there is a demand of associations and civil society organizations which is based on public welfare and cabinet decree, municipality needs to take their opinions about municipal decision from associations. However, Arnavutköy municipality hadn’t encountered too much with this kind of demand. Associations and civil society organizations are not participating themselves in council commissions.” (Ahmet, 36)

“Civil society organizations and associations can participate themselves in workings of municipal commissions according to law. However, Arnavutköy Municipality and heads of civil society organizations and associations has never demanded this kind of request.” (Fatih, 38)

Furthermore, perspectives of civil society organizations and associations are important to compare functions of civil society organizations and associations in

local politics of Arnavutköy. In this context, problems and demands of civil society organizations and associations are provided and solved partly by Arnavutköy Municipality because heads of these associations and civil society organizations may not find authorized person to express their problems and demands in the municipality. On the other hand, their petitions are not taken care too much by Arnavutköy Municipality. In this sense, some heads of associations created bilateral relations in Arnavutköy Municipality. Thus, they can reach solutions for their problems in the municipality. For instance, mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality is acquaintance of one of heads of these associations. Thus, he can directly to reach mayor to express problems of his fellow countrymen association. This situation shows that if any association or civil society organization don't have acquaintances from Arnavutköy Municipality, they can not participate themselves in local politics of Arnavutköy.

“When we express our problems and demands by petition, our demands and problems aren't taken seriously by Arnavutköy Municipality. Because of this reason, I have to reach directly to mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality to solve problems of my fellow countrymen association.”(Salih, 59)

Moreover, statement of Salih shows an another issue in local politics of Arnavutköy. He reaches to mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality to solve his association's problems. It means that because of the fact that Arnavutköy Municipality doesn't concern to petitions and legal applications, local political actors think that they need to establish clientelistic relations to solve their problems. Due to this reason, clientelism has been developing in Arnavutköy.

Furthermore, Turkish politics has been becoming more polarized day by day. It means that people who contain different political ideologies, world views, and perspectives started to become intolerant each others because central politics and political attitudes of politicians caused this situation. Furthermore, after 2013 Turkey has dealt with a lot of political and social cases such as July 15 Coup

Attempt, bombings so on. Due to these reasons, society of Turkey began to move away from culture of tolerance. Thus, political parties also created conflicted political atmosphere in central government. Because of this reason, local politics of Turkey also has been affected by this situation. Therefore, political dialogue between local political actors can not be developed. Effects of polarization of political ideologies can be observed even at local level. Due to this reason, participation and representation of different political ideologies can not be expressed in decision making process and local politics. In this context, members of municipal council thought that citizens of Arnavutköy didn't authorize other political parties which are not represented in municipal council. Because of this reason, municipal council and commissions shouldn't consult other political parties about local politics of Arnavutköy. This attitude of municipal council and commissions shows that demands and problems of people who are supporting other political parties can not reach to meetings of municipal council and commissions. It means that participation and representation of individuals which are provided by political parties in representative democracy depend on elections. That is to say that if your party is elected in elections, your personal demands and problems can be a part of discussions of municipality. In this sense, this kind of point of view to local politics disaccord with principles of local democracy. Furthermore, this situation is acknowledged and naturalized by members of municipal council. In this sense, Fatih's explanation is significant to describe situation:

“Other political parties cannot be added to studies of municipal council. “*Millet*” didn't authorize these political parties in elections.”(Fatih, 38)

Furthermore, another important local political actor is city councils in local politics of Turkey. In democratic political systems, city councils are one of the most important providers of democratic principles in local politics. However, centralization and personalization of central and local politics don't allow development of democratic culture in local politics. Because of this reason, city councils don't provide more democratic atmosphere in local politics because

centralization and personalization of power block democratic developments of city councils. Furthermore, city councils which represent main principles of local democracy in local politics are not effective in Arnavutköy. City councils are established because of legal regulations of Justice and Development Government Party government. These institutions of local governments need to work efficiently to provide democracy in local politics because duties of these institutions are based on solutions of problems of districts. City councils contain representatives of civil society organizations and associations. Furthermore, mukhtars and representatives of district municipalities are attending meetings of city councils. In this sense, city councils are gathering representatives of society and representatives of local authorities. However, city council of Arnavutköy can not produce effective solutions for demands of citizens. Because of this reasons, city council of Arnavutköy Municipality is not working in accordance with principles of local democracy.

