University of Southampton Research Repository

University of Southampton

Faculty of Social Science

School of Economic, Social, and Political Sciences

Department of Politics and International Relations

Citizen Participation in Turkish Local Governments:

Motives of Political Elites to Involve Citizens in Administrative Processes

by

Osman Karacan

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

September 2020

University of Southampton

<u>Abstract</u>

Faculty of Social Sciences

School of Economic, Social, and Political Sciences

<u>Politics and International Relations</u>

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Citizen Participation in Turkish Local Governments:

Motives of Political Elites to Involve Citizens in Administrative Processes

Osman Karacan

In Turkey, citizen participation is a fairly new concept. After being recognised as a European Union (EU) candidate in December 1999, Turkey began to pursue an unprecedented reform process challenging the existing centralised and bureaucratic state tradition. Almost all laws concerning local governments were amended in the early 2000s, and citizen participation mechanisms were widely introduced during this period. However, empirical studies show that these mechanisms were poorly implemented in local governments. One of the main reason behind this failure was identified as Turkish local public officials' reluctance to involve citizens in administrative processes. Considering that, in Turkey, citizen participation projects are initiated by public officials rather than citizens and Turkish public officials are often reluctant to involve citizens in administrative processes, it is essential to understand Turkish public officials' motives for citizen participation. Therefore, this thesis seeks to answer the following main research question: "What motivates Turkish local political elites to involve citizens in administrative processes?"

A person researching politicians should be careful that there may be a considerable gap between discourse and practice because politicians may exaggerate their accomplishments. Thus, this thesis has the following two sub-questions: 1) To what extent can we identify a

gap between stated intentions and actions of Turkish local political elites on citizen participation? 2) To what extent is there a gap between rhetoric and reality of citizen participation in Turkish local governments?

To explore the citizen participation motives of Turkish local political elites, I used a case study approach and assessed six citizen participation practices carried out by district municipalities in four metropolitan provinces (Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir and Bursa) located in Western Turkey. These practices included three typical and three atypical examples of participation, and I conducted a total of 40 semi-structured elite interviews in order to explore their motives on citizen participation as well as desk review.

The findings demonstrated that the typical examples of citizen participation were top-down and concerned mainly with improving service delivery, achieving little change. Typical participation mechanisms mostly became virtually non-functional after a short period. Although the administrators argued that the reason for this was citizens' indifference towards participation mechanisms, the findings showed that the administrators did not support participation mechanisms adequately. The most important reasons for the use of citizen participation by the local political elites were public relations, legitimising the decisions that have already been made, and therefore enhancing their prospects for re-election. In typical examples, citizen participation often remained a window-dressing ritual, and local political elites continued to have substantial control over public policies and administrative decisions. The findings showed that there was a significant gap between local political elites' stated intentions and actions on citizen participation, and between rhetoric and reality of participation in the local governments.

On the contrary, the atypical examples of local governments wanted to become a role model for other local governments by abolishing top-down management dominating the Turkish administration system, educating citizens and reducing their levels of distrust in representatives and representative institutions. Accordingly, these local governments created important opportunities to involve citizens in administrative processes, made considerable efforts to ensure continuous citizen participation and allowed citizens to influence the decisions that concern their lives. In short, the local political elites strived to shape local policies and priorities through citizen participation. Their efforts did achieve some changes.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

Osman Karacan

Citizen Participation in Turkish Local Governments: Motives of Political Elites to Involve Citizens in Administrative Processes

I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. None of this work has been published before submission.

Signature: Date: 22.09.2020

x

Acknowledgements

It gives me great pleasure to express my sincerest gratitude to the people who have supported and helped me throughout my PhD journey. First and foremost, I would like to express my gratitude and appreciation to my primary supervisor Associate Professor Matthew Ryan. Without his support, encouragement, guidance and patience, this thesis would never have been completed. I also owe great thanks to my co-supervisors Associate Professor John Boswell and Associate Professor Ingi Iusmen for their valuable comments and guidance. I also wish to thank Associate Professor Alexandra Kelso, who supervised me in the first year of my PhD study as my primary supervisor, for her help and guidance.

I would like to acknowledge Professor Jack Corbett for his valuable feedback as a member of my upgrade panel and the assessor of the third-year annual progress report. I would also like to acknowledge Associate Professor Adriana Bunea for her helpful feedback as another member of my upgrade panel.

I would also thank my internal viva voce examiner Professor Rod Rhodes for his time to read the thesis, his suggestions and constructive comments. I am also thankful to my external examiner Professor Liz Richardson from the University of Manchester for her time, suggestions and constructive criticisms.

I should also express my gratitude to all the participants of this research. This thesis would not have been possible without the people I interviewed during my fieldwork in Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir and Bursa. I am also grateful to all my friends who contributed to my thesis with their valuable ideas. I wish to extend my thanks to the University of Southampton staff and members for their ongoing academic and technical support throughout my PhD study.

In addition, I would like to thank the Ministry of National Education of the Republic of Turkey for funding both my masters and PhD studies in the United Kingdom. I am deeply grateful for all their support during my studies.

Last but not least, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my family for all their support and encouragement. I am very grateful to my parents who have raised and supported me. In particular, I am deeply grateful to my late mother whose spirit was always with me.

Abbreviations

EU: European Union

GNAT: Grand National Assembly of Turkey

JDP: Justice and Development Party

MP: Member of Parliament

NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation

NMP: Nationalist Movement Party

OECD: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

OSCE: Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe

RPP: Republican People's Party

SPA: Special Provincial Administration

SWOT: Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats

HDA: Housing Development Administration of Turkey

TI: Transparency International

TurkStat: Turkish Statistical Institute

UK: United Kingdom

UN: United Nations

UNDP: United Nations Development Programme

US: United States

CHAPTER 1: Introduction

Representative democracy is the most common form of government in the world. In a representative system, people elect their representatives to make decisions on their behalf. According to its proponents, representative democracy serves as the most efficient system of democracy, particularly in countries with large populations. However, emerging challenges caused by the practice of representative democracy (e.g., decreasing voter turnout in elections, the decline of public trust in representatives and representative institutions) have fostered debates around the legitimacy of the representative system and raised demands for additional forms of citizen participation in administrative processes.

Since the 1960s, several theories (e.g., participatory and deliberative democracy theories) and numerous citizen participation mechanisms (e.g., citizens' assemblies, citizens' juries, citizens' panels, consensus conferences, planning cells, opinion polls) have been created to institutionalise citizen participation with a view to mitigate the problems caused by the practice of representative democracy. Many countries have adopted these mechanisms at both national and local levels. However, empirical studies (e.g., Marissing, 2005; Michels, 2006; Yang and Callahan, 2007; Amirkhanyan and Lambright, 2018) demonstrate that many public officials still exert substantial control over policies and administrative decisions rendering citizen input minimal. According to existing literature, many appointed and elected public officials remain reluctant to share their decision-making power with citizens. Indeed, many public officials do not allow citizens to participate in administrative processes, and even if they do, they involve citizens after the decisions have been made. Moreover, although many public officials often initiate participation processes, they do not adequately support these processes when they are in progress. Further, how the input of the citizens is considered during the decision-making remains unclear. Therefore, citizens have a very limited influence on the decisions that affect their lives (Marissing, 2005; Yang and Callahan, 2007; Michels and Graaf, 2010; Amirkhanyan and Lambright, 2018).

Public officials are reluctant to involve citizens in administrative processes due to several reasons. Firstly, and most importantly, public officials view citizen participation as a threat to their primacy. Participatory decision-making restricts their manoeuvrability to reject or amend policy proposals, and therefore public officials view citizen participation as a threat to their positions as the final and sole decision-makers (Moynihan, 2003; Edelenbos and

Klijn, 2005; Michels, 2006; Haikio, 2007; Svensson, 2007; Gaynor, 2009; Hartz-Karp and Briand, 2009). Second, many public officials believe today's problems are too complicated for the lay ordinary citizens to comprehend since these citizens have less technical expertise than professional administrators (Dryzek and Torgerson, 1993; Rowe and Frewer, 2000; LeRoux, 2009; Halachmi and Holzer, 2010; Berner, Amos and Morse, 2011). Third, participation practices can raise high and unrealistic public expectations (Lowndes, Pratchett and Stoker, 2001; Mutz, 2006), and it can be time-consuming leading to delays in the decision-making process (Dryzek, 2000; Lowndes, Pratchett, and Stoker, 2001; Irvin and Stansbury, 2004). Further, citizen participation is more expensive than traditional decision-making by a single administrator (Moynihan, 2003; Irvin and Stansbury, 2004; Wouters, Hardie-Boys and Wilson, 2011). Finally, public officials view citizens as either uninterested or as pursuing their self-interest rather than the public interest (Papadopoulos, 2003; Yang and Callahan, 2007; Berner, Amos and Morse, 2011).

In Turkey, efforts to institutionalise citizen participation began with the establishment of citizens' assemblies in several cities in the late 1990s with the Local Agenda 21 project, which was developed under the auspices of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Although earlier efforts were made in the late 1970s to establish neighbourhood committees to carry out municipal activities with citizens, these efforts were not long-lived due to existing political turmoil and military interventions. With the recognition of Turkey's status as a European Union (EU) candidate in December 1999, Turkey began to pursue an unprecedented reform process challenging the centralised and bureaucratic state tradition. Almost all laws concerning local governments were amended in the early 2000s, and during this period, new citizen participation mechanisms were formed at the local level. However, existing evidence (e.g., Demirci, 2010; Celik and Omurgonulsen, 2017; Sahinoglu and Gorgun, 2017; Turan, Guler and Guler, 2013; Akdogan, 2018; Yavuz and Aktasci, 2018) indicates that these mechanisms were poorly implemented in local governments, and one of the main reason behind this failure was identified as Turkish local public officials' reluctance to involve citizens in administrative processes and to share their decision-making power with citizens. Therefore, in Turkey, citizens remained to have limited influence on public policies and decisions that closely affected their lives.

1.1. Research Questions

In Turkey, citizen participation in administrative processes is a fairly new concept. Citizen participation mechanisms were widely introduced through local government laws enacted in 2004 and 2005 with the demand of the EU. Considering that, in Turkey, citizen participation projects are initiated by politicians and public officials that are reluctant to share their decision-making power with citizens, it is essential to understand their motives behind allowing citizen participation. Therefore, this thesis seeks to answer the following main research question:

> ➢ What motivates Turkish local political elites to involve citizens in administrative processes?

A person researching politicians should be careful that there may be a significant gap between discourse and practice because politicians may exaggerate their accomplishments. Thus, this thesis has the following two sub-questions:

- To what extent can we identify a gap between stated intentions and actions of Turkish local political elites on citizen participation?
- To what extent is there a gap between rhetoric and reality of citizen participation in Turkish local governments?

1.2. Key Terms and Definitions Used in the Thesis

In line with the research question and sub-questions, the terms of citizen participation, elite and political elites, and motive are first defined and justified in the context of this thesis.

1.2.1. Citizen Participation

The debates about participatory democracy can be traced back to ancient Athens, but the revival of the participatory idea of democracy started in the 1960s (Escobar, 2017, pp.421–422). Accordingly, defining citizen participation has been on the agenda of many researchers, governmental agencies and non-governmental organisations. Thus, many conceptual definitions have been developed in the last decades.

In general, citizen participation is defined as involving citizens in governmental planning or decision-making processes (Glass, 1979, p.180; Rowe and Frewer, 2005, p.253). However, this definition is too broad and leaves room for variable interpretation because

3

citizens may be involved in these processes in various ways or levels (Rowe and Frewer, 2005, p.254).

In some cases, public officials allow citizens to be actively involved in planning, sharing the decision-making power with citizens, so that citizens may have a genuine influence on the processes that affect them. However, various empirical studies (e.g., Moynihan, 2003; Marissing, 2005; Yang and Callahan, 2007; Gaynor, 2009; Michels and Graaf, 2010; Amirkhanyan and Lambright, 2018) show that many appointed and elected public officials worldwide are reluctant to allow citizens to participate in planning or in decision-making processes. In other cases, public officials may allow citizens to be involved in planning through the form of participation in which citizens may have little opportunity to influence the decisions that affect their lives. In other cases, citizens may participate as the passive recipients of information from the relevant governing bodies. Due to the fact that citizen participation can take place at different levels, Sherry R. Arnstein (1969) links participation explicitly to power, and defines citizen participation as

> "a categorical term for citizen power. It is the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future. It is the strategy by which the have-nots join in determining how information is shared, goals and policies are set, tax resources are allocated, programmes are operated, and benefits like contracts and patronage are parcelled out" (p.216).

Arnstein's definition was adopted in this thesis. This is because the aim is to capture the motives of Turkish local political elites towards citizen participation in administrative processes through six different participation practices, and in each practice, citizens may influence decisions at different levels. In other words, local political elites may share their decision-making power with citizens at different levels with different motives. This thesis also explores the gap between stated intentions and actions of Turkish local political elites on citizen participation, and therefore, the gap between rhetoric and reality of citizen participation in Turkish local governments. This is because public officials may argue that they provide every opportunity for people from any background to be involved in planning and decision-making and that they shape plans and projects based on the demands, expectations and suggestions of citizens. In reality, however, public officials may take

decisions only with certain groups, e.g. citizens who share similar political opinions. More significantly, public officials may use participation for different purposes (e.g., to provide public relations, legitimate decisions that have already been made, build support for programme implementation), and thus participation may remain merely a window-dressing ritual. That is, reality may not match the rhetoric. Despite much debate, public officials may not transfer enough power to people to influence the decisions that directly affect their lives. In short, considering the aims of this thesis, Arnstein's citizen participation definition is appropriate to capture real motives of Turkish local political elites towards citizen participation, to explore the extent of the gap between rhetoric and reality of participation in Turkish local governments.

1.2.2. The Elite and Political Elites

The term "elite" has been used throughout centuries in different ways, and diverse cultural and intellectual environments. While it was used in the 17th century to describe a standard of excellence, its usage was extended to refer to superior social groups over time (Bottomore, 1993, p.1). In contemporary studies, the elite is generally defined as individuals who hold high-ranking positions in major institutions in both the public and private sector or are recognised as outstanding leaders in a given field, e.g. in art, business, politics. Brinkmann and Kvale (2015, p.171) briefly define elites as "persons who are leaders or experts in a community, usually in powerful positions", while Turkish scholar Arslan (2004, p.4) defines the elite as "those people who occupy a position at or near the top of important institutional hierarchies, such as economic, political, judicial, civil service, military, mass media, educational, etc. They have power because of their social positions." Pierce (2008, p.119) provides some examples of elites as "ministers, MPs, senior civil servants, business leaders, union leaders etc."

The term elite was not widely used in social and political writing until late 19th century in Europe and the 1930s in the UK and the US, when it was re-introduced through the sociological theories of elites (Bottomore, 1993, p.1). Vilfredo Pareto ([1916] 1935), an Italian sociologist and Gaetano Mosca ([1896] 1939), an Italian political scientist, pioneered the contemporary debates around the term where the debates gradually shifted from aristocratic and oligarchic elements towards democratic elements.

Pareto (1935) defined elite as the small number of people who, in each branch of human activity, have arrived at a higher echelon in the professional hierarchy. Elites could be

distinguished from the rest of society ("non-elites"). Pareto also divided the elites into two classes: governing and non-governing elites. Governing elites include individuals who directly or indirectly play a central role in the government, while the remaining elites are the non-governing elite (Bottomore, 1993, p.2). In a similar vein, Mosca divided the society into the ruling and ruled class. According to (Mosca, 1939, p.50), "the first class, always the less numerous, performs all political functions, monopolises power and enjoys the advantages that power brings, whereas the second, the more numerous class, is directed and controlled by the first…" In other words, the elites comprise a relatively unified and easily organised minority who rule over the unorganised majority in the society. In short, both Pareto and Mosca described elites as groups of individuals who either directly exercised political power or were in a position to strongly influence the exercise of political power (Bottomore, 1993, p.3). Thus, the term political elite was presented by both Pareto and Mosca as a key term in social science (Bottomore, 1993, p.8), and it remains as one of the most well-known classes of the elite.

The term political elite was also defined by many other scholars. Lilleker (2003, p.207) defines elites as "those with close proximity to power or policymaking; the category would include all elected representatives, executive officers of organisations and senior state employees", while Richards (1996, p.199) states that elites are likely to have had more influence on political outcomes than general members of the society. Additionally, Arslan (2004, p.4) defines the political elites as "those who occupy the strategic positions in the governmental machinery and who can affect the daily life of society directly or indirectly by their personal decisions". All these definitions of the political elite are appropriate for this thesis. This is because the main participants of this thesis were Turkish local political elites (e.g., mayors and municipal councillors) who occupy strategic positions in local governments. Most participants of this thesis directly exercise political power, while a minority are in a position to strongly influence the exercise of political power. Since they have important roles and political and administrative powers, they can significantly influence the daily life in a local area through their personal decisions.

1.2.3. Motive

The main goal of this thesis was to explore the motives of Turkish local political elites towards citizen participation in administrative processes, and hence, the term "motive" is frequently used in this thesis. The term "motive" is often confused with "motivation"

(Lindesmith, Strauss and Denzin, 1999, p.159). Therefore, it is crucial to clarify what is meant by "motive" and explain why the term "motive" is preferred in this thesis over "motivation".

Motivation is a central issue in the field of psychology and is highly valued in the real world because of its consequences: "motivation produces" (Ryan and Deci, 2000, p.69). Reflecting its importance, it has been defined by many scholars. Scott (1977, p.75) defines motivation as "a process of stimulating people to action to accomplish desired goals", while McFarland (1974, p.537) defines it as "...the way in which urges, drives, desires, aspirations, strivings need direct, control, or explain the behaviour of human beings". Further, Berleson and Steiner (1964, p.240) define motivation as "an inner state that energies, activates, or moves, and that directs or channels behaviours towards goals".

On the other hand, "motive" represents a specific reason for performing a specific action, incentive, or particular objective. According to Bruno (1980), motive refers to "a wish or a desire to take a particular action", while according to Kast and Rosenzweig (1985, p.296), motive is a reason that prompts a person to act in a certain way or at least develop an inclination for specific behaviour. Thus, motives and motivations are distinct where motivation represents a system of behaviour formed by various motives. Moreover, motives themselves are dynamic, and a person's motives can change over time, often quite quickly (Batson, Ahmad and Tsang, 2002, p.432).

Both motive and motivation can be positive or negative. However, the term "motive" is frequently used with a negative connotation, while the term "motivation", in general, has a positive connotation. Existing literature on the views of citizens and politicians on citizen participation supports this perception. Studies investigating the views of citizens on participating in administrative processes mostly prefer to use the term motivation, while studies focusing on the views of politicians on citizen participation tend to use the term motive. Considering the findings of the literature that widely present the reluctance of politicians to allow citizens to participate in administrative processes and share their decision-making power with citizens, it is no surprise that the term motive is often associated with the political elite. Thus, the term "motive" was adopted in this thesis.

1.3. Theoretical Approach

Public officials may view citizen participation only as a public relations exercise and a formality. Public officials may use participation to legitimise the decisions they make behind closed doors and do not allow citizens to influence the decisions affecting them. Public officials may also claim that all sides were considered in the decision-making, but they may consider opinions of only a certain group such as citizens who share similar political views. Thus, participation can be an empty and frustrating process for powerless citizens. However, public officials may significantly exaggerate this process and may advertise such an empty frustrating process as an exemplary participatory democratic process. In short, there may be a massive gap between rhetoric and reality. Considering that this thesis aims to explore the motives of Turkish local political elites to involve citizens in administrative processes, it is essential to evaluate citizen participation processes for capturing their real motives. Thus, I use Arnstein's citizen participation ladder (1969) (Figure 2) to understand the extent of the gap between stated intentions and actions of Turkish local political elites to explore their real motives regarding citizen participation. Arnstein's ladder enables researchers to understand the relations between power-holders and powerless citizens, such as "How much power do power-holders transfer to citizens?", "How much power do citizens have in the process of participation?" or "Are people being manipulated, or offered some control over their lives?".

1.4. Methodological Approach

According to Yin (2003), case study approach provides a fertile ground for an in-depth investigation of a phenomenon. Accordingly, since this thesis studies the complex phenomena motivation and citizen participation, I employed a case study approach to understand the motives of Turkish local political elites for citizen participation. For this thesis, I identified six citizen participation practices carried out by district municipalities in four metropolitan provinces (Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir and Bursa) located in Western Turkey. These practices included three typical and three atypical practices, where the former represented the most common citizen participation practices in Turkey and the latter included unique examples of citizen participation practices carried out by few municipalities. In general, typical case studies remained a window-dressing ritual, while atypical case studies were more radically inclusive.

In Turkey, local governments meeting certain criteria are legally obliged to carry out some processes in a participatory manner. Such citizen participation practices were not included in this thesis, since this thesis aimed to examine the motives of local political elites who develop and encourage citizen participation processes without a legal duty.

In this thesis, the motives of Turkish local political elites were mostly derived from interviews. This is because as Harrison and Callan (2013, p.72) argue, interviews provide "an excellent opportunity to explore a political actor's beliefs, motivations and processes of decision-making". To explore the motives of Turkish local political elites, I conducted 40 semi-structured, face-to-face, elite interviews. I enriched this data using document review techniques. This is because as Richards (1996, p.204) argues that "if the political scientist can combine the information gained from elite interviews with other sources of data, such a combination produces a powerful research package".

1.5. Main Findings

The most common motive on citizen participation both in typical and atypical case studies was to better understand the needs of citizens and to deliver better services. This motive was particularly prominent in typical case studies. Many political elites I interviewed emphasised the changing and increasing needs and demands of citizens and stated that they made significant efforts to meet these needs and demands despite severe financial difficulties. In typical case studies, motives related to strengthening democracy were far behind service delivery motives. The typical examples of citizen participation were top-down and concerned mainly with improving service delivery.

A remarkable finding in typical case studies was that participation mechanisms mostly became virtually non-functional after a short period. According to the administrators, the most significant reason for this was citizens' indifference towards participation mechanisms. They argued that participation in administrative processes was not among the priorities of people especially due to prevalent high unemployment rates and high cost of living. However, I found that political elites mostly used citizen participation as a public relations exercise and did not support participatory innovations adequately. I also found that the efforts of each municipality were inadequate to inform the public about the remit and responsibilities of municipalities and participatory institutions. The municipalities had also failed to introduce their participation projects to the public adequately.

In typical cases, another important finding was that in the processes related to financial issues citizen participation was merely a window-dressing ritual to legitimize the decisions already made to enhance prospects for re-election. For all these reasons, I found that, in the typical examples of local governments, there was a huge gap between the rhetoric and reality of citizen participation.

In atypical case studies, the most prominent motive was to become a role model for other local governments in Turkey. The political elites who carried out atypical citizen participation practices especially underlined the problems caused by the top-down management approach as well as the strong mayoral system dominating the Turkish administration system. They argued that, in Turkey, projects were generally prepared without considering the opinions of citizens, and thus many of them failed to address the needs and expectations of citizens. Further, citizens usually did not develop a sense of ownership towards the projects which are established with a top-down approach, and therefore such projects failed to survive for long leading to a waste of resources. Moreover, the projects prepared with a top-down approach weakened citizens' sense of belonging to their locality. Thus, according to these political elites, there was an urgent need to abolish the top-down management approach in Turkey.

In atypical case studies, another prominent motive behind citizen participation was to educate the community. The interviewees from the atypical examples of local governments claimed that, in Turkey, there was a confusion of what true citizen participation represented. They maintained that citizen participation was misunderstood not only by citizens but also by administrators, and therefore there was a substantial need for robust participation practices which would set an example for local governments in Turkey. Further, they argued that citizens, in general, did not have adequate knowledge about institutions and mechanisms of participation and as well as duties, responsibilities, and powers of local governments. Thus, there was a need to educate the citizens in this regard.

The administrators who carried out the atypical examples of participation also argued that, in Turkey, citizens' trust in representatives and representative institutions, including local governments, was extremely low mainly due to the prevalent top-down management approach lacking in transparency and accountability. This remained a critical problem for the country, and therefore they were motivated to establish a close relationship with

citizens and involve them in administrative processes to reduce the level of distrust the citizens held towards representatives and representative institutions.

Overall, in the typical cases, the level of citizen participation was no more than tokenism, according to Arnstein's (1969) citizen participation ladder introduced in Chapter 3.2. That is, the typical cases only went part way up the ladder, resulted in little change. On the contrary, the atypical cases tried to go further, and their reforms did achieve some change.

1.6. Significance of the Thesis

To date, numerous studies have been conducted on citizen participation, and this phenomenon has been addressed from many different perspectives, both theoretically and empirically. However, very little has been published about the citizen participation motives of politicians. In particular, there is a dearth of evidence-based research directly assessing the motives of politicians towards citizen participation. Therefore, little is known about what motivates politicians to involve citizens in governmental processes.

Similarly, there exists a wide Turkish literature on citizen participation. However, despite my comprehensive literature review, I have not found a study exploring the motives of Turkish politicians or public officials on citizen participation either at the national level or the local level. Therefore, this thesis contributes to the academic literature by filling a gap in our knowledge about the motives of Turkish local political elites on citizen participation.

1.7. Outline of the Thesis

This thesis comprises eight chapters. An overview of the remaining chapters is below.

Chapter 2 introduces democracy and participation in the Turkish context in four main sections. In this thesis, the motives of local political elites on citizen participation in administrative processes are examined through typical and atypical participation projects carried out by municipalities despite the existence of different local government units in Turkey. Thus, it is essential to explain why the participation projects included in this thesis were carried out only by municipalities. In order to explain this, the first main section introduces the main local government units in Turkey, discusses the powers and responsibilities for ensuring the participation of citizens in administrative processes, and underlines the important role of municipalities to promote participation. As this thesis focuses on the motives of Turkish local political elites on citizen participation, the second section introduces these elites with a particular focus on their powers, duties and

responsibilities relevant to citizen participation. This section is essential for understanding the importance of the motives of local political elites for ensuring citizen participation and strengthening local democracy. The third section deals with representative democracy and its status in Turkey. It first discusses criticisms against and problems of representative democracy. Then, it addresses the problems caused by the practice of representative democracy in Turkey. These discussions are helpful for understanding why (should) Turkish local political elites create opportunities for ensuring citizen participation in administrative processes. This section discusses the Turkish electoral system and unique characteristics of Turkish politics as especially municipal mayors become more powerful and their views on citizen participation become more critical as a result of the electoral system. Moreover, the discussions on Turkish politics are essential in understanding the extent of the gap between rhetoric and realities of democracy in Turkey.

Chapter 3 presents the theoretical framework for the thesis and reviews Arnstein's (1969) eight-rung "ladder of citizen participation" in governmental processes ranging from non-participation to full citizen control, which is a useful tool in the context of this thesis for exploring the extent of the gap between rhetoric and reality of citizen participation in Turkish local governments, and therefore for capturing the real motives of Turkish local political elites to involve citizens in administrative processes. The chapter consists of six sections. The first section briefly describes the process that led Arnstein to develop the ladder of citizen participation. The second section describes Arnstein's ladder which consists of eight rungs group into three categories. The third section discusses the limitations of the ladder. The fourth section reviews some criticisms made of the ladder. The fifth section explains why I used Arnstein's citizen participation ladder as the theoretical framework for this thesis, regardless of the criticisms made. The final section provides a chapter summary.

The study design and methodology are outlined in Chapter 4. The chapter is divided into four main sections. The first section describes the rationale behind the choice of a qualitative case study approach and discusses the case selection process. The second section introduces the data sources and presents the methodology used in data collection and analysis. The third section discusses the ethical considerations. The final section reviews the overall challenges and limitations encountered during the research.

Chapter 5 consists of three sections and discusses the status of citizen participation in Turkish local governments in two parts. The first section presents a brief overview of the developments of citizen participation until the 2000s, while the second section examines the developments since the 2000s. This is because while political turmoil and military interventions prevented attempts to institutionalise citizen participation before the 2000s, Turkey launched a comprehensive public administration reform process after the recognition of Turkey's status as an EU candidate in December 1999, and new participation mechanisms were formed at the local level. Some other laws related to citizen participation were also enacted. Thus, the first section reviews the process that prevented the development of citizen participation in Turkey until the 2000s. Then, the second section investigates the public administration reform in the beginning of the 2000s and discusses to what extent has the aim of the establishment of a participatory management understanding been achieved with this reform. Accordingly, this section examines commonly used participatory mechanisms, and discusses the primary gaps in existing mechanisms, and to what extent there is a gap between stated intentions and actions of Turkish local political elites and between rhetoric and reality of participation in Turkish local governments.

Chapters 6 and 7 explore the rhetoric-reality gap in Turkey in terms of citizen participation through case studies and present the motives of local political elites. Typical and atypical case studies are reviewed separately in order to highlight the variation in local political elites' motives for involving citizens in administrative processes. Chapter 6 reviews typical case studies, while Chapter 7 reviews atypical case studies.

Chapter 8 concludes the thesis. In this chapter provides a general overview of the study is provided, the main findings are presented, the challenges and limitations are summarised, contributions to the literature are highlighted, and recommendations for future research are made.

CHAPTER 2: Democracy and Participation in the Turkish Context

This chapter introduces the Turkish local administration structure, introducing local political elites, and then discussing the status of representative democracy in Turkey. The chapter is organised in four main sections.

This thesis focuses on the motives of Turkish local political elites on citizen participation in administrative processes and examines their motives through typical and atypical citizen participation practices. All participation practices examined in this study were carried out only by municipalities despite the presence of different local government units in Turkey. Therefore, it is essential to describe the local administration structure of Turkey to explain why these practices were only carried out by municipalities. Accordingly, the first section introduces Turkish local government units, the powers and responsibilities for ensuring citizen participation in administrative processes, and highlights the significance of municipalities.

The second section introduces local political elites in Turkey. Since this thesis explores the motives to allow citizen participation, the introduction of Turkish local political elites is crucial for understanding the importance of their motives for citizens' participation and empowerment in planning and decision-making processes. This section introduces directly elected local politicians and highlights their roles for adopting a participatory management approach in Turkey because they have more political and administrative powers and greater responsibilities than non-elected politicians, and accordingly, their fidelity to citizen participation is more vital.

The third section deals with representative democracy and its status in Turkey. In this section, the criticisms against and problems of representative democracy are discussed, and then the problems caused by the practice of representative democracy in Turkey are addressed. These discussions are crucial in understanding why (should) Turkish local political elites create opportunities for involving citizens in administrative processes. The discussion on representative democracy in Turkey is especially useful in understanding why innovative local authorities put more effort in carrying out the practices that represent genuine citizen participation. Accordingly, these discussions are helpful in better understanding the motives of local political elites who carry out atypical participation practices examined in this thesis. The discussions in this section are also important in understanding the powers of local political elites' political and administrative for adopting

a participatory management approach in Turkey. In particular, the discussions on the Turkish electoral system and unique characteristics of Turkish politics are essential as municipal mayors become more powerful and their views on citizen participation become more vital as a result of the electoral system. Further, the discussions in this section are helpful in understanding the extent of the gap between rhetoric and realities of Turkish democracy.

Finally, the fourth section provides a chapter summary.

2.1. Turkish Local Administration Structure

In Turkey, public administration is shared between the central and local governments, as shown in Figure 1. The 1982 Constitution, which replaced the 1961 Constitution and has been amended several times, defines local governments in Article 127 as follows: "[l]ocal administrations are public corporate bodies established to meet the common local needs of the inhabitants of provinces, municipal districts and villages, whose principles of constitution and decision-making organs elected by the electorate are determined by law". According to the Constitution, there are three main types of local government units: special provincial administrations, municipalities, and villages. The decision-making bodies of these units are elected in nationwide local elections which are held every five years.

Administrative Structure

Central Administration
Central Departments
Provincial Field Organizations
Autonomous Bodies
    a. Regulatory Bodies
    b. Functionally
    Decentralized Org.
    (State Economic
    Enterprises, Professional Boards)
    c. Professional Organizations

Local Administration
Special Provincial Administrations
Municipalities
Villages
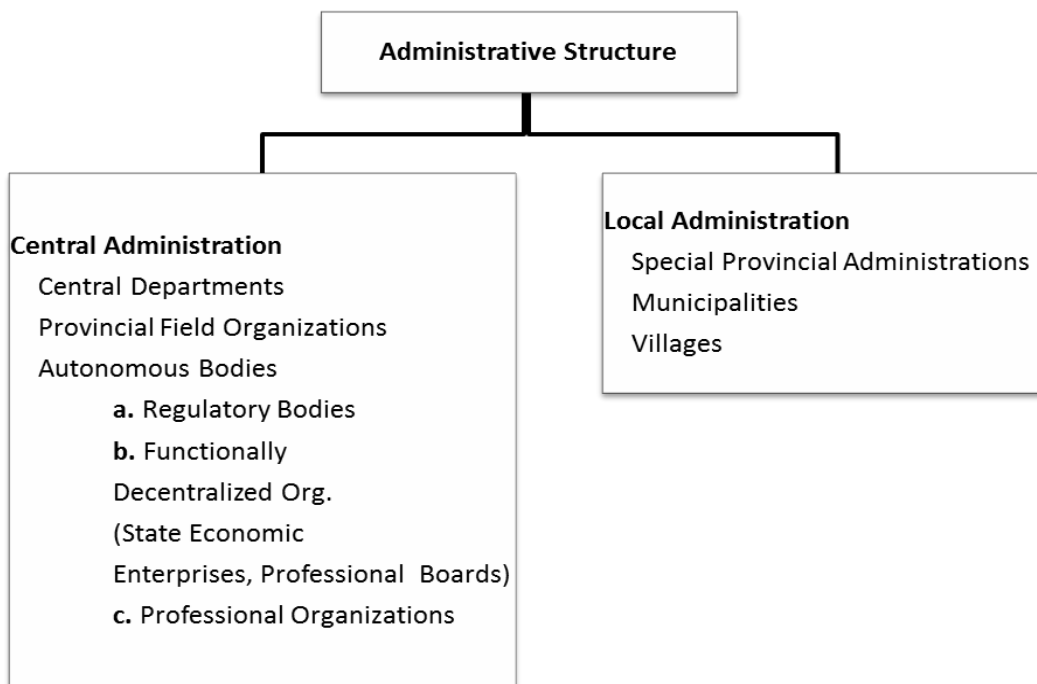
Figure 1: The Administrative Structure of Turkey (Source: Varol, 2014, p.213).

2.1.1. Special Provincial Administrations (SPAs)

In Turkey, the law regulating special provincial administrations (SPAs) dates back to 1864. The name of the Law was amended several times, and the last legislative regulation was passed under Law no 5302 (Law on Special Provincial Administration) on 22nd February 2005. In Article 3(a) of the Law, the SPA is defined as "a public entity having administrative and financial autonomy which is established to meet the common local needs of the people in the province and whose decision-making body is elected by voters".

SPAs were created to carry out certain tasks in much wider areas than the remit of municipalities. In Article 6 of the Law no 5302, duties and responsibilities of the SPAs are split into two categories as being within the provincial boundaries and outside the municipal boundaries. These are briefly as follows: *Within the provincial boundaries* include services that are related to youth and sports, health, agriculture, industry and trade, provincial environmental plan, public works and settlement, conservation of soil and prevention of erosion, culture, arts, tourism, social services and aids, day-care centres and orphanages, land supply, construction and maintenance of primary and secondary schools. *Outside the municipal boundaries* encompass services related to land development planning and control, road, water, sewer, solid waste, environment, emergency aid and rescue, supporting forestation and the establishment of parks and gardens. Although the Law on SPA includes numerous important tasks closely related to people's everyday life, the number of mechanisms that allow citizens' participation in administrative processes is too limited. More significantly, there is a common opinion that, in practice, ordinary citizens have almost no power to influence the significant decisions of the SPAs.