“City councils are advisory bodies of municipality. There is no too much effect of city councils on decision making process. City councils are working well recently in Turkey. Some city councils of other cities have been preparing general assembly seriously. However, city councils of Arnavutköy has been working less effective. City council of Arnavutköy is not so active and effective. Requests, demands, problems and workings of city councils are reached to municipal council. Thus, their problems have been solved by municipality. City councils are like community day organizations of municipalities. City councils don't have influence project based. If municipality goes off half-cooked in some issues, city councils may fill a gap in these issues.” (Ahmet, 36)

“City councils are expressing nothing for Arnavutköy Municipality. However, this situation is valid for Arnavutköy because Arnavutköy is closed area. Everyone knows each other. City councils were needed to be established by law. Everybody can reach mayor and deputy mayor easily. Everybody is neighbor. Because of this reason, if you have a problem, there is no possibility

to not solve your problem in Arnavutköy.” (Fikri, 40)

In this sense, city council of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality is not working actively at provincial level (Demiroğlu, Okutan, 2016, p.210). In this sense, city council of a district of Istanbul which is Arnavutköy is working actively. However, city council of Arnavutköy is working ineffectively in decision making process. In this context, metropolitan municipality and district municipality of Istanbul are compatible in terms of functionings of city councils. Because of this reason, we can argue that this problem is an organic and structural problem of local politics of Turkey. Furthermore, deputy mayor and Fikri claimed that city council of Arnavutköy means nothing for Arnavutköy Municipality. In this context, we can argue that city council of Arnavutköy was established just for procedural issues. Because of this reason, we can not expect that city council of Arnavutköy Municipality will work effectively and actively. Due to these reasons, local politics of Turkey hasn't been taking care of significance of city councils.

Moreover, civil society organizations and associations are participating themselves in meetings of city council. However, these meetings are not effective for them because their demands and problems which are expressed in meetings of city council are not solved by Arnavutköy Municipality. In this sense, head of a association claims that:

“I have been attending to meetings of city councils. I have been talking about projects and offers in meetings. However, they implemented any of them. These demands and problems which were mentioned in meetings weren't taken care by city councils and Arnavutköy Municipality. Our problems are not reaching to municipal council of Arnavutköy Municipality.” (Salih, 59)

In short, civil society organizations, associations, mukhtars and opposition political parties are not effective in decision making process of local politics of Arnavutköy because Arnavutköy Municipality, municipal commissions and municipal council

of Arnavutköy are not working together with these local actors. Furthermore, this restricted political atmosphere which is experienced by civil society organizations, associations, opposition political parties and mukhtars causes development of clientelistic relations between Arnavutköy Municipality and them. Thus, we can see that principles of local democracy doesn't work well in Arnavutköy because participation and representation principles which are basic principles of local democracy are restricted within this context. In this sense, we can argue that centralization and personalization of power caused anti democratic local politics which restricted political dialogues in Arnavutköy.

4.10 Conclusion and Discussion

Dynamics of local politics in Arnavutköy is working within informal and formal relations. Citizens and politicians of Arnavutköy are preferring to use informal relations rather than formal relations because formal ways can not provide effective and fast solutions for them. In this sense, people, civil society organizations, associations and mukhtars of Arnavutköy use their private connections to solve their problems in Arnavutköy Municipality. This situation shows that because of the fact that people don't solve their problems from formal ways, they are preferring to choose informal ways to solve their problems. It means that people don't try to solve their legal problems through using legal ways such as petitioning. They prefer to reach politicians who are at the top level of local politics of Arnavutköy. Thus, citizens prefer to use informal ways to solve their problems in Arnavutköy. Because of this reason, clientelism has been rising within society of Arnavutköy.