SPAs have three organs: general provincial council (decision-making body), provincial executive committee (decision and consulting body), and provincial governor (executive body). The general provincial council is the decision-making body of the SPA, and the councillors are directly elected by the citizens. According to Article 11 of the Law no 5032, following the announcement of the election results, the general provincial council convenes to elect the council chairperson, the first deputy chairperson, the second deputy chairperson, and four secretaries for a term of office covering the first two years, among its members. The chair committee elected after the first two years remains in office until the first nationwide local elections.

Headed by the governor, the provincial executive committee is the secondary decision-making and consulting body of the SPA. This committee comprises both elected and appointed members. According to Article 25 of the Law, this committee shall consist of the secretary-general, three members annually elected by the general provincial council among council members, and two members annually appointed among the heads of units by the governor. The governor can also invite the relevant heads of units to meetings of the executive committee for consultation without voting rights.

The executive power of the SPA is shared between the governor and the provincial executive committee. This committee implements the resolutions of the general provincial council and performs as a decision-making body on matters such as the sale and lease of property owned by the SPA as well as other technical matters.

The governor is the head of the SPA and the representative of its legal entity as well as the representative of the state in the province. The governor is a politically neutral civil servant. In Turkey's new presidential system, which was adopted following the approval of constitutional amendments in the referendum held on 16th April 2017 and implemented after 24th June 2018 presidential elections, the governors are appointed upon the proposal of the Ministry of Interior and approval of the President.

Since governors are the heads of the SPAs and the representatives of the state, it is often argued that governors tend to put more emphasis on the relationship between the central government and local governments than the local dynamics of decision-making and implementation. Subsequently, many contend that SPAs represent the interests of the state rather those of local governments whereby the governor appointments maintain the priority of the central government (Karaarslan, 2013, p.146; Ciner, 2018, p.97). SPAs, which were initially established in all 81 provinces, were abolished in 30 metropolitan provinces with Law no 6360 which was enacted in November 2012 and came into force following the 2014 March local elections.

2.1.2. Municipalities

When discussing local governments in Turkey, the municipalities are the units which immediately come to the mind. The "municipality" is defined in Article 3(a) of the Municipality Law no 5393, which was enacted in 2005, as a public entity with administrative and financial autonomy established to meet common local needs of people in a town. In contrast to SPAs, municipalities are established in densely populated

residential areas. Therefore, municipalities have more tasks and responsibilities than SPAs. Due to their significant tasks and responsibilities that closely affect the lives of wider populations, municipalities have more citizen participation mechanisms (e.g., citizens' assemblies, neighbourhood committees, participatory budgeting, strategic planning), including compulsory and non-compulsory mechanisms, than SPAs. Most of these mechanisms were created with Law no 5393.

In Turkey, municipalities are classified into five types. Table 1 below demonstrates the numbers of municipalities according to type.

Table 1: Number of Municipalities by Types in Turkey

Type of Municipality	Number
Metropolitan Municipality	30
Provincial Municipality	51
Metropolitan District Municipality	519
District Municipality	403
Town Municipality	386
Total	**1389**

Source: Republic of Turkey Ministry of Interior, 2020.

Turkish municipalities have three organs: the mayor, the municipal council, and the municipal executive committee. The mayor is the head and representative of the municipality. The mayor also chairs the municipal decision-making organs, the council and the executive committee. Mayors have been directly elected by local people since 1963, while they were elected by the municipal councils before 1963 (Azakli and Ozgur, 2005, p.299; Kapucu and Palabiyik, 2008, p.150; Kocak and Eksi, 2010, p.301).

The municipal council, which is the main decision-making organ, deliberate and approve significant issues (e.g. the budget, municipal strategic plans, annual activity reports, work and investment programmes, land development plans, debts and use of municipal properties), and the decisions of the council have to be fulfilled by the mayor and the municipal staff. However, actual deliberation rarely occurs in practice (Bayraktar, 2018, p.110).

The municipal councils consist of councillors who are elected by the local residents within the municipal jurisdiction. The council meetings are held first week of every month. These meetings are open to the public, and the agenda, place and date are announced to the public (Articles 20 and 21 of the Law no 5393). Nevertheless, public members cannot interfere with or speak at these meetings. The municipal council convenes with the simple majority of its full membership and make decisions by the simple majority of the participants (Article 22 of the Law no 5393). The decisions of the municipal councils that are not sent to the highest civil administrator of the locality, district governor or provincial governor, within seven days cannot enter into force (Article 23 of the Law no 5393).

While the citizens directly elect the mayors and the municipal councils, the municipal executive committees consist of council representatives who are elected by the councillors and members appointed by the mayor. Council representatives are annually elected by among the councillors, and executive members are annually appointed among the heads of different units (one must be the head of the fiscal services unit). The number of executive committee members varies according to the population of the district or province. In municipalities (except for metropolitan municipalities) with a population of more than 100,000, the executive committees consist of seven members including the mayor, three councillors and heads of three units within the municipality. In smaller municipalities, these committees comprise five members including the mayor, two councillors and two appointed members (Article 33 of the Law no 5393). The executive committees convene at least once a week on the agenda set by the mayor and take decisions concerning the daily and general functioning of the municipality (Articles 34 and 35 of the Law no 5393).

Municipalities have been established in the Tanzimat Period (1839–1876), the reformation period of the Ottoman state administration. The first municipality was established in 1854 in Istanbul, the capital city of the Ottoman Empire, and the number of the municipalities rapidly increased after the foundation of the Republic of Turkey (Kapucu and Palabiyik, 2008, p.144). While there were 426 municipalities in 1924 (Kavruk, 2004, p.186), their numbers reached 3225 in 2005 (Kapucu and Palabiyik, 2008, p.133). Crucially, the number of municipalities particularly increased due to the political promises made by candidates and political parties during election periods, and this increase can be explained on political grounds rather than economic reasons (Akdede and Acarturk, 2005, p.8).

As the Justice and Development Party (JDP) came into power in November 2002, closing down policy was implemented in small local governments due to their insufficient income and qualified staff as well as substantial debt which rendered them inadequate in delivering services. In December 2003, the JDP government first attempted to close municipalities serving a population of fewer than 2,000 residents with Law no 5025, which was vetoed by President Ahmet Necdet Sezer due to the upcoming local elections on 28th March 2004. This was in line with Article 67 of the 1982 Constitution which states that "amendments to the electoral laws shall not apply to the elections to be held within one year from the entry into force date of the amendments". Nevertheless, the JDP continued to work to close small municipalities. In 2005, the government enacted the Municipality Law no 5393 through which the population threshold requiring a municipality was increased from 2,000 to 5,000 (Elban, 2018, p.1594).

In 2008, the government enacted Law no 5747 to allow 240 town municipalities within the boundaries of all 16 metropolitan provinces to be downgraded into neighbourhoods (smallest administration units in an urban setting without having a legal entity) after the 2009 March local elections. Moreover, in non-metropolitan provinces, 862 town municipalities with populations of less than 2,000 were downgraded into villages leading to the closure of these municipalities. However, 843 of the 862 municipalities maintained their municipal status after the Republican People's Party (RPP) appealed to the Constitutional Court to cancel some provisions of the Law leading to the 843 municipalities appealing to the Council of State (Zengin, 2014, pp.95–101; Elban, 2018, pp.1598–1599).

Since the attempts for reducing the number of local governments were not fully realised, Law no 6360 was enacted in November 2012. Although the number of metropolitan municipalities increased from 16 to 30 with this law, town municipalities within all 30 metropolitan provinces and hundreds of municipalities with a population of under 2,000 within non-metropolitan provinces were closed down at the same time, as well as the abolishment of the SPAs in metropolitan provinces. Subsequently, the number of municipalities decreased from 2950 to 1396 with the implementation of Law no 6360 after the 2014 March local elections (Ozaslan, Akilli and Ozaslan, 2014, p.220).

2.1.2.1. Metropolitan Municipalities

In Article 3(a) of the Law on Metropolitan Municipalities no 5216, "metropolitan municipality" is defined as a public entity with administrative and financial autonomy which coordinates the functioning of the municipalities located within its boundaries, discharges its statutory duties and responsibilities, and exercises statutory powers.

In metropolitan provinces, the metropolitan municipalities provide major services, whereas micro-services are entrusted to district municipalities. The services of the metropolitan municipalities and district municipalities, therefore, are complementary, and they need to work in cooperation and coordination with each other. To avoid opposition, the metropolitan municipality council comprises district mayors and one-fifth of district municipal councillors. The number of councillors in metropolitan municipalities varies according to their population. However, the executive committees in all metropolitan municipalities consist of eleven members including the mayor, five councillors, and five appointed members including the secretary-general and the head of the fiscal services in line with Article 16 of Law no 5302.

In Turkey, the first metropolitan municipalities were established in June 1984 in the three most populous cities; namely, Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir. In 2000, the number of metropolitan municipalities increased to 16. Their number increased from 16 to 30 with the implementation of Law no 6360 after the March 2014 local elections. Moreover, the borders of all metropolitan municipalities were expanded to cover the provincial borders (Ozaslan, Akilli and Ozaslan, 2014, p.220). Overall, the changes covering the increase in and expansion of metropolitan municipalities coupled with closures of town municipalities within the borders of metropolitan municipalities were implemented to ensure efficient planning and coordination as well as use of resources. This new system preferred to increase the administrative and financial capacity of metropolitan provincial and metropolitan district municipalities, and therefore to increase citizen satisfaction by delivering more effective and efficient public services particularly for towns and other areas which did not receive efficient services due to weak town municipalities (Celikyay, 2014, p.11; Savas-Yavuzcehre, 2016, p.293).

2.1.2.2. Provincial Municipalities

A provincial municipality is a municipality set at a central urban settlement of a province covering a population of less than 750,000. The non-metropolitan provinces have a single-tier municipal system. In these provinces, the municipalities in urban areas usually provide local services, and the SPAs provide local services in rural areas.

2.1.2.3. Metropolitan District Municipalities

As discussed earlier, metropolitan municipalities and metropolitan district municipalities offer complementary services and hence there exists a relationship of tutelage between these municipalities. For example, budgets of district municipalities are subject to approval by the metropolitan municipality council. There is also a hierarchy to ensure the integrity of land development administration. The metropolitan municipality prepares larger-scale land development plans. However, implementation plans are prepared by the district municipalities and are subject to approval by the metropolitan municipality council.

2.1.2.4. District Municipalities

The provincial municipality and district or town municipalities do not have a hierarchical or tutelage relationship in non-metropolitan provinces. However, these provinces may form or enter municipal associations of their own free will to jointly deliver services, such as water supply and waste management.

2.1.2.5. Town Municipalities

Urban settlements which are neither the central urban settlement of a province nor a district are classified as towns. When Law no 6360 was enacted in November 2012, the legal personalities of town municipalities in all metropolitan provinces, and town municipalities with a population of under 2,000 within non-metropolitan provinces were abolished (Karaarslan, 2013, p.140). With Law no 6360, approximately 1,600 town municipalities lost their legal personalities. These municipalities were integrated as neighbourhoods into the closest district municipalities.

2.1.3. Villages

The village is the oldest and smallest local government unit in a rural setting with fewer than 2,000 inhabitants. The Village Affairs Act no 442, which is still in effect with many amendments, was enacted in 1924. According to Article 20 of the Law, village headman

(mukhtar) (executive body), the board of aldermen (decision-making body), and the village association (decision body) are the organs of the village administration.

Village headman and the board of the alderman are directly elected by the local people (village association) every five years. Political parties are not allowed to nominate the headman and the board of the alderman. The village headman is a civil servant and the representative of the state in the village.

According to Article 30(a) of the Law on Elections of Local Administrations and Neighbourhood Mukhtars and Board of Alderman no 2972, the number of members of the board of alderman ranges between eight and twelve according to the village population. Moreover, according to Article 23 of the Village Law, village imam and village teacher or headteacher are always (natural) members of the board of alderman. Some of the decisions of the board enter into force with the approval of district governor or provincial governor.

Another organ of the village is the village association, and it consists of all the inhabitants in the village who are over 18 years of age. The association decides on the affairs of the village, the amount of the financial contribution from every household to the village budget depending on their economic circumstances, and the use of budget and joint work on a project for the village (Kapucu and Palabiyik, 2008, pp.160–163). Therefore, this association is considered the embodiment of direct democracy. However, this organ exists on paper only; in practice, it has almost no function (Kavruk, 2004, p.189).

Village administrations prepare their budgets and have a right to raise funding from its inhabitants. However, they do not have adequate financial resources to carry out their services. Therefore, almost all public services in villages are delivered by the SPAs. Due to their lack of administrative and financial capacity, the JDP government abolished over 16,000 village administrations within the boundaries all 30 metropolitan provinces with Law no 6360 enacted in November 2012 (Zengin, 2014, p.103). These villages became neighbourhoods and were integrated into the jurisdiction of the closest district municipalities. Since the SPAs were also abolished in the metropolitan provinces with Law no 6360, public services in these rural areas have been delivered by metropolitan district municipalities and metropolitan municipalities since the March 2014 local elections.

2.2. Turkish Local Political Elites

In Turkey, both elected and non-elected local political elites exist. Mayors and councillors are directly elected local politicians, whereas top executives of the district and provincial organisations of political parties are non-elected local politicians. Compared with top executives of the district and provincial organisations of political parties who have a voice at the local level, mayors and councillors have more powers and official responsibilities to ensure the participation of citizens in administrative processes of local governments. This section introduces elected local political elites as they are more relevant to this thesis.

2.2.1. Mayors

Mayors are the heads and representatives of municipalities. Therefore, all municipal staff work under the hierarchical authority of the mayors, and they have the power to appoint and dismiss the municipal administrators and employees. The only exception, in accordance with Article 22 of the Law on Metropolitan Municipalities, is the appointment of the secretary-general appointed by the Minister of Interior upon mayor's proposal. The mayors also have the power to control the municipal budget.

Mayors also chair the municipal council and municipal executive committee, and determine their agendas. In case of a tied vote, the mayors have the casting vote as the chairperson. Moreover, mayors may refer council resolutions which they consider unlawful back to the council for review and finalise resolutions by upholding the majority of the full membership of the council to the administrative courts. Therefore, the decision-making organs of municipalities appear to be quite vulnerable vis-à-vis mayors (Bayraktar, 2007).

Mayors also have strong administrative and political power as a result of the Turkish electoral system and the unique characteristics of Turkish politics. Thus, Turkish scholars have a common opinion that there is a 'strong mayoral model' in Turkish municipalities (Azakli and Ozgur, 2005; Bayraktar, 2007; Gul, Kamalak and Kiris, 2016). The factors that strengthen mayors are examined in detail in the thesis in section 5.1., under "Representative Democracy in Turkey".

Since mayors are at the centre of local politics and decision-making in general, their views on citizen participation are critical for the development of local democracy. Therefore, the motives of the mayors for seeking the participation of citizens in administrative processes are pivotal for this thesis.

Vice-Mayors and Deputy Mayors

Vice-mayors are appointed by mayors amongst the civil servants, although in some cases vice-mayors may not be civil servants. According to Article 49 of the Municipality Law, the mayor may appoint one municipal councillor as the vice-mayor in municipalities with a population of up to 50,000, two in municipalities with a population of between 50,001 and 200,000, three in municipalities with a population of between 200,001 and 500,000, and four in municipalities with a population of 500,000 or more.

However, according to Article 21 of the Law on Metropolitan Municipalities, a vice-mayor is not appointed in metropolitan municipalities. In these municipalities, a secretary-general is appointed by the Minister of the Interior on a proposal from the mayor. There are also assistant secretaries-general, and their numbers vary according to the population of the metropolitan province.

According to Article 40 of the Municipality Law, the mayor also appoints one of the municipal councillors as the deputy mayor to act for him during the periods of his absence. The deputy mayor has the powers exercised by the mayor.

The secretaries-general and assistant secretaries-general in metropolitan municipalities and vice-mayors and deputy mayors in other municipalities are the most authoritative and decisive people after the mayor. They closely work with mayors, and their opinions are influential in shaping the policies, projects and services of the municipalities. Therefore, their motives are also crucial for creating citizen participation opportunities.

2.2.2. Councillors

In Turkey, there are two types of directly elected councillors: members of the general provincial councils (decision-making body of SPAs) and the members of the municipal councils (decision-making body of municipalities). In SPAs, councillors are elected to represent all districts in a province. Table 2 demonstrates the number of seats in the general provincial council by district population.

Table 2: Number of Provincial Councillors by District Population in Turkey

District Population	Number of Provincial Councillors
Up to 25,000	2
25,001 to 50,000	3
50,001 to 75,000	4
75,001 to 100,000	5

Source: Law on Elections of Local Administrations and Neighbourhood Mukhtars and Board of Alderman, Law no 2972, Article 5(a). Official Gazette, 18.01.1984, Issue: 18285.

In districts with a population over 100,000, one additional representative is elected for each additional 100,000 of the population. A district qualifies to elect an additional representative if it has 50,001 extra population over 100,000 population. An equal number of substitute members is also elected. Since the remit of this thesis is the four largest metropolitan provinces in Turkey, all of which had their SPAs abolished after the 2014 March local elections, SPAs were not included in this thesis.

The municipal council is the main decision-making organ of the municipality, and the key decisions are taken with the approval of the municipal council. Therefore, councillors have an important role in ensuring people's participation in municipal administrative processes and to develop local democracy. According to Article 26 of the Municipality Law, the municipal council can exercise its powers to obtain information and supervise through its assessment of the annual activity report and through the audit commission, questions, general debates and motions of censure. Councillors may table motion with the chairperson of the council, asking him/her questions on municipal matters in written or verbal form. Moreover, a general debate on a subject relating to municipal matters may be opened upon the request of at least one-third of the councillors. If the council accepts this request, it can be placed on the agenda. At least one-third of the full membership of the council may also table a motion of censure against the mayor. The motion of censure should be placed on the agenda by the votes of the simple majority of the full membership of the council.

Furthermore, if the municipal council considers the mayor inadequate, the mayor may be dismissed from his/her functions. Every year in April, the mayor must present the activity report on the previous year to the municipal council for approval. If three-quarters of the

full membership of the council reject the annual activity report, and with the reasoned opinion of the provincial governor and with the Council of State's approval, the mayor may lose his/her mayoral office. However, there has been almost no example of such a dismissal of a mayor by the municipal council (Azakli and Ozgur, 2005, p.311).

The number of the municipal councillors varies from 9 to 55 according to the population of the district or province (except for metropolitan provinces). An equal number of substitute members is also elected for each councillor. Table 3 below presents the total number of municipal councillors by municipal population. The mayor should be added to these figures as a natural member and the head of the municipal council.

Table 3: Number of Municipal Councillors by Municipal Population in Turkey

Municipal Population	Number of Municipal Councillors
Up to 10,000	9
10,001 to 20,000	11
20,001 to 50,000	15
50,001 to 100,000	25
100,001 to 250,000	31
250,001 to 500,000	37
500,001 to 1 million	45
Over 1 million	55

Source: Law on Elections of Local Administrations and Neighbourhood Mukhtars and Board of Alderman, Law no 2972, Article 5(b). Official Gazette 18.01.1984, Issue: 18285.

In metropolitan municipalities, councils are composed of district mayors, and one-fifth of the highest voted district municipal councillors (Article 6(a) of Law no 2972). The mayors of the district municipalities are natural members of the metropolitan municipal council. Furthermore, the political party that won the district municipality has one extra seat in the metropolitan municipality council. The number of seats in the metropolitan municipal council varies by the number and sizes of districts.[1]

---

[1] For instance, the borders of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality were extended with Law no 6360 and the number of municipalities within Ankara metropolitan borders were increased from 16 to 25. Thus, the number of members of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Council rose from 103 to 140 including the mayor with the 2014 local elections. Due to Ankara's increasing population, the number of members of the Metropolitan Council increased to 148 including the mayor with the March 2019 local elections.

2.3. Representative Democracy in Turkey

Following the introduction of Turkish local government units and elected local officials, this section discusses the criticisms of representative democracy and addresses the problems caused by the practice of representative democracy in Turkey.

Today, representative democracy is the most popular governance system in the world. In this system, individuals become eligible to participate based on their age or some other characteristics, and they elect their representatives in a free, fair and competitive manner, with the participation of multiple political parties. That is, democratic participation is about citizens casting votes for their representatives to govern them until the next election. Since citizens entrust their elected representatives with the authority to act in accordance with their set of expectations, representative democracy is also referred to as 'indirect democracy'. The traditional justification for this system is that it is based on political equality with the principle of one person one vote (McLaverty, 2009, p.383).

Given the complexities of governance and policy-making, the representative system has been defended by many political theorists as the most practical form of democracy in modern democracies (Michels and Graaf, 2010, p.479; Elstub and McLaverty, 2014, p.13). Two main arguments back this rationale: (i) particularly in large populations, time constraints do not allow each voter to express their opinion on each issue, and (ii) today's problems are too complicated for the lay citizens to comprehend. Thus, citizens elect their representatives to make decisions on their behalf.

Although representative democracy is often presented as the most efficient form of democracy in highly populated states, it has received a growing number of criticisms. Some of these criticisms are discussed below in the context of Turkey.

2.3.1. Accountability

Accountability is the key concept in any democratic theory, and in the representative system, elections form the fundamental democratic accountability mechanism.

Representatives are not strictly bound to carry out the wishes of the citizens, and they can break their campaign promises (Manin, 1997, p.176). A substantial difference between campaign promises and actions, therefore, may be observed leading to elected representatives making decisions which are not in agreement with those of voters. Thus, activities of the representatives may create serious frustration for voters.

In the representative system, if citizens are not satisfied with their representatives, they have an important opportunity to hold their representatives to account at the end of the term and to dismiss them in the next election if their performance is unsatisfactory (Manin, 1997, p.177). Riker (1982, p.11) sees this form of electoral discipline as "the agents of democratic self-control", while Beetham (1992, p.47) describes periodic elections as "a continuous discipline on the elected to take constant notice of public opinion". However, elections are not conducted frequently, and thus voters have to wait for a long time to provide their judgment on the performance of the elected representatives. For instance, in Turkey, there are three different types of elections –presidential elections, general parliamentary elections, and local elections– that are held every five years.

According to Manin (1997, p.177), a more problematic aspect of representative democracy is that although voters have an effective ability to dismiss leaders whose decisions fail to meet expectations, elections cannot ensure that the actions of the new representatives will be different from those of their predecessors. Therefore, in representative systems, the role of citizens is minimalist and citizens are considered the "spectators of the political game" (Dryzek, 1990, p.120; Biegelbauer and Hansen, 2011, p.591). Concurring with this, Barber (1984, p.123) highlights "citizens, like spectators everywhere, may find themselves falling asleep". According to Barber (1984, p.145), between two elections, citizens become a passive "client" of government, a "watchdog" to whom the government remains accountable but whom it otherwise ignores, and a periodic elector responsible for freely choosing those who actually govern, albeit only on election day. Further, Sclove (1995) argue that the representative system inevitably leads to a depoliticised public with very limited influence over their own lives. Considering the facts that, in Turkey, other accountability mechanisms are ineffective, there is a considerable lack of transparency in public administration, and citizen participation mechanisms are poorly implemented in public institutions and weakly supported by the administrators, the abovementioned criticisms are of great importance for Turkey.

2.3.2. Electoral System

Representative democracy is also often criticised due to the incorporation of an electoral system. Riker (1982, p.22) argues that electoral outcomes are artefacts of the underlying voting system. Indeed, the adopted voting system may lead to diverse conclusions derived

from the same electorate and may lead to disparate social outcomes. Many election results in Turkey support these arguments at both the national and local level.

2.3.2.1. National Elections

In the parliamentary election on 3rd November 2002, although the JDP received only 34.3% of the valid votes, it won 66% of seats, 363 of 550 seats, in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (GNAT). In the same election, the RPP won over 32% of seats, 178 of 550 seats, with only about 19.4% of valid votes. The remaining nine seats were won by independent candidates (Supreme Election Council of Turkey, 2002a; Onis and Keyman, 2003, p.95).

The above results were mostly due to the national 10% electoral threshold required for representation in Turkey, a threshold which is unusually high compared with those elsewhere. Indeed, the average threshold applied in Europe (excluding Turkey) is 4.6% (Alkin, 2011, p.352). If the threshold in November 2002 parliamentary election was 5%, the distribution of seats in the Turkish Parliament would be as follows: JDP: 266, RPP: 116, Democratic People's Party: 51, True Path Party: 43, Nationalist Movement Party (NMP): 34, Young Party: 28, Motherland Party: 8, independents: 4 (Goksel and Cinar, 2011, p.74). However, despite receiving more than 5% of total valid votes, these political parties failed to gain any seats. This translated to approximately 46% of valid votes, over 14 million votes, being unrepresented in the GNAT. In other words, only two political parties out of 18 entered into the GNAT and 10% threshold resulted in millions of wasted votes (Supreme Election Council of Turkey, 2002b).

In Turkey, the d'Hont method, a party-list proportional representation system, coupled with the 10% national threshold favours larger parties. The high threshold eliminates the possibility of regional or minority parties entering the GNAT and allocates a substantial seat bonus to few successful parties. Furthermore, according to Article 36 of the Law on Political Parties no 2820, in order to run in the elections, political parties must either have a group of at least 20 MPs in the GNAT or set up its organisation in at least half of the provinces (41 or more provinces out of 81) as well as at least one third of the districts, including the central district, in each of these provinces. Political parties must also have convened their first party congress at least six months before the elections. Additionally, political parties must submit full candidate lists in at least half of the provinces to make sure these parties can become eligible to receive financial aid from the Treasury for the

elections (OSCE, 2018, p.12). Considering the complex requirements, the electoral system in Turkey is not sufficiently fair to small parties and their support base.

In order to circumvent the 10% electoral threshold and other requirements to compete in parliamentary and local elections as a political party, some parties run with independent candidates because there exists no threshold or any other barrier for independent candidates to gain a seat in the parliament. For instance, in the 22 July 2007 parliamentary elections, several smaller parties, particularly socialist and Kurdish nationalist parties, fielded joint candidates as independents particularly in eastern and south-eastern provinces and won 22 seats in the GNAT. As for the independents, 22 of the 26 elected later established a parliamentary group under the Kurdish issue-focused Democratic Society Party allowing Kurdish nationalists an opportunity to be represented in parliament after a long time. Notably, in the 3 November 2002 parliamentary elections, the same party won over 6% of valid votes but could not obtain any seats due to the 10% national threshold (Polat, 2009, p.142).

The electoral threshold was introduced with the current Turkish Constitution of 1982, which was adopted following the 1980 military coup, to reduce the fragmentation in the party system, facilitate the formation of majority party governments, and contribute to political stability (Sayari, 2002, p.28). The high threshold has been constantly debated on the grounds that it violates both the right to free elections and the principle of democratic and lawful state (Eren, 2008, p.63). These debates are particularly incited prior to each election in which numerous individuals including members of governments, leaders of political parties, MPs, and academics emphasise that the threshold is considerably high for Turkey, and it should be decreased at least to 7% (or 5% or 3%) or abolished entirely. Lowering the electoral threshold has been among the election promises of almost every party in the past, including the JDP which has been governed the country since November 2002. However, this has yet to be realised at the time of this thesis.

However, in March 2018, an electoral law passed and it allows political parties to form alliances and enter the parliamentary and presidential elections with a joint list of candidates. Accordingly, in the parliamentary elections, the current 10% national election threshold remains for alliances. This means that if an alliance passes the 10% threshold, all political parties in the alliance will be considered to have surpassed the threshold. According to the new electoral law, each political party in an alliance sends a number of

MPs to the GNAT based on its share of local votes in its constituencies. Additionally, if an electorate votes for all parties in an alliance, the vote will not be invalid but considered as a single vote. The distribution of votes given to all parties in an alliance is determined according to the number of individual votes for each party (Shaheen, 2018; Uras and Chughtai, 2018; *Daily Sabah*, 2018). In short, the new electoral law allows the representation of more political parties in the GNAT and reduces wasted votes.

Following the constitutional referendum in April 2017, the number of MPs in the GNAT was increased from 550 to 600. The MPs are elected in 87 electoral districts. 77 of Turkey's 81 provinces serve as a single electoral district. Due to their large populations, the provinces of Izmir and Bursa are divided into two districts, while the provinces of Istanbul and capital Ankara are divided into three electoral districts (OSCE, 2018, pp.7–8). In order to be represented in the 600-seat parliament, eight political parties ran in the 24 June 2018 elections. Indeed, there were 86 registered parties, but the Supreme Election Council considered only 11 parties eligible for running in the elections. In other words, 75 political parties could not run in the elections as they did not meet the requirements. In these recent parliamentary elections, two electoral alliances were formed: "People's Alliance" and "Nation's Alliance". The People's Alliance comprised of the governing JDP (a centre-right party was established in 2001 after its predecessor, pro-Islamist Virtue Party, was banned from politics on charges of acting against some articles of the constitution, which imply secularism) and the NMP (a far-right party that was founded in 1969 and based on Turkish nationalism). The Nation's Alliance comprised of the RPP (the centre-left and oldest political party founded in 1923, the year of the Republic of Turkey), Felicity Party (another successor to the pro-Islamist Virtue Party which was shut down in 2001), and Good Party (the newest party running in the 2018 elections; it was established in October 2017 by former members of Turkey's main established parties, most notably the far-right NMP and the centre-left RPP). Furthermore, the Great Unity Party (the right-wing and nationalist party which was separated from the NMP in 1993) joined the parliamentary elections on the lists of the JDP, while the Democrat Party (a centre-right party whose origins date back to 1946) joined the elections on the lists of the Good Party. Moreover, the Felicity Party ran in the elections although some of its candidates joined the elections on the lists of the main opposition RPP (OSCE, 2018, pp.12–13; Sahin, 2018; *TRT World*, 2018a; *TRT World*, 2018b; Uras and Chughtai, 2018).

As a result of the new electoral law, the Good Party which received under 10% of valid votes (9.96%) and entered into the parliament with 43 seats. On the other hand, three parties competed in the election outside of an alliance: Peoples' Democratic Party[2], Free Cause Party[3], and Patriotic Party[4]. Among these three parties, only Peoples' Democratic Party surpassed the 10% threshold with 11.70% of the national vote and won 67 seats (OSCE, 2018, p.32; Supreme Election Council of Turkey, 2018a; 2018b).

2.3.2.2. Local Elections

In municipal council and general provincial council elections, a proportional representation system with a local threshold of 10% in a single tour and candidate quota are practised. In these elections, the local citizens vote for the political parties of the candidates rather than the candidates themselves as they do in the mayoral elections. In local council elections, the first 10% of valid votes are subtracted from the total votes received by each political party or independent candidate, and the winner is named based on the remaining votes.

In local council elections, a quota system is also applied based on Article 10(c) of Law no 2972. The highest voted political party wins all "quota seats". The candidates for the quota seats are identified by central nomination of political parties, and the number of quota seats varies depending on the district population as follows: 1 for municipal councils with 9 to 11 councillors, 2 for those with 15 councillors, 3 for those with 25 to 31 councillors, 4 for those with 37 councillors, 5 for those with 45 councillors, and 6 for those with 55 councillors. For instance, in an electoral district in which 15 councillors are chosen, political parties declare 13 major and 15 substitute candidates, and two quota names.

The electoral threshold and quota system strengthen the position of mayors who are elected through a first-past-the-post system in which the candidate who receives the highest number (but not necessarily a majority) of votes is elected. As a result of these tools in the Turkish electoral system, the number of municipal councillors from major political parties (usually the same parties with the mayor) increases, whereas the number of councillors

---

[2] A party established in 2012 as the political wing of the Peoples' Democratic Congress, a union of numerous left-wing movements, that had previously fielded candidates as independents to bypass the electoral threshold. This party receives support from primarily Kurds.

[3] A party founded in 2012 and is supported by mainly conservative Kurdish voters, rejecting the Peoples' Democratic Party's discourse and prioritising religious identity instead of the ethnic one.

[4] A party founded in 2015 which considers itself as the heir and the continuation of the Workers' and Farmers' Socialist Party of Turkey founded in 1919 aiming to bring together socialists, revolutionaries, Turkish nationalists and Kemalists.

from minor parties decreases (Azakli and Ozgur, 2005, p.310; Bozlagan, 2013, p.4). Thus, the local councils generally consist of only two or three major parties.

Unlike the parliamentary and presidential elections held on 24th June 2018, a regulation that allows political parties to form official alliances in municipal council elections and general provincial council elections has yet to be enacted. However, in the local elections held on 31st March 2019, political parties followed a similar alliance strategy as they did for the parliamentary and presidential elections held in 2018. The ruling JDP stood in the March 2019 local elections with opposition NMP under the People's Alliance banner, whereas centre-left and main opposition RPP and centre/centre-right Good Party agreed to cooperate under the Nation's Alliance. The JDP and NMP nominated joint mayoral candidates in all 30 metropolitan provinces and 21 provinces, and thus they supported each other's candidates in 51 provinces (out of 81 provinces). For instance, the NMP did not present a candidate for Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir metropolitan municipalities and instead supported the JDP's candidates, whereas the JDP did not nominate candidates in three districts of Ankara and Istanbul as well as in five district municipalities of Izmir and supported the candidates of the NMP instead (*Hurriyet Daily News*, 2018; Bulut, 2019). On the other hand, the RPP and Good Party presented joint mayoral candidates in 22 metropolitan provinces and 27 provinces. The Good Party supported the RPP's candidates in 12 metropolitans (including three biggest metropolitan provinces Ankara, Istanbul, and Izmir) and 16 provinces, while RPP supported candidates of the Good Party in 10 metropolitans and 11 provinces (*Hurriyet Daily News*, 2019). Both the People's Alliance and Nation's Alliance fielded single lists for municipal councils in provinces falling under the alliances. The decision of the big political parties to run in alliances for the 2019 local elections worked well especially to the advantage of the RPP as it managed to secure some of the largest metropolitan municipalities traditionally run by right-wing political parties. Turkey's largest province Istanbul with over 15 million residents, the capital and second largest province Ankara with around 5.5 million residents, and the sixth largest province Adana with 2.2 million residents were among the provinces passed to a left-wing party after 25 years (Demirtas, 2019; Pamuk and Spicer, 2019).

2.3.3. Intra-party Democracy

Representative systems have also been criticised over the operation and functioning of political parties. Political parties are generally considered indispensable elements of democracy. Crucially, democracy is defined as impossible without political parties at least in modern societies. In this context, the following statement of the American political scientist Elmer Eric Schattschneider is one the well-known statements in the discipline: "[m]odern democracy is unthinkable save in terms of the parties" (1942, p.1).

Political parties are the instruments which sustain citizen participation in administration and help citizens determine their own administrators to ensure that democracy exists in political life. At this point, an important issue reveals itself: intra-party democracy. According to many scholars (e.g., Scarrow, 1999; Cross and Katz, 2013; Amundsen, 2016; Rahat and Shapira, 2017), intra-party democracy is indispensable for establishing a strong democratic culture within the wider society.

Intra-party democracy, a complicated concept fundamental to the working of political parties, is implemented differently in political parties. Nevertheless, the following common factors are widely used to describe intra-party democracy: leader's power and control, candidate selection process for elected offices, and formulation of party policy. For a well-functioning intra-party democracy, the decision-making power should be decentralised, checks-and-balance mechanisms should be established, active participation of party members in candidate selection processes and other party activities should be promoted, membership recruitment should be transparent, the rights of party members should be respected, party conventions should be held freely, and a neutral platform during intra-party elections and selections of candidates should be established (Carkoglu, Erdem, Kabasakal and Genckaya, 2000, p.35; Kabasakal, 2014, pp.701–708).

2.3.3.1. One-man Culture

In Turkey, intra-party democracy is weak and political parties tend to display oligarchic tendencies. There are various reasons for this, but one of the most important reasons is the domination of the party apparatus by the party leaders. The leader-centred party structure is a common characteristic. Therefore, existing studies mostly investigate Turkish political parties under label such as "oligarchic tendencies of parties", "oligarchic and hegemonic authoritarianism within parties", "highly disciplined party leadership", "excessively centralised (leadership) and authoritarian structures", "ineffective operation of intraparty

democracy" (Ozbudun, 2000; Esmer, 2002; Heper, 2002; Heper and Sayari, 2002; Rubin and Heper, 2002; Ayan, 2009, 2010; Ayan Musil, 2011; Kabasakal, 2014; Turkmen, 2016).