On the other hand, there are some important criteria for features of candidates in local elections. In this sense, fellow countrymen associations are important figures in local politics of Arnavutköy Municipality. Political parties are trying to presenting their candidates in accordance with population sizes of fellow countrymen associations. In this sense, political parties are constituting political relations with local associations in local elections. Other important criteria are

related to professions, age and gender of candidates. Justice and Development Party prefer to constitute their candidate lists in terms of nomination conditions of the party. These nomination conditions are professions, genders and ages. In this sense, Arnavutköy district organization of Justice and Development Party is trying to choose candidates who are advocates, financial consultant, doctor so on. However, the district organization doesn't care too much about age condition of candidates because average age of municipal group of Justice and Development Party is over 40 years old. On the other hand, women issue is an another problematic issue for Justice and Development Party because there were four women in municipal group of Justice and Development Party. In this sense, we can claim that Arnavutköy district organization of Justice and Development Party is not determining candidates in accordance with age and gender equalities. In this context, all of these determinants create misrepresentation and misparticipation of youths, women, and middle-low and working classes.

Furthermore, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality doesn't inform to Arnavutköy Municipality about projects. Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality which is stating central authority doesn't consult to Arnavutköy Municipality about local projects and policies. Furthermore, mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality only can communicate with Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. However, this situation shows that there is a relation among top local government officials. Because of this reason, this situation causes centralization in local politics of Arnavutköy Municipality.

Furthermore, other important local actors are civil society organizations, local associations, opposition political parties and mukhtars in Arnavutköy. In this sense, Arnavutköy Municipality helps partly civil society organizations, local associations and mukhtars. For instance, Arnavutköy Municipality provides association building for some local association. Furthermore, Arnavutköy Municipality provides some public services for organizations of civil society organizations and local associations. However, these actors of local politics can not express an opinion

about political issues of Arnavutköy Municipality. It means that these actors can not represent their opinions in decision making process of Arnavutköy Municipality. In other words, municipal council and commission don't consult to these local political actors about policies of Arnavutköy Municipality. On the other hand, district organizations of opposition political parties don't receive help from Arnavutköy Municipality. At the same time, opposition political parties can not express their political opinions about local politics of Arnavutköy Municipality. Furthermore, municipal council and commissions of Arnavutköy Municipality doesn't consult to district organizations of these political parties. Thus, these political parties can not participate themselves in local politics of Arnavutköy. Furthermore, opinions of supporters of these political parties aren't represented on decisions of Arnavutköy Municipality.

On the other hand, central authorities of Arnavutköy Municipality and central government of Turkey created economic tutelage in district municipalities because municipal council of Arnavutköy Municipality which doesn't have its own budget can not reach economic freedom. On the other hand, big projects of districts are made by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. Furthermore, taxes of these big highways etc are collected by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. Thus, Arnavutköy Municipality can not produce budget from these public sources. In this context, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality constitutes economic hegemony over Arnavutköy Municipality. Municipal council and commissions depend on decisions of mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality.

Another important political actor of Arnavutköy is district organization of Justice and Development Party. Arnavutköy district organization of Justice and Development Party is continuing tradition of Welfare Party in local politics. It means that Welfare Party has taken care too much women in the field for elections. Women who were participating themselves politically within local organizations of Welfare Party worked actively in local politics. Women of local organizations of Welfare Party were going to door to door to collect support and learn necessities of

people in local politics. On the other hand, youths of Welfare Party were actively making politics in schools and universities to reach new people. In this sense, women and youths of Arnavutköy district organization of Justice and Development Party have been working for their political party in the same direction with local political tradition of Welfare Party. Therefore, women and youths are taking important role in reaching to society of Arnavutköy.

On the other hand, the president and mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality have control over Arnavutköy district organization of Justice and Development Party. It means that evolutions of candidate in local elections depend on decision of the president and mayor candidate of Justice and Development Party. It shows that nomination process is not matching with principles of local democracy because representation and participation rights of candidates are restricted by two strong political actors which are representing both central and local authorities. On the other hand, head of Arnavutköy district organization of the AKP is an another strong political figure in local politics because every decision of the district organization depends on consent of him. Because of this reason, there is a personalization of power in district organization of Justice and Development Party. Moreover, when an unit of district organization of Justice and Development Party wants to take a decision about a new project, they need to take consent of head of district organization. This also shows that there is a hierarchical political structure within district organization. In this sense, if district organization as the smallest political organization of Justice and Development Party depend on hierarchical political understanding, local and central authorities depend on decisions of strong individuals. Because of these reasons, local politics of Arnavutköy is based on decisions of several strong politicians. On the contrary, local governments and local political actors should work independently from interventions of central governments and several strong politicians. However, we can not argue this situation for the case of Arnavutköy district.