In Turkey, party leaders come before their political parties (Ozbudun, 2000; Heper, 2002; Ayan, 2010; Kabasakal, 2014; Turkmen, 2016). This situation is a reflection of Turkey's socio-political culture in which a one-man culture dominates politics. Political parties in Turkey are built around a charismatic leadership who lacks of accountability to the party members. Political parties are generally identified with their leaders, especially in general elections in which voters often decide according to image of the party leaders. Therefore, changes in top leadership are rare and occur only in exceptional circumstances, such as military intervention, the closing of the party by the Constitutional Court, or the death of the leader (Ozbudun, 2000, p.83; Kabasakal, 2014, p.704). Party leaders do not resign even when they lose several elections or fail to pass the electoral threshold several times.

2.3.3.2. Strict Party Discipline

Political party members must have the freedom to act individually to express their negative opinions about their political parties without any concern of disciplinary penalties. Of course, this does not mean that party members should have full freedom to break all party rules. They should follow a party discipline by following the rules established by their parties' by-laws. However, in Turkey, party discipline is used as a method of pressuring party members towards the interests of party leadership.

In Turkey, political party members often face disciplinary penalties. More significantly, the dismissal mechanism is frequently used to control party membership, particularly for those perceived as opposing the party leader or administration (Kabasakal, 2014, p.708). The high number of MPs, mayors, local councillors or other politicians who were dismissed from the major political parties in only the last few years is enough to understand how often this mechanism is used in Turkish politics. Party members are generally expelled from their parties over "acting without discipline against the party leader and the hierarchy", "acting in a way that would harm the party unity in a serious way", "engaging in actions that would harm party activities and encouraging others to do so", and "misusing their rights of being members and lawmakers in order to harm the party" (*Hurriyet Daily News*, 2017).

In Turkey, party leaders are generally intolerant of not only disagreement but also constructive criticism. This situation makes it almost impossible to express different

opinions in political parties, and thus to change the top leadership. Further, this situation inevitably poses a significant obstacle to the establishment of a participatory management structure in political parties that are regarded as the essential institutions of democracy, and therefore to the strengthening of democracy in Turkey.

2.3.3.3. Member Recruitment

Party member recruitment is an important factor that shapes intra-party democracy. In Turkey, political parties generally recruit their members at the local level. Membership criteria are not specific, and according to Article 12 of the Political Parties Law no 2820, the membership requirements are determined by the political parties, and parties may reject membership applications after an observation period to verify the applicants' eligibility according to party by-laws. Leaving the determination of membership requirements to political parties is valuable in that it grants parties an autonomy in their internal affairs. However, according to the law, political parties do not have to provide any reason for the rejection of the membership application. For this reason, as Kabasakal (2014, p.708) states "it is not uncommon to hear claims that applicants who supported the prevailing party administration were granted membership and those who were close to the former administration, or sympathetic to the opposition groups within the party, were rejected". That is, this situation leads to the formation of an authoritarian structure consisting of members who cannot object to the views of the party leaders, and allows the party leaders to become even more authoritarian.

2.3.3.4. Candidate Selection

Candidate selection, a central function of political parties, is another important indicator of the degree of intra-party democracy. Schattschneider (1942, p.64) was one of the first scholars to emphasise the importance of this process: "[t]he nature of nominating procedure determines the nature of the party; he who can make the nomination is the owner of the party".

Candidates can be determined in various ways such as by congressional caucus, delegate convention, mass meeting, party election, or the party leader (Kabasakal, 2014, p.702). In Turkey, political parties determine their candidates in accordance with Article 37 of the Political Parties Law, and the law leaves the candidate determination method to the parties' by-laws, as in the member recruitment process.

Turkish political parties determine their candidates through primary elections (primaries), organisational enquiry and central enquiry. Primary election is the process by which voters indicate their preference in an electoral district. This process could be open where all citizens who are eligible to vote in elections regardless of their political orientation or closed where only registered members of a political party participate. In Turkey, political parties do not conduct open primary elections because there are concerns about the potential of manipulation by other party supporters. Organisational enquiry means establishing the order of candidates in the list for an electoral district according to the preference of the local party organisations, even though the final decisions are made by the party centre. Central enquiry is, on the other hand, means arranging the candidate list order directly upon the decision of the central committee of the party (Yanik, 2007, pp.190–196).

The governing JDP identifies the candidates through primary elections, organisational enquiry and central enquiry (JDP, 2019). According to the JDP's by-law, either any of these methods can be applied at the same time in line with the scale of electoral district or only one of these methods could be conducted at the national scale. In JDP, the central decision and administrative committee decide which method(s) will be used; however, the by-law of the party prioritises primary elections and organisational enquiry. The by-law states that, in parliamentary elections, primary elections or organisational enquiry could be implemented in at least 50% of all electoral districts (JDP, 2019, Article 124). In this context, the JDP by-law seems partially democratic. However, to date JDP generally not preferred primary elections, and it has determined its candidates for both parliamentary and local elections mainly through the methods of organisational and central enquiry (Ayan, 2010, p.208; Akinci, Onder and Sakaci, 2013, p.42; Kabasakal, 2014, p.707).

The main opposition RPP applies the same methods as JDP to determine the candidates and prioritises primary elections and organisational enquiry. In the RPP, party assembly decides the method to be used in electoral districts. The RPP by-law states that, in parliamentary elections, the total number of candidates determined through central enquiry cannot exceed 15% of the MP candidates of the party (RPP, 2018, Article 52/4). Thus, the RPP by-law presents a relatively democratic formation. However, this turns into an anti-democratic process. This is because, according to the same article, as well as the 15% of the MP candidates of the party, in electoral districts which the RPP receive less than 10% of the votes in the last elections, the MP candidates are also determined through central enquiry. Since RPP received less than 10% of the votes in many provinces in the last two

decades, the party by-law described above fails to maintain a high democracy during the candidate selection process. Akinci, Onder and Sakaci (2013, p.42) summarise this situation as follows: "[d]emocracy is welcomed at the door and ejected from the window".

Furthermore, considering the parliamentary and local elections in recent decades, apart from the 2015 June parliamentary elections, the RPP generally avoided primary elections, despite many members' calling for primary elections.

In Turkey, not only the leaders of the governing and main opposition party avoid calls for primary elections but also the leaders of other political parties usually do not prefer primary elections. Despite the demands and expectations of the party members and the public, the leaders avoid these calls claiming that determining candidates solely by relying on party members would not yield correct results. However, there is another and more important reason why leaders ignore these calls. Politicians determined through primary elections and then elected by the public are more independent and more powerful, and can express their opinions more confidently. But, the political parties' leaders who display oligarchic tendencies do not want people who might oppose their views to be in their parties. Thus, in Turkey, central inquiry is the most implemented method in all political parties and the final decision is in the hands of party leaders.

According to Scarrow (2005, p.6), the width of the circle of party decision-makers is one of the most important determinants of the intra-party democracy. That is, the inclusiveness of decision-making process indicates the level of intra-party democracy. Considering that party leaders ignore the demands and expectations of the party members and the public during the candidate determination process and they make the final decision, it is not possible to say that there is a strong intra-party democracy in Turkish political parties. This situation that seriously harms intra-party democracy in the political parties also constitutes a major obstacle to the adaptation of a participatory management approach in the Turkish administration system.

As Beyme (1985, p.239) stated, primary elections cannot totally eliminate oligarchic tendencies in the candidate selection process. This is because as discussed earlier, in Turkey, primary elections are held only with the participation of registered party members and the party leaderships set strict rules for member recruitment. Nonetheless, primary elections are widely considered a useful tool for the distribution of power in decision-making within political parties.

Despite these facts contradict to principles of democracy, the party leaders firmly reject the criticisms of the existence of anti-democratic practices in their political parties. More significantly, the opposition party leaders who often emphasise the existence of serious democratic problems in Turkey seriously restrict their parties' members' freedom of expression, which is a fundamental human right. This huge gap between rhetoric and reality inevitably makes many democratic problems even more chronic, and significantly undermines public trust in representatives and representative institutions (e.g., political parties, parliaments, governmental institutions).

2.3.4. Public Distrust in Representatives and Representative Institutions

Contemporary democracies are increasingly facing a major challenge: the gradual decline of public trust in representatives and representative institutions. The results of many surveys conducted in many different countries evidence a decline in public support for representatives and representative institutions since the early 1970s (Miller and Listhaug, 1999; Gronlund and Setala, 2004; Armingeon and Guthmann, 2014; Torcal, 2014).

Surveys conducted by both various national and international research centres in recent years also demonstrate politicians usually form the least trusted professions in Turkey, while public trust in political parties and parliament is very low. For instance, a 2013 national survey by the Centre for Social, Economic and Cultural Studies (SEKAM), including over 5,000 young people aged 15–28 years in all 81 provinces of Turkey, demonstrated that political parties were the second least trusted institutions after media and majority of young people do not trust in politicians (Centre for Social, Economic and Cultural Studies, 2013), while a 2016 national survey by [Istanbul] Kadir Has University's Centre for Turkish Studies, including 1000 participants over the age of 18 and residing in 26 provinces, showed that political parties were again the second least trusted institutions after media (Kadir Has University, Turkey Research Centre, 2017). Similarly, a 2015 survey by the Worldwide Independent Network/Gallup International Association showed that politicians were the least trusted professions in Turkey, and only 17% of 1000 participants from across Turkey trusted in politicians (*Yeni Asya*, 2015).

These above findings reflect various severe problems in Turkey. Public institutions in Turkey traditionally had the tendency to keep information regarding the whole public administration issues as a state secret. The issues not related to national security, such as public debt, were also considered state secrets, and there was no obligation for the

dissemination of information. Therefore, public authorities did not feel any obligation to disseminate information and inform citizens even on the issues that would deeply affect them (Altintas and Tas, 2013, p.10). This situation has paved the way for the spread of corruption, bribery, favouritism, nepotism, cronyism, and patronage.

In the last two decades in particular, to fight against corruption, Turkey has signed several international conventions, such as the United Nations Convention against Corruption, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Convention on Combating Bribery of Foreign Public Officials in International Business Transactions, and the Council of Europe Criminal Law Convention on Corruption. Moreover, Turkey became a member of several international organisations, such as the Group of States against Corruption, and the International Anti-Corruption Academy. Therefore, with the support of these international organisations, Turkey adopted a comprehensive series of reforms and developed strategies on increasing transparency and strengthening the fight against corruption and bribery particularly to comply with obligations undertaken with accession talks with the EU. In spite of the considerable efforts, international organisations continue to criticise Turkey for the lack of significant progress made in the fight against corruption (Kalayci and Toprak Esin, 2018). Due to limited progress in fighting against corruption, Turkey is still considered a country where corruption is relatively high according to the Corruption Perceptions Indexes[5] of global watchdog Transparency International (TI), which has branches in more than 100 countries.[6]

The results of public opinion surveys conducted in recent years also presented that legal regulations on preventing corruption are not sufficiently successful in Turkey. According to the results of public opinion surveys under the name of "Corruption in Turkey: Why? How? Where?" conducted by Konsensus Research and Consultancy (with 2000 people between 18-69 years old in all regions of Turkey in 2015) and by IPSOS Social Research Institute (with 2000 people over the age of 18 in all regions of Turkey in 2016) on behalf of TI Turkey, the vast majority of Turkish citizens did not submit a legal complaint when they were asked to make illegal payments or give gifts. More significantly, when the

---

[5] This index ranges between 0 and 100 where 0 is highly corrupt and 100 is very clean.
[6] Turkey performs below average in TI's Corruption Perceptions Indexes which averaging at 39.38 points between 1995 and 2019, and reaching an all-time high of 50 points in 2013 and a record low of 31 points in 2003. Corruption rank in Turkey averaged 60.68 between 1995 and 2019, with a record low of 29 in 1995 and an all-time high of 91 in 2019. According to the 2019 Index, Turkey was the 91st least corrupt country out of the 180 countries with a score of 39 out of 100 (Trading Economics, 2020a; 2020b).

reason behind this lack of action was queried, the majority of participants stated that "making a legal complaint would have no help". Other top reasons in both surveys were "I was afraid to get a negative reaction", "it will take too much time", and "I did not know to which authorities I could complain" (TI Turkey, 2015, p.27; 2016, p.25).

Other outstanding findings of these surveys were also that while municipalities were considered as one of the institutions where corruption is the most widespread, they were also one of the institutions to which the highest illegal payments were made and most gifts were given (TI Turkey, 2015, p.26; 2016, p.24). TI Turkey's 2016 study of "Corruption in Turkey: Legislation, Enforcement and Areas of Risk" also pointed out to increasing corruption risk at a serious level in municipalities (TI Turkey, 2017, p.8). Considering that municipalities are one the public institutions in which citizen-state interactions occur most often, the perception of corruption in the municipalities may have more serious adverse effects than that in other public institutions. The high number of news in the press about corruption allegations in municipalities in recent years also support these findings.

In addition to the problems discussed above, the high frequency of media news about non-merit-based personnel recruitments; assignment of significant duties to only close relatives, close friends, or persons from the same political party; tenders which are finalised behind closed doors, changes in service priority and prioritising regions from which most votes were received in elections also inevitably affect citizens' trust in representatives and all public institutions in a negative way.

2.4. Conclusion

In this chapter, Turkish local government structure is first explained with the introduction of the main local government units as they have responsibilities for ensuring citizens' participation and empowerment in administrative processes as the closest service units to the citizens. The importance of municipalities is highlighted, which closely affect the lives of wider populations and therefore have more powers and responsibilities than other local government units. Then, I introduced Turkish local political elites with a particular focus on directly elected politicians as they have stronger political and administrative powers and wider responsibilities than non-elected politicians. Next, the criticisms of representative democracy are discussed and the problems caused by its practice in Turkey are addressed. These discussions were essential to understand why (should) Turkish local political elites involve citizens in administrative processes and empower them to influence the decisions

that affect their lives. These discussions were needed to better understand why some Turkish local authorities put more effort to create mechanisms which represent true citizen participation. The discussions on the Turkish electoral system (with unusually high 10% threshold, and a quota system practices in local council elections) and peculiarities of Turkish politics (e.g. one-man culture, strict party discipline) were also necessary as this system and characteristics strengthen the powers of mayors and therefore make their views on citizen participation more crucial. More importantly, the discussions on Turkish politics were useful in understanding the huge gap between rhetoric and realities of the democracy and participation in Turkey.

According to the 1982 Constitution, the local needs of Turkish citizens are met by three main types of local government units namely SPAs, municipalities and villages. As well as the responsibilities to meet the common local needs of the citizens, these units also have responsibilities to create opportunities for involving citizens in administrative processes. However, although all these units have some responsibilities in this regard, more power and responsibility are given to municipalities.

The villages are too small and financially weak. Thus, they do not have enough power to create citizen participation opportunities. Almost all public services in villages are therefore delivered by SPAs. In SPAs, the number of mechanisms that allow citizens' participation is also limited. More importantly, the effectiveness of these mechanisms in practice is limited. Notably, both villages and SPAs are not established in densely populated residential areas.

Unlike the villages and SPAs, the municipalities which are established directly for densely populated residential areas have more powers and responsibilities to ensure the participation of citizens in administrative processes. Municipalities, therefore, have more citizen participation mechanisms than SPAs and villages. Some of these mechanisms were created with the Municipality Law no 5393 enacted in 2005, and Turkey's EU accession process has a great impact on the creation of these mechanisms, which means that these did not arise from the internal dynamics. Moreover, after the abolishment of thousands of local government units (SPAs, town municipalities, and villages in metropolitan provinces, and town municipalities in other provinces) with Law no 6360 enacted in 2012, service areas of many municipalities were expanded considerably and their responsibilities for ensuring citizen participation increased further. However, small local governments and many large

municipalities are in severe financial hardship, and financial difficulties constitute a major obstacle for conducting citizen participation projects.

To adopt new citizen participation mechanisms in Turkish local government system and to overcome financial and other obstacles to citizen participation, the views of local political elites, who have substantial control over policies and administrative decisions, on citizen participation are significant. Considering the top-down management approach that dominates the Turkish administration system and other problems caused by the application of representative democracy in Turkey, their views on citizen participation become more critical. After the abolishment of thousands of local governments with Law no 6360 that came into force with the March 2014 local elections, the motives of top municipal executives for creating citizen participation opportunities became more vital since the vast majority of the population remained within the municipal boundaries. At this point, the motives of mayors especially are critical to the development of citizen participation mechanisms and to ensure their sustainability. This is because, mayors are in the centre of local politics and decision-making in general, and they have stronger political and administrative power as well as greater responsibilities than other local political elites as a result of the underlying electoral system and unique characteristics of Turkish politics. In this regard, the motives of other local political elites, including municipal councillors, are also important for encouraging mayors to engage citizens in administrative processes. In short, as well as citizens, the beliefs, behaviours, attitudes, and motives of local political elites are crucial for adopting a participatory management approach in Turkey, and therefore to strengthen democracy.

CHAPTER 3: The Theoretical Framework

This chapter introduces the theoretical framework and reviews Arnstein's (1969) "ladder of citizen participation" that focuses on the redistribution of power between power-holders and powerless (or have-not) citizens and describes an evolving process of citizen participation in governmental processes ranging from non-participation to citizen control. The chapter consists of six sections. The first section evaluates the rise of the participatory idea of democracy and briefly explains the reasons that pushed Arnstein to develop the ladder of citizen participation. The second section describes Arnstein's eight-rung ladder. While the third section discusses the limitations of Arnstein's ladder that Arnstein herself was aware of and that she pointed out, the fourth section reviews the criticisms of the ladder articulated by other researchers. The fifth section explains why I adopted this ladder in this thesis. The final section concludes the chapter.

3.1. The Revival of Participatory Idea of Democracy

Although debates about participatory democracy can be traced back to ancient Athens, the revival of the participatory idea of democracy started in the 1960s (Escobar, 2017, pp.421–422) when the democratic theory was dominated by the realpolitik approaches of competitive elitism. Lippmann is one of the early proponents of realpolitik and according to him (1925, pp.54–55), most citizens are likely to be ill-informed, gullible, disinterested, partisan and lacking knowledge, creativity and problem-solving capacity. Schumpeter is another proponent of realpolitik and he (1942, pp.257–262) similarly doubts citizens' ability to comprehend political and public affairs. He argues that most citizens are incapable of rational argument, and they cannot see beyond their narrow private concerns of everyday life at home or work. Lippmann, Schumpeter and other anti-democrats, therefore, advocate that politics should be left to the experts. In short, according to their view, democracy means only that "people have the opportunity of accepting or refusing the men who are to rule them" (Schumpeter, 1942, pp.284–285).

The rise of the participatory idea of democracy in the 1970s brought a halt to the dominance of such anti-democratic ideas by asserting that citizens are capable problem-solvers and they should participate effectively in governmental processes in the right circumstances. Participatory democrats such as Arnstein (1969), Pateman (1970), and Barber (1984) found participation in the traditional liberal democratic format of voting in elections insufficient. According to participatory democrats, citizen involvement is

essential for democracy and thus should not be limited to only voting in elections. That is, there should be more opportunities and avenues for citizen participation.

However, as Arnstein (1969, p.216) underlined that "[t]here is a critical difference between going through the empty ritual of participation and having the real power needed to affect the outcome of the process". She also said that if citizens are not given genuine power to influence the decisions affecting their lives, participation can be an empty and frustrating process for powerless citizens (p.216). Such empty and frustrating process may reduce citizens' willingness to be involved in following participation processes.

Furthermore, power-holders claim that all sides were considered in the decision-making, but make it possible for only some to benefit (Arnstein, p.216). Alternatively, power-holders may claim that they involve citizens in the planning and decision-making to produce the outcomes that meet citizens' needs, but they may involve citizens in these processes with different motives, such as providing public relations, legitimating decisions that already have been made (Checkoway, 2011, p.341). Therefore, citizen participation may remain just a window-dressing ritual rather than a real change that would bring democracy into planning and decision-making, while power-holders still retain power. In short, there may be a significant gap between rhetoric and the reality of the participation.

In this context, several typologies have been developed to measure the extent to which power-holders allow citizens to influence the decisions which affect them. The "ladder of citizen participation" proposed by Arnstein in 1969 is one of the famous typologies, perhaps the most famous, and it has inspired a multitude of variations and models, adopted to fit changing times, different communities, and different areas. Arnstein proposed this ladder based on her experiences with the United States (US) federal social programmes such as urban renewal, anti-poverty, and Model Cities to draw attention to the limited extent of citizen control. Arnstein was concerned with achieving social reform which enables citizens to share in the benefits of the affluent society. And according to her, citizen participation, which she defines as redistribution of power that allows the future deliberate inclusion of the have-not citizens who are presently excluded from political and economic processes (1969, p.216), was the means to achieve this reform.

3.2. Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation

Ranging from manipulation at the lowest rung to citizen control at the top rung, Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation has a total of eight rungs reflecting the extent of citizens' power in determining decisions. These rungs are divided into three categories: non-participation, tokenism, and citizen power.
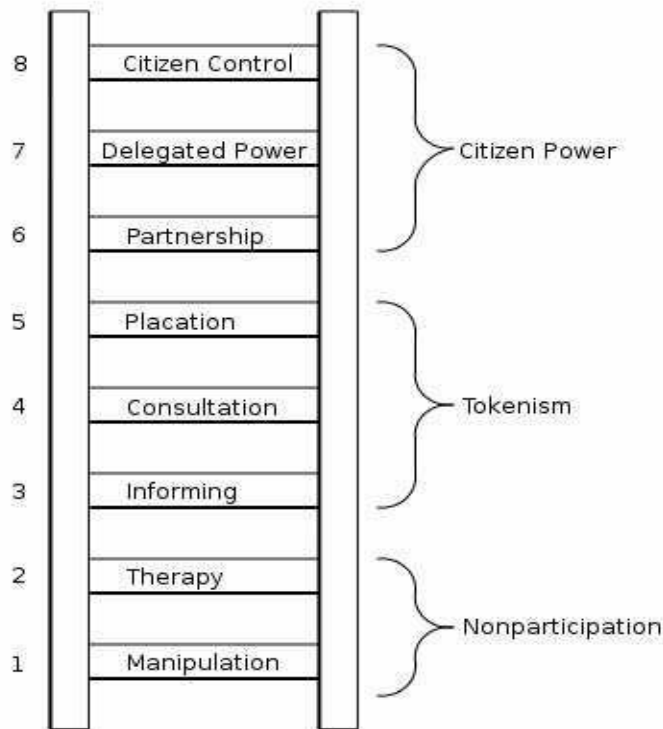
Figure 2: Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation (Source: Arnstein, 1969, p.217).

3.2.1. Non-participation

In Arnstein's ladder, the *non-participation* bottom category includes the lowest two rungs (1) *manipulation* and (2) *therapy,* and describes the forms of participation that does not allow citizens to influence the decisions concerning them and that enables power-holders to retain full control. While power-holders determine the outcomes of a given process, they also maintain an appearance of legitimacy and moral authority by referring to the participation of the citizens in the process. In short, these are illusory forms of citizen participation and they can be viewed as mere public relations exercises by power-holders to secure citizens' support.

At the first level, manipulation, advisory committees or boards are often used by power-holders for engineering citizens' support through "education" and "persuasion" for the decisions that have already been made and that often run against the citizens' interests. By referring to the attendance of citizens in such committees or boards, power-holders aim to legitimise their decisions (Arnstein, 1969, p.218).

The second level, therapy, refers to citizen participation as a mask for "group therapies" and is grounded in the assumption that powerlessness is synonym of mental illness, and so, they are incapable of rational argument and decision-making. Therefore, under the pretence of involving citizens in planning and decision-making, power-holders aim to "cure" powerless citizens from their "pathology" rather than changing the reasons or solving the problems that create the "pathologies" (Arnstein, 1969, p.218).

3.2.2. Tokenism

The middle category of the ladder, *tokenism,* includes the rungs (3) *informing,* (4) c*onsultation*, and (5) *placation*. The degree of communication is the main difference between these levels. This category represents the forms of participation that allow citizens to have a say even though they lack the power to influence decisions.

At the third level, informing, citizens are informed of their rights, responsibilities, and options. This is a one-way communication and information flows from power-holders to citizens. People mostly receive information through news media, pamphlets, posters, or other tools for making announcements. Although the information is the first important step towards legitimate citizen participation, people have very limited opportunity to influence the decisions in the form of communication with "no channel provided for feedback and no power for negotiation" (Arnstein, 1969, p.219).

At the fourth level, consultation, two-way information flow starts and citizens are welcome to express their opinions in planning and decision-making processes. Attitude surveys, neighbourhood meetings, and public hearings are examples of the methods used for consulting people. Consultation is another important step towards full citizen participation. However, the consultation can be a sham when it offers no assurance that citizens' views are taken into consideration in the decision-making. That is, if power-holders restrict citizens' input only to this level, participation cannot go beyond a window-dressing ritual (Arnstein, 1969, p.219).

At the fifth level, placation, citizens begin to have some degree of influence. Citizens can advise power-holders to a larger extent than in the previous two levels. An example of placation provided by Arnstein is to place "a few hand-picked 'worthy' poor" on the board of public bodies, such as board of education or housing authority. If they are not accountable to a constituency in the community and if power-holders holds the majority of seats, powerless citizens can be easily outvoted and outfoxed. Another example, in planning committees, power-holders allow citizens to advice but remain in control of the decision-making process and still have the right to judge the feasibility of citizens' advice. In short, at this level, tokenism is still apparent, and it is not ensured that citizens' ideas will be taken into consideration in the decision-making (Arnstein, 1969, p.220).

3.3.3. Citizen Power

The final category, *citizen power*, consists of three levels: (6) *partnership,* (7) *delegated power,* and (8) *citizen control*. This category represents the most transformative forms of participation in which citizens have real power to influence decision-making through direct participation.

The sixth level, partnership, refers to redistribution of power through negotiations between power-holders and citizens. At this level, planning and decision-making responsibilities are shared through joint committees such as joint policy boards, planning committees, and mechanisms for resolving impasses. Citizens have genuine bargaining influence over the outcome of the plan when the partnership works most effectively (Arnstein, 1969, p.221).

At the seventh level, delegated power, citizens have the majority of the seats on key boards, and therefore negotiations between power-holders and citizens can result in citizens achieving dominant decision-making authority over a plan or project. To resolve differences of opinion, power-holders need to negotiate decisions with the board members. Another model of delegated power is the provision of veto power to the citizens if differences cannot be resolved through negotiations (Arnstein, 1969, p.222).

At the final level, citizen control, citizens have the full power to control the entire process of planning, decision-making, and running a programme, such as a neighbourhood corporation with no intermediaries between it and the source of funds. In this form of participation, "participants or residents can govern a programme or an institution, be in full charge of policy and managerial aspects, and be able to negotiate the conditions under which 'outsiders' may change them" (Arnstein, 1969, p.223).

3.3. Limitations of Arnstein's Typology

Arnstein acknowledges that her typology has some limitations and identifies three important ones (1969, p.217).

The ladder juxtaposes powerless citizens with power-holders to highlight the fundamental divisions between them. But as Arnstein states, in reality, neither the have-nots nor the power-holders are homogeneous groups. Each group includes lots of divergent points of view, significant cleavages, competing vested interests and splintered subgroups. Nevertheless, she uses a simplistic abstraction due to the fact that in most cases the have-nots see the power-holders as a monolithic "system", while power-holders see the have-nots as "a sea of those people", with little comprehension of the class and caste differences among them.

Arnstein also argues that there are significant barriers to achieving genuine levels of citizen participation but her typology does not include an analysis of these barriers which lie on both sides of the simplistic fence. On the power-holders' side, they include racism, paternalism, and resistance to power redistribution. On the have-not's side, they include inadequacies in socioeconomic infrastructure and knowledge-base, as well as difficulties in organising a representative and accountable citizen's group in the face of futility, alienation, and distrust.

She also acknowledges that her typology is a simplification. However, her typology helps to show that so many people have missed significant gradations of citizen participation. In addition, knowing these gradations makes it possible to cut through the exaggeration to understand the increasingly strident demands of have-not citizens for participation and the confusing responses of power-holders.

Another caution about the eight-rung ladder is that there might be many more rungs in the real world of people and programmes, and the distinctions between these rungs might be less sharp and 'pure'. Therefore, some of the characteristics used to illustrate each of the eight forms of citizen participation might be applicable to other rungs. For instance, the participation of have-not citizens in a governmental planning process can occur at any of the eight rungs and represent either a legitimate or illegitimate characteristic of participation. Depending on their motives, power-holders can involve the citizens to co-opt them, to placate them, or to utilise their special skills and insights (Arnstein, 1969, p.217).

3.4. Criticisms of Arnstein's Typology

Although Arnstein's acknowledges that her typology is a simplification with limitations, further limitations have been identified by critics.

One of the criticisms stems from Arnstein's assumption that real participation only occurs at higher rungs of the ladder (at the six, seven, and eight rungs). In other words, true participation happens when a full partnership is established between power-holders and have-not citizens, or even when citizens have full power to run a plan or project. However, this argument has been criticised by some scholars. According to Tritter and McCallum (2006, p.156), who assessed Arnstein's typology within the context of the National Health Service in England, solely emphasising citizen empowerment undermines the potential of participation. Likewise, Collins and Ison (2006), who reviewed Arnstein's ladder in relation to water resource management in the EU and UK, point out that the linear and hierarchical model overlooks the significance of either the participation process or the existence of feedback loops which shape the understandings of the situation.

Another criticism arises from Arnstein's approach to measuring the success of participation in terms of its extent (the more power delegated to citizens, the better). Arnstein's ladder promotes full citizen control in the participatory process as the goal to be achieved. However, according to some scholars, in participatory processes, citizens may be satisfied with the level they have attained. In this regard, Tritter and McCallum (2006, p.156) argue that Arnstein's approach is overly focused on citizen control in planning and decision-making, ignoring the fact that for some citizens, participation itself may be the goal. Further, Hayward, Simpson and Wood (2004) say that not achieving full citizen control implies some automatic failure or delegitimisation of the process.

Moreover, Arnstein assumes that power transfer from power-holders to citizens will improve the quality of participation. However, Tritter and McCallum (2006, p.166) suggest that meaningful citizen participation requires that citizens' views have a direct impact on shaping public services, but this cannot ensure service improvement.

The following criticism is related to Arnstein's assumption about the roles and responsibilities of the individuals, communities and authorities involved in the process. She argues that their roles and responsibilities change only in relation to changing levels of power (in the dynamic of have-nots taking control and power-holders ceding it). But, she overlooks the more complex set of relationships that exist in many participatory processes

where roles are less easy to define, and responsibilities emerge during and as a consequence of the process itself (Collins and Ison, 2006). In this regard, Tritter and McCallum (2006, p.165) suggest that:

> A linear, hierarchical model of involvement – Arnstein's ladder – fails to capture the dynamic and evolutionary nature of user involvement. Nor does it recognise the agency of users who may seek different methods of involvement in relation to different issues and at different times. Similarly, Arnstein's model does not acknowledge the fact that some users may not wish to be involved.

Other rungs are missing from the ladder. Indeed, Arnstein (1969, p.217) acknowledges that "[i]n the real world of people and programmes, there might be 150 rungs" instead of eight, and that citizens are not homogeneous. Nonetheless, Tritter and McCallum (2006, p.165) argue that the typology uses the term citizen as a catch-all for any individual within a community who wishes a voice, and restricts the concept of diversity to socioeconomic status, ethnicity, and disability. Moreover, the model ignores the relationships between the aims of participation, the people involved, and the methods used to involve them (Tritter and McCallum, 2006, p.162). For these reasons, they claim that Arnstein's ladder has many missing rungs.

The next criticism is that Arnstein's typology has adverse effects, which that Tritter and McCallum (2006) refer to as dangerous 'snakes'. Tritter and McCallum (2006, p.162) argue that the snakes lurking in Arnstein's ladder might limit or undermine the ability to ensure the sustainability of citizen's participation, and promote decisions based on 'the tyranny of the majority'. Tritter and McCallum who draw attention to the potential of Arnstein's typology to reinforce existing patterns of inequality point out that citizen control might lead to service provision that meets the needs of some people more than others. They (2006, p.163) suggest that a genuinely empowering system would demonstrate safeguards to protect the rights of disadvantaged people and provide space for people with dissenting views.

Furthermore, Tritter and McCallum (2006, pp.163–164) assert that a citizen participation model should have multiple ladders depending on the types of participation and the categories of participants, with different numbers of rungs and bridges between ladders producing horizontal integration: a "scaffold model".

Due to all these abovementioned criticisms and shortcomings, Tritter and McCallum (2006, p.165) reject the metaphor of the ladder in favour of 'the mosaic', and suggest:

> A completed mosaic creates a picture that is the product of the complex and dynamic relationship between individual and groups of tiles. Tiles of different colours and shapes are essential to creating a complete picture, which without systematic integration reveals only chaos. This analogy captures interactions between individual users, their communities, voluntary organisations, and the healthcare system on which successful user involvement depends. The importance of user involvement is the engagement of diverse users and health professionals as co-producers. The mosaic illustrates the relationship between horizontal and vertical accountability and enables user involvement to be mapped and monitored.

Finally, Collins and Ison (2006) suggest that the metaphor of the ladder offers one further insight into its limitations which lies at the heart of participative questions. They argue:

> [L]adders do not exist in free space. They are defined by their usefulness in relation to something else. This perhaps obvious statement nonetheless reveals two major obstacles to its usefulness as a conceptual framing for participation. First, at a conceptual level, Arnstein's notion of participation is both devoid of context and, critically, has no means of making sense of the context in which the ladder is used. Second, in situations when the nature of the issue is highly contested or undefined, Arnstein's ladder provides few insights into how participation might be progressed as a collective process between all of the stakeholders involved.

3.5. Adoption of Arnstein's Typology

Despite the claims that it is time to move beyond Arnstein's ladder (e.g., Collins and Ison, 2006; Tritter and McCallum, 2006) it remains a useful tool for evaluating existing power relations between power-holders and citizens in participatory processes (Cornwall, 2008; Kotus and Sowada, 2017; Blue, Rosol and Fast, 2019; Contreas, 2019). After understanding the strengths and limitations of Arnstein's ladder, I considered her ladder as the most appropriate tool for this study.

I adopted Arnstein's typology in this thesis for various reasons. First, Arnstein illustrates the characteristics of the eight rungs on the ladder with examples from the US federal social programmes such as urban renewal, anti-poverty, and Model Cities, but she argues that her typology is more broadly relevant. That is, her typology is helpful in analysing the power relations and understanding the outcomes of participatory processes that are initiated by a powerful and authoritative entity such as a government agency, municipality, university or police department (Arnstein, 1969, p.217). Considering that this thesis aims to explore citizen participation motives of Turkish local political elites through six different participatory processes initiated by municipalities, Arnstein's ladder is an appropriate tool for this thesis.

Second, Arnstein's ladder draws attention to the importance of power relations and she argues that:

> [P]articipation without redistribution of power is an empty and frustrating process for the powerless. It allows the powerholders to claim that all sides were considered, but makes it possible for only some of those sides to benefit. It maintains the status quo (1969, p.216).

Arnstein (1969, p.218) also asserts that "under a masquerade of involving citizens in planning", power-holders may use participation for different purposes. In other words, she says that power-holders may not share their decision-making power with citizens and do not allow citizens to influence the decisions that affect their lives. Therefore, there may be a massive gap between rhetoric and reality of citizen participation. To demonstrate the difference between real citizen participation and something that might appear to be participation but is no more than a masquerade, Arnstein provides various good examples of which purposes power-holders may use participation at different rungs of the ladder (e.g., for engineering citizens' support through "education" and "persuasion" for the decisions that have already been made and thus for legitimising these pre-determined decisions, or for providing public relations to secure citizens' support). Considering that this thesis explores motives of Turkish local political elites towards citizen participation, Arnstein's typology is helpful to identify the extent of the gap between their stated intentions and actions and therefore to reveal their real motives.