Furthermore, city councils which were established for democratic reasons are not working efficiently in Arnavutköy. It means that demands and problems of city councils are not taken care by Arnavutköy Municipality. On the other hand, city councils don't affect local politics of Arnavutköy Municipality. In other words, municipal council and commissions of Arnavutköy Municipality don't work together with city council. On the other hand, head of city council and deputy mayor is same person. That means that Arnavutköy Municipality is trying to control studies of city council to block establishment of opposite political movement within city council of Arnavutköy Municipality. Because of these reasons, city council of Arnavutköy Municipality doesn't provide principles of local democracy in local politics of Arnavutköy.

Furthermore, commissions of Arnavutköy Municipality has been working in accordance with development of construction sector in Turkey. It means that working commissions are totally related to construction sector such as zoning commission. Because of this reason, we can argue that commission are working like a part of construction sector.

To sum up, local politics is important political issue for Arnavutköy district. Justice and Development Party knows that success in local politics brings success in central government. Because of this reason, Justice and Development Party invest politically and economically to local politics. However, dynamics of local politics of Arnavutköy depend on central authorities. In other words, central authorities are controlling local politics to provide efficiency. Central government of Turkey is interfering local politics of Arnavutköy. On the other hand, Arnavutköy Municipality has no independent budget from Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. Because of this reason, new metropolitan municipality model established centralist political manner and economic tutelage over district municipalities. This field research verified this situation.

CHAPTER 5

5. CONCLUSION

First of all, the main aim of this thesis and field research are criticism of dynamics of local politics in Turkey within the context of local democracy with the help of demonstration of local political developments of Arnavutköy. The main research question of this thesis is that “How do political relations among local political actors cause local democratic problems within the context of changing local political developments?” In this sense, local democracy which is a part of local politics is discussed to demonstrate situation of dynamics of local politics in Turkey in this research.

In this sense, this thesis tried to explain development of local politics in the world and Turkey and relationship between local politics and democracy. Furthermore, the thesis examined how local politics became an important factor in the world politics and Turkish politics. In this sense, success of Justice and Development Party in local politics was analyzed to criticize findings of the field research.

In this context, local politics became an important actor in politics in the world after industrial revolution and development of capitalism. Capitalist development caused investments at local level in cities. It means that infrastructural and superstructural investments were made in local fields of cities by capitalist states. In this context, local politics means delivery and providing of public services at local level. On the other hand, citizens of capitalist states wanted to express their opinions about policies of local politics. It means that democratic requested raised in these states. Thus, capitalist states needed to establish democratic local authorities which provide opportunity for citizens to express themselves. These local authorities are developed in accordance with principles of democracy/local democracy. Due to these developments, local politics and local democracy became important factors

in politics of the world. On the other hand, political parties realized that local politics could bring power in central government.

In this sense, development of local politics is important to understand current situation of Turkish local politics in Turkey. Basis of local politics was established in Ottoman Period. However, modern local democracy developed in Republic of Turkey. In this context, local politics has started to increase its power after the 1980s neoliberal transformation of Turkey because government of Turgut Özal opened Turkish economy to international economic system. Thus, Turkey has entered to new economic period which aimed to construction sector and infrastructural transformation of cities. Because of this new investment period, local governments took important role to control and supervise these infrastructural investments. Furthermore, political importance of local politics is realized by Islamist political movement in the 1990s. It means that Islamist political movement understood that local politics could provide success in general elections. They firstly wanted to increase their political support at local level. Thus, especially women of Islamist political movement were the most important figure in local elections. These women were going from door to door to reach citizens before local elections. These women were learning demands and problems of citizens. For instance, Jenny argues that volunteers of Welfare Party provided housing, jobs, paying for wedding and circumcision ceremony for society of districts of Istanbul such as Ümraniye. Thus, Islamist political movement could develop policies for these citizens. Women and efforts of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan were effective to win elections for Welfare Party. In this context, Justice and Development Party which were established by separatist movement of Virtue Party corresponded to local politics tradition of Islamist political movement. Besides, founders of Justice and Development Party like Recep Tayyip Erdoğan were very successful in management of local governments in the 1990s. Thus, Justice and Development Party has been protecting its political power in local and central governments for 17 years.

However, Turkish central governments have thought that local politics was a tool to reach to authority of central government. In this sense, Turkish governments have been providing public services and social aids at local level because if public services and social aids are provided, people vote for political party which provides these public services. However, local politics is the smallest institution of states which can create democratic communication between citizens and local governments because people can make politics easily in their neighborhoods. Because of this reason, local governments are needed to regulated in accordance with principles of local democracy. Thanks to European Union accession process, this democratic transformation of local governments was stated between 2004 and 2005. However, new metropolitan municipality model which was entered into force in 2012 restricted power of metropolitan and district municipalities. Mayor of municipalities and central government became the most important figures of local politics after 2012. In this context, discussions which are related to development of local politics of Turkey raised within this kind of context.

Other researches focus on functioning of metropolitan municipalities and some specific areas of Turkey to understand local politics. On the other hand, researches which are searching metropolitan municipalities interview with members of municipalities. However, this thesis focuses on all actors of local politics in Arnavutköy. Thus, field research of this thesis reached expanded consequences about dynamics of local politics. Furthermore, this thesis brought into open relations of local actors with Arnavutköy Municipality. Furthermore, this thesis clarified relationship between Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and Arnavutköy Municipality. In addition to this, functions of municipal council in decision making process is another important consequence of this thesis. Furthermore, this thesis tries to reach informations about relations between Arnavutköy Municipality and local actors such as civil society organizations, local associations, district organizations of political parties and mukhtars. Moreover, effect of city council of Arnavutköy Municipality is an another important research interest of this thesis.

Furthermore, this research clarifies realities of nomination process of Justice and Development Party in local elections. On the other hand, importance of fellow-townsmanship associations in local elections is presented through field research. Moreover, this research expresses effects of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and central government of Turkey in local politics of Arnavutköy. In short, this thesis differentiate from other researches in terms of expanded field research. This research contributed enlarge opinion about dynamics of local politics of Turkey.

Consequences of field research are in accordance with theoretical discussions of local political developments of Turkey. For instance, mayors of municipalities became more powerful over municipal councils. However, this theoretical information can not give knowledge about local relations and movements of mayors which constitute this hegemony over municipal council. In this sense, this thesis clarified how central government and mayors of municipalities establish hegemony in practice within theoretical perspective through benefiting from field research. On the other hand, as local politics literature mentions that bureaucratic issues are working in accordance with consent of mayors. Because of this reason, members of municipal council may not be effective in local political developments which occur within municipalities. In addition to this situation, agendas of municipal councils generally are prepared by directorates and head of departments. At the end of this process, mayors of municipalities offer to meetings to municipal councils. In this sense, municipal council and members of municipal council are not effective in the process of constitution of agenda of municipal council. There is a hegemony of directorates and mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality over determination of agendas. In this sense, statement of Arıkboğa seems compatible with the case of Arnavutköy. On the other hand, internal functioning of Arnavutköy Municipality depends on coordination and consent of mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality like general situation of Turkish local politics. Members of municipal council of Arnavutköy are working as confirmation body of the municipality because agendas of municipal council are decided by directorates and mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality. Actually, directorates depend on mayor of Arnavutköy. Because of

this reason, mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality established authority over municipal council which doesn't have independent budget and council directorate. On the other hand, commissions of Arnavutköy Municipality are expressing their opinions about agendas of municipal council of the municipality. In this sense, these municipal commissions are working as expressive body of Arnavutköy Municipality. Furthermore, commissions of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality are not taking too much role in decision making process. These commissions are expressing their opinions about local policies. Therefore, we can argue that Arnavutköy Municipality as a district municipality of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality is functioning as metropolitan municipality in terms of functioning of commissions. Furthermore, mayor of Arnavutköy Municipality can determine his workmates before candidate interviews in local elections. In this sense, members of municipal council of Bursa Metropolitan Municipality are selected by mayor of municipality or party organizations. Furthermore, nomination process of candidates occurs in the case of Adana in similar way with Bursa and Arnavutköy. Therefore, we can argue that mayors of municipalities are representing significant roles in local politics even in establishment of metropolitan municipality. Because of this reason, interviews which are realized with candidates are not fair for other candidates who are not determined by mayor candidate.