Third, Arnstein's ladder (1969) plays a foundational role in the literature on citizen participation and it shapes much of the discussion of participatory processes. A lot has

been written about the ladder in the 50 years since it was published. But, as a result of my extensive literatur review on citizen participation, I found that Arnstein's ladder has not been adequately addressed in Turkish literature. I believe that there needs to be full engagement with this range of sources. Moreover, to the best of my knowledge, there is no study focusing on the motives of Turkish politicians or public officials regarding citizen participation in governmental processes. Thus, I adopted Arnstein's ladder to explore citizen participation motives of Turkish local political elites.

3.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, I introduced Arnstein's (1969) ladder of citizen participation as the theoretical framework for the thesis. Accordingly, first, I looked at the rise of the participatory idea of democracy and briefly explained the reasons that encouraged Arnstein to develop the ladder. Then, I described Arnstein's ladder. Next, I discussed the limitations of the ladder identified by Arnstein herself and criticised by others. Finally, I explained why I adopted Arnstein's ladder in this thesis.

Arnstein's ladder focuses on the redistribution of power between power-holders and powerless citizens as an essential element of participatory democratic processes, with her fundamental point being that participation without redistribution of power is an empty and frustrating process for the powerless. Arnstein presents a hierarchical structure portraying citizen participation in three categories. She argues that depending on their motives, power-holders allow citizens to influence the processes affecting their lives. Power-holders may use participation for non-democratic purposes, and thus participation may remain merely a window-dressing ritual. However, power-holders may significantly exaggerate this process and may advertise it as an exemplary participatory democratic process. Thus, there may be a massive gap between rhetoric and reality.

This thesis aims to explore the motives of Turkish local political elites to involve citizens in administrative processes, and Arnstein's ladder is useful for capturing their real motives. There are some limitations of the ladder identified by Arnstein herself and criticised by other researchers. Nevertheless, it is still a useful tool to evaluate the power relations and to understand the outcomes of these processes. Therefore, it enables the researchers to identify the extent of the gap between power-holders' stated intentions and actions and to reveal their real motives.

CHAPTER 4: Study Design and Methodology

The chapter is divided into four sections. The first section describes the rationale behind the case study approach and discusses the case selection process. The second section introduces the data sources and justifies the methodology used in data collection and analysis. The third section discusses the ethical considerations of this study, and the final section reviews the overall challenges and limitations faced in the process of research.

In social sciences, qualitative and quantitative methods constitute the two main research methods. Briefly, quantitative research is used to explain a phenomenon by generating numerical data or data that can be transformed into meaningful statistics, graphs and tables. This type of research seeks to identify and understand patterns in the data and draw inferences about the wider population from which the study sample originated (Hammersley, 2013, pp.1–2). However, if an in-depth narrative understanding of a particular subgroup is desired, qualitative research is preferred (Vanderstoep and Johnston, 2009, p.8). Qualitative research strategies are essential in order to explore a broader range of social dimensions, including "the texture and weave of everyday life, the understandings, experiences and imaginings of our research participants, the ways that social processes, institutions, discourses or relationships work, and the significance of the meanings that they generate" (Mason, 2002, p.1). Qualitative research could be used to describe problems, behaviours, or events, and it can also provide narrative descriptions of people's thoughts and opinions about their experiences, attitudes and beliefs (Patton, 2002, pp.4–5). Since it is imperative to match the particular research aim to the research strategy that will help achieve that aim, qualitative research methods were selected for this study as it would allow me to (i) identify the gap between stated intentions and actions of Turkish local political elites on citizen participation, (ii) explore the gap between rhetoric and reality of citizen participation in Turkish local governments, and therefore (iii) capture motives of Turkish local political elites to involve citizens in administrative processes.

4.1. The Qualitative Case Study

Citizen participation is a complex social phenomenon (Rosener, 1978, p.460). Motivation is also a highly broad and complex psychological phenomenon, especially since motives themselves are dynamic. Examining a broad and complex topic in-depth requires rich data and appropriate study design.

The case study approach provides a fertile ground for an in-depth investigation of a phenomenon. According to Yin (2003, p.2), "the distinctive need for case study research arises out of the desire to understand complex social phenomena". Yin (2014, p.16) characterises the case study as an empirical inquiry that "investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the 'case') in-depth and within its real-world context when the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident". Since the particular strength of qualitative case study is to study a complex and broad topic in-depth, I used a case study approach to explore Turkish local political elites understanding of citizen participation in administrative processes.

Stake (2005, p.445) identifies three main types of case studies: (i) intrinsic case study (to understand the case of interest holistically), (ii) instrumental case study (to gain insight into a topic or theory), and (iii) multiple case study (groups of individual case studies to investigate a larger phenomenon from which the cases are drawn in order to attain a fuller picture about the phenomenon of interest). Considering the purposes of this thesis, a multiple case study approach was deemed suitable.

4.1.1. The Multiple Case Study Approach

Turkey was selected as a case country in this thesis, and the fieldwork was conducted in the four largest metropolitan provinces in terms of population (Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir and Bursa, respectively) located in the Western part of the country (Figure 3).
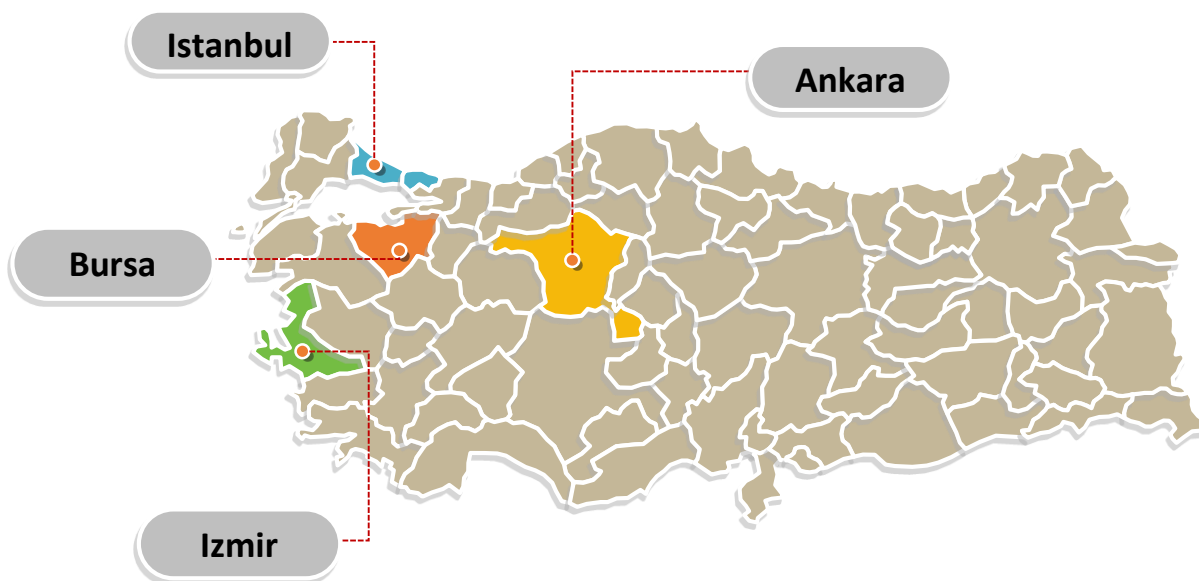
Figure 3: Four Largest Metropolitan Provinces in Turkey

One of the arguments for employing a multiple case study approach is to examine how the phenomenon of interest performs in different environments (Stake, 2006, p.23). Moreover, Baxter and Jack (2008, p.550) advocate a multiple case study allows researchers to understand the similarities and differences between the cases. Therefore, evidence created from a multiple case study is considered strong and reliable even though these studies can be expensive and time-consuming. Therefore, the multiple case study approach was considered appropriate to explore the variations in the motives for citizen participation amongst Turkish local political elites who belonged to different political parties and served in different districts in different metropolitan provinces. The multiple case study approach was also seen as appropriate to evaluate the impact of community characteristics on citizen participation motives of local political elites. This approach was also useful to understand obstacles to citizen participation in different places.

Turkey is divided into 81 provinces. The population of the country was 78.7 million at the commencement of this thesis in 2015. More than one-third population in Turkey resided in the largest four metropolitan provinces. The population of the provinces included in this thesis were as follows: Istanbul 14.66 million (18.6%), Ankara 5.27 million (6.7%), Izmir 4.17 million (5.3%), and Bursa 2.84 million (3.6%) (*Hurriyet Daily News*, 2016). By the end of 2019, the country's population exceeded 83 million and more than one-third of the total population still lived in these four provinces. The population of these provinces in 2018 was as follows: Istanbul 15.5 million, Ankara 5.64 million, Izmir 4.37 million, and Bursa 3.05 million (*Hurriyet Daily News*, 2020). Based on these figures it could be argued that the situation regarding citizen participation in these provinces is somewhat representative of the common understanding across the country. These four metropolitan provinces also comprise many rural and urban districts with population sizes ranges between approximately 10,000 and 1 million. The availability of rural and urban districts in these provinces in various sizes can provide a great opportunity to understand differences and similarities in the barriers to citizen participation as well as the impact of community characteristics on the motives of local political elites on participation. For these reasons, I selected these four largest metropolitan provinces for this thesis to reveal the motives of Turkish local political elites on citizen participation. The selection of these provinces was also deemed suitable for the fieldwork considering time and travel limitations.

My personal and academic background spanning the provinces included in this thesis allowed me to make a good evaluation of the issues related to citizens' participation in local administrative processes in these provinces. I was born and raised in Ankara, and I continue to have family members residing in this province. I completed higher education at a university in Izmir, and I continue to visit this province to see my relatives and friends. Further, I have been in Bursa and Istanbul many times for various reasons (e.g., to visit my friends, to have a holiday, to attend academic events). Moreover, my father worked in a district municipality in Ankara (the Kecioren Municipality) about 28 years as a civil servant, in different departments and various positions. Furthermore, I have a two-year associate degree in the field of local administration and a Bachelor's degree in the field of public administration. During my undergraduate studies, I investigated the projects and works of many district municipalities in these four provinces, and I visited numerous municipalities many times to carry out my studies. During my undergraduate studies, I also did three-month internships in two consecutive years (in the summers of 2007 and 2008) at different departments in the Kecioren Municipality. These work and life experiences and educational background gave me contextual knowledge of citizen participation in Turkey, the responsibilities and powers of local governments and the role of their administrators in ensuring people's participation in administrative processes and to develop local democracy. My experiences and background also enabled me to get access to the people whose views are critical in ensuring citizen participation in administrative processes.

4.1.2. Case Selection

According to Stake (2006, p.22), "the benefits of multi-case study will be limited if fewer than 4 cases are chosen, or more than 10. Two or three cases do not show enough of the interactivity between programmes and their situation, whereas 15 to 30 cases provide more uniqueness of interactivity than the research team and reader can come to understand." Considering Stake's recommendation and limitations such as duration of fieldwork and the remit of a PhD thesis, 6 case studies were deemed to be sufficient for this thesis. During the identification of these case studies, I aimed to include a variety of citizen participation practices such as strategic plan preparation process, citizens' assembly project, regular public meetings, and neighbourhood committees project. Even though this thesis did not aim to elaborate on the forms or mechanisms of citizen participation, the diversity of included practices was useful for observing the diversity of participation practices in

Turkey and the difficulties in the implementation of different participation practices. This diversity is also useful to explore the varied motives of local political elites.

For this thesis, the case studies were selected from the citizen participation projects that were either ongoing or recently completed. This is because it was necessary to interview local political elites to understand their motives regarding citizen participation in the administrative processes, and as Kramer (1990, cited in Tansey 2007, p.767) argues "if the interview is held long after the events of interest have taken place, memory lapses can limit the usefulness of the interview".

All citizen participation practices selected for this thesis were conducted by municipalities, since as discussed earlier in Chapter 2, in Turkey, municipalities are the unique local administrations that have the power and responsibility to ensure citizen participation in metropolitan provinces. The citizen participation practices included in this thesis were selected from six different district municipalities with population sizes ranging from 30 thousand to 920 thousand. Overall, two municipalities (Kecioren Municipality and Akyurt Municipality) from Ankara, two municipalities (Kadikoy Municipality and Maltepe Municipality) from Istanbul, one municipality (Selcuk Municipality) from Izmir, and one municipality (Nilufer Municipality) from Bursa were included.

4.1.2.1. Case Studies on Non-Compulsory Citizen Participation at the Local Level

It is a legal duty for the local administrations to carry out some processes with the participatory management approach. For instance, according to the Municipal Law no 5393, both the preparation of a five-year strategic plan and the establishment of citizens' assembly are compulsory in municipalities with a population of more than 50,000. However, this thesis examines the motives of local political elites who carry out citizen participation processes in an environment where there was no legal duty to carry out participation. Therefore, citizen participation practices that were conducted as legal duties were excluded in this thesis.

4.1.2.2. Typical and Atypical Local Citizen Participation Case Studies

Stake (2006, p.23) states that an important reason for conducting a multiple case study is to examine how a programme or phenomenon performs in different places. Accordingly, this usually means that cases in both typical and atypical settings should be studied. By selecting case studies carefully, the design of a study can incorporate a diversity of

contexts. Thus, the case studies in this thesis comprise both typical and atypical citizen participation practices, particularly to explain the variation in the motives of local political elites for involving citizens in administrative processes.

This thesis includes three typical and three atypical citizen participation practices. In this thesis, the following typical case studies were examined: regular public meetings that were organised by the Kecioren Municipality, a strategic planning process which was carried out by the Akyurt Municipality, and a citizens' assembly project of the Selcuk Municipality. All three types of citizen participation practices are carried out by many municipalities across the country. Although a very limited number of outstanding examples are available, their design or implementation is very similar. These three case studies were selected to explore the motives behind the most common citizen participation practices in Turkey.

On the other hand, atypical case studies in this thesis are not common citizen participation practices in Turkey and have been carried out by few municipalities. They have been conducted with a distinctive management approach, implementation method, or design. In this thesis, the following atypical case studies were examined: a problem-solving process regarding urban space usage in Kadikoy's Kadife Street, an urban regeneration project in Maltepe's Basibuyuk, Gulsuyu, and Gulensu neighbourhoods, and a neighbourhood committees and participatory budgeting project of the Nilufer Municipality. These atypical case studies were selected to understand why local political elites need to conduct these processes with a different management approach, and therefore to explore the factors that lead political elites to follow different methods.

The case studies in this thesis were divided into two categories as typical and atypical according to Arnstein's (1969) citizen participation ladder introduced in Chapter 3.2. The typical case studies correspond to levels of tokenism on the ladder, while the atypical case studies try to go further. In other words, the typical cases represent the forms of participation that citizens lack the power to influence the decisions that affect their lives, while the atypical cases include the forms of participation that allow citizens to influence the decisions concerning them to a larger extent.

4.2. Data Collection Techniques and Data Sources

Qualitative data collection and analysis are often time-consuming and more subjective than quantitative data. However, the use of qualitative data collection techniques was crucial in this thesis since because there was a need to capture Turkish local political elites' beliefs,

values, experiences and especially motives regarding citizen participation in administrative processes. Via qualitative methods, relevant facts could be obtained particularly by asking "why" and "how" questions as well as "what" questions.

In social sciences, triangulation refers to the combination of at least two theories, methods, data sources or investigators when studying social phenomena, and it can be employed in both quantitative and qualitative studies (Yeasmin and Rahman, 2012, p.156). The concept of triangulation was first applied in research by Campbell and Fiskel (1959) and further developed by Webb, Campbell, Schwartz and Sechrest (1966), even though it was popularised by the widely cited work of Denzin (1970) on the theoretical underpinnings and implications of combined methods in sociological qualitative research (Yeasmin and Rahman, 2012, p.154). Denzin (1970, p.301) categorised triangulation into four types: (1) data triangulation (the use of different data sources to help understand a phenomenon, to gain multiple perspectives and validation of data), (2) investigator triangulation (the use of two or more researchers in the same study in collecting and interpreting data), (3) theoretical triangulation (the use of multiple theories and perspectives in interpreting data), and (4) methodological triangulation (the use of multiple research methods or data collection techniques). By combining multiple theories, methods, researchers, or data sources, it is aimed to overcome the weaknesses or intrinsic biases of a single method, observer, theory, or data source, and therefore strengthen the outcome of the study. Researchers use triangulation not only to increase the validity of the research but also to allow a deep understanding of the phenomenon under investigation (Olsen, 2004, p.1; Yeasmin and Rahman, 2012, p.154). In other words, researchers use triangulation to be more confident in their results (Yeasmin and Rahman, 2012, p.159).

Two methods could be used for triangulation: within-method and between method (or across-method). Across-method studies combine quantitative and qualitative data collection techniques in the same study, whereas within-method studies use either quantitative or qualitative data, but not both (Denzin, 1970, pp.307–308). For instance, quantitative data may be obtained by using survey questionnaires and a pre-existing database, while qualitative data may be obtained by using focus group, observation and interviews. This thesis employed within-method triangulation in which I collected the data using qualitative interviewing and document review techniques.

All existing data collection techniques have advantages and disadvantages. In this study, qualitative interviewing and document review techniques complemented each other. For instance, while interviews mitigated for the gaps in documents by providing detailed information particularly regarding citizen participation processes, documents were helpful in checking the accuracy of as well as enriching the data collected in the interviews. In some instances, there were inconsistencies and contradictions between interviews and documents. Particularly, while the information provided by few interviewees was not up-to-date or not exactly correct, the information in some documents was outdated or missing. Therefore, I endeavoured to collate comprehensive data, to cross-reference the interview data and documentary data, and to increase the reliability and validity of the research. Furthermore, since it was not possible to conduct interviews with some politicians, I had to rely on politicians' public speeches, media statements, or their previous press interviews.