Furthermore, this thesis clarified hegemony of central government over Arnavutköy Municipality and district organization of Justice and Development Party. In this sense, party leader/the president is an important figure which establishes this centralist hegemony over local authorities of Arnavutköy because part leader of the AKP can intervene nomination process of candidates in local elections.

There is a hegemony of mayors over local politics in Turkey. In this sense, as this field research brought into open that there is authority of the president of Turkey. In this sense, political power of local politics depends on several individuals. Thus, personalization of power occurs in local politics of Turkey. In this context, local democracy problem of Turkey can not be solved within this contextual atmosphere.

Furthermore, there is a hegemony of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality over Arnavutköy Municipality. In this sense, sources which examine effect of new metropolitan municipality model and dynamics of local politics in Turkey claim there is a hegemony of central government over municipalities. However, this thesis shows that there is also centralist local politics between metropolitan municipalities and district municipalities. In other words, district municipalities depend on budgets and political authorities of metropolitan municipalities. Therefore, centralism and tutelage of municipalities are not related to only central government.

Another consequence of this thesis is about functions of civil society organizations, local associations, opponent political parties and mukhtars in local politics of Arnavutköy. These local actors don't participate and represent themselves in decision making process of Arnavutköy Municipality. In other words, municipal council and commissions don't include opinions of these local actors in decision making process. For instance, mukhtars sometimes need to help of the president of Turkey to deal with problems of their neighborhoods because requests of mukhtars are received for consideration faster thanks to mukhtars meetings. Furthermore, lack of participation and representation of these local actors causes lack of participation and representation of opinions citizens which are represented by these local actors. In this sense, main principles of local democracy can not be provided in dynamics of local politics of Arnavutköy. Furthermore, other researches which study in local politics don't focus on relationship between these local actors and municipalities. This relationship is significant to understand functioning of local politics because local politics is not only based on state institutions and relations of these institutions. Therefore, this thesis contributed to literature what kind of relationship does Arnavutköy Municipality have with civil society organizations, local associations, district organizations of opponent political parties and mukhtars.

Furthermore, patronage and clientelism mean that politicians, local authorities and central governments provide social, economic and political privileges for people

who support these political actors for their votes. In this sense, this relation is bilateral relationship between political authorities and citizens. Therefore, people can get help to solve their legal problems from political actors. In this regard, society of Arnavutköy district firstly tries to reach to members of municipal council or other politicians to solve their problems such as zoning problem. Because of this reason, relations which are based on patronage and clientelism occurred between members of municipal council and society of Arnavutköy.

Furthermore, city councils which are democratic institutions of local governments depend on authority of local government. It means that city council of Arnavutköy Municipality are under control of deputy mayor which represents authority of Arnavutköy Municipality. On the other hand, city council of Arnavutköy Municipality doesn't represent itself in decision making process of municipal council. Furthermore, demands and problems which are expressed to solve by city council of Arnavutköy aren't evaluated by municipal council of Arnavutköy Municipality. Moreover, for instance, city council of Bursa Metropolitan Municipality are getting opinions of citizens. However, these opinions are not transmitted to agendas of municipal council. In this sense, city council of Arnavutköy Municipality are getting opinions of citizens about their problems and necessities. In the same way, these opinions are not evaluated in municipal council of Arnavutköy Municipality. In this sense, city council of Arnavutköy Municipality is not working effectively and isn't taken seriously by Arnavutköy Municipality.

Furthermore, kinship and fellow-townsmanship which contain mutual norms and culture is important to organize Islamist movement for Islamist politics. People who are coming from same town to metropolises settle same slums to survive in big cities. This solidarity affects their political, economic and social preferences at the same way. Because of this situation, local political actors are interested in these kind of social groups. In this sense, fellow-townsmanship is also a significant factor in local politics of Arnavutköy district because as this field research shows that people who are from Erzurum are effective in local politics of Arnavutköy. Political

parties determine candidates in accordance with population sizes of cities. On the other hand, fellow countrymen associations are actively working to collect political support in local elections in Arnavutköy.

Furthermore, in accordance with principles of local democracy, dynamics of local politics of Arnavutköy district are staying out of democratic principles. These local democratic principles are participation of citizens to political process of local politics, participation to decision making process and maintenance of decision making process, existence of democracy perception among citizens, control of citizens over local institutions, plurality, having authority and financial-technical sources and accountability principle. In this sense, representation and participation of civil society organizations, local associations, mukhtars, opposition parties and citizens are restricted by central government and local government. For instance, as mentioned above city council, municipal council and commissions cannot become effective in decision making process of Arnavutköy Municipality. On the other hand, municipal council and commissions have never get opinions of civil society organizations, opposition parties and local associations about local policies of Arnavutköy. Arnavutköy Municipality just provide social opportunities for simple organizations of these NGOs. On the contrary, members of municipal council think that Arnavutköy Municipality and municipal council of the municipality must not learn opinions of representatives of opposition political parties about local issues because they argue that citizens of Arnavutköy didn't authorize these opposition political parties.

After 23 June local elections, Republican People's Party in coalition with Good Party (the İY) and informal support of Kurds took power in Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. Thus, Justice and Development Party lost its 16 years government in Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. In this sense, last developments can change atmosphere of local politics of Istanbul because district municipalities which are controlled by the AKP depend on government of Republican People's Party. Because of this reason, further studies may study on this new relationship between

Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and district municipalities which are controlled by the AKP because this new relationship can depend on political struggles. Furthermore, central government of Turkey which is governed by the AKP may intervene projects of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. In addition to this situation, district municipalities which are controlled by the AKP may not benefit too much compared to past because Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality may reduce municipal aids and delay projects which are done in district municipalities of the AKP. This new relationship will be interesting to study for future studies. Moreover, as we know that Republican People's Party won important municipalities in the eyes of the AKP. These municipalities which are started to govern by the CHP can be analyzed in terms of local democracy. It means that further studies may focus on what kinds of democratic differences will be occurred compared to the past in these municipalities.

In short, this thesis clarified that local politics of Turkey still depends on central authorities of local governments and central government. Thus, centralism and economic tutelage dominate dynamics of local politics in Turkey. In this sense, Justice and Development Party has been continuing this tradition of local politics for 17 years. Because of the fact that local actors and institutions of municipalities don't work independently, local politics of Turkey doesn't provide necessities of principles of local democracy.

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APPENDIX

	1989	1994	1999	2004	2009	2014	2019	23 June 2019
Welfare Party(1983-1998 / Virtue Party(1997-2001 / Felicity Party(2001-)	%24,7	%26	%18,2	1942 Vote	%12,8	-	-	-
Demoratic Left Party	%23,1	%13,6	%24,6	-	-	-	-	-
Social Democratic Populist Party	%21,9	-	-	1152 Vote	-	-	-	-
True Path Party	-	%17,4	-	-	-	-	-	-
Motherland Party	%8,9	%15,9	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nationalist Movement Party	-	%10,9	%12	1164 Vote	%15,2	%22,2	-	-
Young Party	-	-	-	3047 Vote	-	-	-	-
Republican People's Party	-	-	-	1378 Vote	%7,4	%8,4	-	%38,78

	1989	1994	1999	2004	2009	2014	2019	23 June 2019
People's Democracy Party(1994-2003) / Democratic Society Party(2005-2009) / Peoples's Democracy Party(2013-)	-	-	%9,2	-	%11,8	%11,6	%13,75	-
Justice and Development Party	-	-	-	6772 Vote	%41,6	%51,7	%57,73	%60,22
Good Party	-	-	-	-	-	-	%19,17	-

Table 1: Voting Rates of Political Parties in Arnavutköy, Source: TÜİK&NTV

Name	Gender	Age	Position	Job	Income Level	Level of Education	Birth Place	Political Party
Ahmet	Man	51	Head of an Association	Fireman	High-Middle Class	High School Graduate	Thrace	-
Salih	Man	59	Head of an Association	Chemist	Middle Class	University Drop Out	Kriklareli/Balkan-Origin	-
Fatma	Woman	41	Member of Municipal Council and Commission, Head of Woman's Branch of District Organization of Justice and Development Party	Housewife	Middle Class	High School Graduate	Bitlis	Justice and Development Party
Fikri	Man	40	Member of Municipal Council and Commission, Head of a Civil Society Organization	International Trade	Middle Class	Master Degree	Kastamonu	Justice and Development Party

Kemal	Man	36	Member of Municipal Council and Commission	Tax Professional	Middle Class	Bachelor Degree	Trabzon	Justice and Development Party
Fatih	Man	38	Member of Municipal Council and Commission, Head of a Local Association, Member of Parliament of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality	Advocate	Middle Class	Bachelor Degree	Erzurum	Justice and Development Party
Kadir	Man	47	Member of Municipal Council and Commission	Real Estate Agent	Middle Class	High School Graduate	Amasya	Nationalist Movement Party
Kamil	Man	59	Deputy Mayor, Member of Municipal Council and Commission, Head of City Council	Doctor	Not Stated	Bachelor Degree	Mersin	Justice and Development Party

Ümit	Man	55	Head of District Organization of Felicity Party	Administrator	Middle Class	High School Graduate	Yugoslav	Felicity Party
Önder	Man	30	Coordinator of Employment Centre, Head of Youth's Council	Civil Servant	Middle Class	Bachelor Degree	Erzurum	
Hilal	Woman	28	Head Women Council	Public Administration	Middle Class	Master Degree	Isparta	
Ferit	Man	-	Officer in Public Relations Department of Arnavutköy Municipality	Journalism	Middle Class	Bachelor Degree	-	
Yasin	Man	32	Member of Administration of District Organization of Justice and Development Party	Foreign Trade	Middle Class	Association Degree	Erzurum	Justice and Development Party
Mercan	Man	48	Mukhtar	Textile	Middle Class	-	Malatya	

İhsan	Man	58	Mukhtar	Retired	Middle Class	-	Balkan- Origin	
Bilge/Son İhsan	Man	-	Working in Mukhtar	-	Middle Class	-	Balkan- Origin	
Ozan/Brot her of İhsan	Man	-	Working in Mukhtar	Retired	Middle Class	-	Balkan- Origin	
Rıza	Man	55	Head of a Religious Associatio n	Retired	Middle Class	Seconda ry School	Kars	
Fırat	Man	57	Religious Official	Retired	Middle Class	Primary School	Erzurum	

Table 3: Profiles of Participants in Field Research

**ETİK KURUL DEĞERLENDİRME SONUCU/RESULT OF EVALUATION BY
THE ETHICS COMMITTEE**

(Bu bölüm İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurul tarafından
doldurulacaktır /This section to be completed by the Committee on Ethics in research
on Humans)

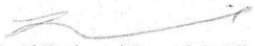
Başvuru Sahibi / Applicant: Eren Okumuş

Proje Başlığı / Project Title: Türkiye’de Yerel Siyasetin Dinamikleri ve AK Parti’nin
Seçim Başarısı: Arnavutköy Örneği

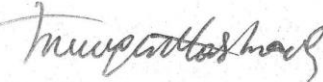
Proje No. / Project Number: 2019-20019-62

1.	Herhangi bir değişikliğe gerek yoktur / There is no need for revision	XX
2.	Ret/ Application Rejected Reddin gerekçesi / Reason for Rejection	

Değerlendirme Tarihi / Date of Evaluation: 9 Nisan 2019


Kurul Başkanı / Committee Chair

Doç. Dr. Itr Erhart




Üye / Committee Member

Prof. Dr. Turgut Tarhanlı



Üye / Committee Member

Prof. Dr. Koray Akay



Üye / Committee Member

Prof. Dr. Aslı Tunç



Üye / Committee Member

Prof. Dr. Hale Bolak Boratav