4.2.1. Qualitative Interviewing

Interviews were the major source of data for this thesis, since they provided "an excellent opportunity to explore a political actor's beliefs, motivations and processes of decision-making" (Harrison and Callan, 2013, p.72). They also allowed insight into participants' "biographies, experiences, opinions, values, aspirations, attitudes and feelings" (May, 2011, p.131). Interviews were also useful for this thesis because although several typical and atypical citizen participation case studies were examined, it was anticipated that documentary data would not provide sufficient information about these processes. Therefore, I conducted interviews following Lilleker's (2003, p.208) argument that "interviews can provide immense amounts of information that could not be gleaned from official published documents or contemporary media accounts" (Lilleker, 2003, p.208).

4.2.1.1. Semi-Structured Elite Interviews

A semi-structured format was preferred for the interviews since the main objective of the thesis required an in-depth exploration of the topic of interest. Denscombe (2017, p.204) argues that semi-structured interviews enable the researcher to have a clear list of issues to be addressed and questions to be answered. This method enables the researcher to allow the interviewee to develop ideas and speak widely on the relevant issues. In the same vein, semi-structured interviews are flexible enough to help the researcher discover unexpected insights by allowing the interviewees to go off on tangents during the interview (Bryman, 2016, p.466). Additionally, according to Hancock and Algozzine (2006, p.40), semi-

structured interviews are particularly suitable for case study research because researchers ask predetermined but flexible questions and can ask follow-up questions designed to probe more deeply issues of interest to interviewees. In this manner, semi-structured interviews allow interviewees to express themselves openly and freely. Crucially, Pierce (2008, p.118) asserts that "in politics research, the most widely-used type of interview – especially in elite interviews – is the semi-structured interview". Furthermore, it is generally advised to avoid asking elites closed-ended questions. As Aberbach and Rockman (2002, p.674) assert "elites especially do not like being put in the straightjacket of close-ended questions. They prefer to articulate their views, explaining why they think what they think."

Since Turkish local political elites were the main interview participants, the interviews I conducted were "elite interviews". According to Tansey (2007, p.767), "elite interviews can shed light on the hidden elements of political action that are not clear from an analysis of political outcomes or other primary sources". Tansey (2007, p.767) also points out that one of the strongest advantages of elite interviews is that "researchers can interview first-hand participants of the processes they are investigating and obtain accounts from direct witnesses to the events in question". Elite interviews, thus, are a valuable source of data for political researchers and make an important contribution to empirical research (Tansey, 2007, p.767).

Despite their strengths, interviews are not without limitations. According to Creswell (2014, p.186), participants may provide indirect information or prejudiced expressions. Further, researchers' understanding of the social phenomenon is highly contingent on the ability of relevant interviewees to express their ideas, experiences and interpretations in a concise manner (Creswell, 2014). Yin (2014, p.106) also considers bias and reflectivity as the main weaknesses of the interview method. According to him, in this method, while interviewees may provide what the interviewer wants to hear, indirect information may be filtered through the views of the participants. Moreover, if the interview is held long after the events of interest have taken place, memory lapses can limit the usefulness of the interview (Kramer, 1990 cited in Tansey, 2007, p.767). Nevertheless, due to the potential of qualitative interviewing for generating "rich" and "detailed" data, interviews formed the major data source in this thesis. Although some documentary data provided detailed information about the process of participation processes, this could not substitute for talking directly with those involved in and gaining insights from the political elites.

The literature on qualitative interviews is not clear on the ideal number of interviews for establishing a strong evidence base. In a review paper of the United Kingdom National Centre for Research Methods (NCRM) elaborating on the required number of qualitative interviews, fourteen renowned qualitative methodologists and five early career researchers agreed that the number of interviews depends on the characteristics of the research (Baker and Edwards, 2012, p.42). Similarly, Burnham, Lutz, Grant and Layton-Henry (2008, p.233) emphasise that the number of interviews should be determined according to the "objectives and purposes" of the study.

First developed by Glaser and Strauss ([1967] 2006), saturation is "the point at which no new information or themes are observed in the data" (Guest, Bunce and Johnson, 2006, p.59) or "the collection of new data does not shed any further light on the issue under investigation" (Mason, 2010). Similarly, Bowen (2008, p.140) states that "saturation is reached when the researcher gathers data to the point of diminishing returns, when nothing new is being added". In line with these definitions, I conducted 40 interviews to reach saturation.

4.2.1.1.1. Interview Participants

The interviewees consisted of 40 people from various positions in municipalities and citizens' assemblies in four metropolitan provinces and four different political parties. Interviews were conducted with people in diverse positions and diverse political views and experiences to crosscheck the information about participation projects. This was necessary to increase the credibility of the information and to ensure objectivity. The majority of the interviewees were local political elites including former or current mayors, vice-mayors, deputy mayors, municipal councillors. Some individuals who have never assumed a political role in their lives were also interviewed as during the interviews few political elites invited experienced staff members (e.g., heads of relevant municipal units or directors of the citizen participation projects) to provide more contribution to the research. Further, several elites were only able to have a brief interview session due to their busy schedule; however, they helped me approach and conduct interviews with non-politicians who were experienced individuals about citizen participation practices.

The interviewees who were politicians were members of four political parties represented in both the 26th and 27th terms of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (GNAT) which were formed following the snap general elections held on 1st November 2015 and 24th June

2018 respectively. These parties included the right-wing and governing JDP, centre-left and main opposition RPP, far-right NMP, and newly-formed centre/centre-right Good Party. The interviewees were predominantly the members of the governing party and the main opposition party, since in the four largest provinces, the municipalities are governed by only the three major political parties: JDP, RPP, and NMP. By the end of September 2018, there was only one independent mayor who was sacked by his political party after the local elections. Further, there was also one mayor who won the election as an independent candidate, but he joined the governing party after the local elections. By the end of September 2018, over 60% of 1397 municipalities in Turkey were governed by the mayors belonging to the governing party, while the governing and the main opposition parties predominantly governed the municipalities in four provinces (Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir and Bursa). For example, of the 18 municipalities in Bursa, only two were governed by the main opposition, the RPP, and the remaining 16 were governed by the JDP. Similarly, of the 26 municipalities in Ankara, two were governed by mayors from the main opposition party. In contrast, the main opposition party governed 22 of 31 municipalities in Izmir. In the four provinces, there were only three mayors from the NMP: two in Ankara and one in Izmir. One mayor resigned from the NMP after the March 2014 local elections and joined the governing JDP. The municipal councillors in these four provinces were also members of these three major political parties. Among the interview participants, there was only one participant who was a member of a political party outside these three major parties. This participant was a councillor and member of the newly-formed Good Party.

There was also another political party which had seats in the parliament in both 26th and 27th terms of the GNAT: the left-wing and Kurdish issue-focused Peoples' Democratic Party. However, I did not conduct any interviews with a member of this political party, since no municipality was governed by a member of the Peoples' Democratic Party in the country. At the local level, the Democratic Regions Party represented the Peoples' Democratic Party. The Peoples' Democratic Party acted as the fraternal party (local wing) to Democratic Regions Party. During the March 2014 nationwide local elections, the Peoples' Democratic Party ran with the Peace and Democracy Party. While the Peace and Democracy Party ran in Turkey's Kurdish-dominated South-East, the Peoples' Democratic Party competed in the rest of the country, except for in Mersin and Konya provinces, where the Peace and Democracy Party nominated its own candidates (Ete, Akbaba, Dalay, Ersay, Kanat and Ustun, 2014, p.20). After the 2014 municipal elections, the Peoples'

Democratic Party and the Peace and Democracy Party were re-organised in a joint structure. Consequently, the entire parliamentary caucus of the Peace and Democracy Party joined Peoples' Democratic Party, while the Peace and Democracy Party was assigned exclusively to representatives on the local administration level. At the congress of the Peace and Democracy Party held after the local elections, the name of the party was changed to the Democratic Regions Party and a new structure restricting the activities pertaining to the local/regional government level was adopted. Although the Peace and Democracy Party won just over 100 municipalities including three of 30 metropolitan municipalities in the 2014 local elections, these municipalities are located in East and South-East regions of the country, except for only one municipality in South region, Akdeniz Municipality in Mersin province, and hence fell out with the remit of this thesis.

As a consequence of the electoral system based on the d'Hont method prescribing a local threshold of 10% in a single tour, the municipal councils in the four largest provinces predominantly consisted of members of the three major political parties: JDP, RPP, and NMP. For instance, there were over five hundred municipal councillors in total in the capital Ankara, but there were only a few independent councillors and a small number of councillors from the Good Party and Great Unity Party. Although political participants of the study were members of four political parties that had a seat in the GNAT, some political participants were former members of several different parties (e.g., pro-Islamists Welfare Party, Virtue Party, and Felicity Party; libertarian and internationalist socialist left-wing Freedom and Solidarity Party; and centre-left Democratic Left Party).

Some interviewees who were local political elites occupied several important positions. Among the participants, there were ten vice-mayors of whom five were also municipal councillors. According to Article 49 of the Municipal Law no 5393, if the mayor considers necessary, he may appoint "one municipal councillor as the vice-mayor in municipalities with a population of up to 50,000, two in municipalities with a population of between 50,001 and 200,000, three in municipalities with a population of between 200,001 and 500,000 and four in municipalities with a population of 500,000 or more". Appointment on this basis cannot exceed the term of office of the council, and it does not entitle those concerned to any other status, such as transfer to civil servant status or employment on a contractual basis or with employee status.

In addition, according to Article 12 of the Law on Metropolitan Municipalities no 5216, the mayors of district municipalities within the metropolitan area are also natural members of the metropolitan municipal council. Metropolitan municipality council consists of metropolitan municipality mayor and district mayors. It also includes one-fifth of the councillors of each district municipal council. For instance, since the 2004 local elections, Ilhan Sener was a Municipal Councillor of the Akyurt Municipality and the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality at the same time, while he served as Vice-Mayor of the Akyurt Municipality. Furthermore, six interviewees were presidents of citizens' assemblies, and two of these presidents, Tekin Celik from the Polatli Municipality (Ankara) and Hamit Mumcu from the Konak Municipality (Izmir), were municipal councillors at the same time.

When I conducted the interviews, some interviewees did not actively carry out political duties; however, many of them previously performed important political duties in one capacity or another. For instance, Seyit Sarp was not carrying out a political duty as the President of the Etimesgut Municipality Citizens' Assembly, when I conducted the interview with him, but he carried out political duties for a long time in the past as Municipal Councillor and Deputy Mayor of the Etimesgut Municipality (Ankara). Ikbal Polat was also not performing a political duty as Secretary-General of the Kadikoy Municipality Citizens' Assembly, but she was an independent candidate (common candidate of small left-wing parties) for the Mayor Office of Bursa Metropolitan Municipality at the local elections on 30th March 2014. She is also a founding member of the Freedom and Solidarity Party Provincial Presidency in Istanbul and Bursa provinces.

Table 4: List of Interviewees

	Name	Occupation	Location
1	Abdulsamet Baskak	Other	Izmir
2	Abidin Arikok	Public Official	Ankara
3	Ali Kilic	Politician	Istanbul
4	Alper Yaglidere	Other	Izmir
5	Atay Tozlu	Public Official	Izmir
6	Bahar Yalcin	Politician	Istanbul
7	Batur Secilmis	Public Official	Istanbul
8	Cagri Gruscu	Politician	Izmir
9	Dahi Zeynel Bakici	Politician	Izmir

10	Derya Ozgok	Public Official	Bursa
11	Egecan Erdogan	Other	Istanbul
12	Elvan Atay	Other	Bursa
13	Ercan Dogan	Public Official	Ankara
14	Erol Turan	Other	Ankara
15	Fahri Aktas	Politician	Ankara
16	F. Serhat Kaya	Public Official	Ankara
17	Ferhat Erdogan	Politician	Ankara
18	Filiz Ceritoglu Sengel	Politician	Izmir
19	Gokhan Dincer	Politician	Bursa
20	Goksel Oksuz	Politician	Istanbul
21	Hamit Mumcu	Politician	Izmir
22	Haydar Battal	Public Official	Istanbul
23	Ikbal Polat	Other	Istanbul
24	Ilhan Sener	Politician	Ankara
25	Irfan Yildiz	Public Official	Izmir
26	Ismail Acar	Public Official	Ankara
27	Melih Morsunbul	Public Official	Istanbul
28	Mustafa Bozbey	Politician	Bursa
29	Osman Kayaer	Politician	Ankara
30	Omer Sahan	Politician	Istanbul
31	Selman Boyacioglu	Public Official	Izmir
32	Serkan Bahadir	Politician	Istanbul
33	Seyit Sarp	Politician	Ankara
34	Tekin Celik	Politician	Ankara
35	Yavuz Kok	Politician	Ankara
36	Confidential 1	Politician	Ankara
37	Confidential 2	Public Official	Ankara
38	Confidential 3	Politician	Ankara
39	Confidential 4	Public Official	Ankara
40	Confidential 5	Politician	Izmir

* For more information about the interviewees go to page 183.

4.2.1.1.2. Conducting the Interviews

I conducted interviews in two rounds. In the first round, I conducted 25 interviews between 15 December 2016 and 31 January 2017, while 15 were conducted in the second round between 16 April and 11 May 2018.

I conducted all interviews face-to-face because of the significant advantages this mode of delivery brings. According to Opdenakker (2006), face-to-face interviews allow the interviewer many possibilities to create a good interview ambience due to synchronous communication. In my case, face-to-face interviews offered opportunities for more high-quality and in-depth data collection and comprehensive understanding of the citizen participation motives of local political elites by establishing mutual trust in a short time. These face-to-face interviews were also very useful for networking for my future career.

I began the interviews in an informal way to create a positive atmosphere of mutual trust. Before starting each interview, I introduced myself and outlined the aims of the research. I also briefly stated the ethical guidelines before starting the interviews. First, to better understand each citizen participation project that examined in this study, I asked the interviewees who initiated or was involved in the project and asked them to describe the aims and process of the participation project. Next, I asked some open-ended questions on examples of information or feedback they had received from citizens, and how that information or feedback had been used, challenges they have experienced, and motives for seeking input from citizens. These questions were also useful to understand how interviewees understood their mandate for public service and how they made sense of their behaviours. I also asked the political elites about the challenges of conducting a participation process in Turkey as well as their thoughts on the common understanding regarding citizen participation in the country. Further, I asked several questions about the community characteristics that may affect the motives of the local political elites. In order to elicit detailed descriptions of elites' views, experiences, and motives, "what", "how", and "why" questions were asked. I also used informal probes (e.g., "Can you tell me more about that?" or "Can you explain what you mean?") and follow-up questions to clarify the comments of interviewees.

In general, interviews were conducted in a positive atmosphere as a consequence of the established mutual trust. Interviewees were all warm and welcoming. Only a small number of interviewees seemed uninterested. The participants answered all the questions in-depth

to the best of their ability. Many interviewees gave detailed answers without hesitation, and a few members of the governing party criticised certain decisions of their parties, especially regarding problems on municipal laws.

Aberbach and Rockman (2002, p.673) point out that "in real estate the maxim for picking a piece of property is 'location, location, location'". In other words, location is the key factor that determines audio recording quality. Interviews should be held in a place where interruptions and background noise can be minimised. Therefore, researchers should avoid conducting interviews in public and outdoors areas (e.g., a park, pub or restaurant), where possible. However, it may not always be possible to hold the interviews in a place where interviewees or interviewers can control interruptions and background disturbances. Some of my interviews were inevitably interrupted several times due to busy work schedules of the participants. For example, interviewees' telephones rang or their secretaries entered the room when some documents needed to be signed urgently. I generally conducted the interviews in the participants' official offices during business days, although I conducted five interviews in their personal workplace (e.g., law office, real estate agency, architectural office, and driving school). Further, at the request of a participant, I conducted one interview in a coffee shop during the weekend.

Interviews were recorded whenever possible to facilitate conversation and to minimise information loss, since recording enables the researcher to focus more on what the interviewee is saying (Richards, 1996, p.202; Aberbach and Rockman, 2002, p.675). However, seven interviews were not recorded. Of these, two were not recorded due to participants' requests and five were not recorded in order to create an atmosphere where the participants felt comfortable. Even when interviews were recorded with an audio recorder, I took hand-written notes. This is because according to Mack, Woodsong, MacQueen, Guest and Namey (2005, p.43), "Interviewers must take notes during the interview, regardless of whether it is being tape-recorded. These notes serve as a backup when recording fails and to capture nonverbal information". Indeed, there were issues with the recording of few interviews. In these cases, in order to overcome background noise issues, I used written notes. In addition, note-taking was useful to scribble down some possible questions to ask later in the interview and helped pace the interviews. It was not possible to write down every quotation by hand; therefore, I recorded keywords and phrases quickly using abbreviations and acronyms.

According to Mack *et al.* (2005, p.44) "following each in-depth interview, data collectors need to expand their notes into rich descriptions of what they have observed". Similarly, Rubin and Rubin (2012, p.112) and Burnham *et al.* (2008, p.125) stated that immediately after each interview, the field notes should be expanded because accurate recall fades quickly. Following this guidance, I read interview notes after each interview, revised, and added some questions to make sure I ask clearer questions in the sessions that followed.

Pierce (2008, p.125) argues that "generally speaking, a successful elite interview will last 50 minutes and consist of five open questions and five supplementary questions". Throughout this research, I conducted 40 interviews with various durations. The average interview spanned about 45 minutes. However, some interviews took a relatively short time (approximately 20 minutes), while the longest interviews took 1.5 hours. During the interviews, many participants provided me with some documents (e.g., journals, activity reports, strategic plans which were published by their municipalities or other institutions) to provide more contribution to the research without my request. Few participants sent some useful documents during or after the interview via e-mail as well.

4.2.1.1.3. Analysis of Interview Data

The semi-structured elite interviews provided a significant amount of data. To manage and analyse the interview data more easily, after each round, I transcribed all interviews, then coded them, and lastly translated the useful parts of the interviews from Turkish to English.

"Transcribing interviews from an oral to a written mode structures the interview conversations in a form amenable to closer analysis and is in itself an initial analytic process" (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015, p.206). For this reason, interview data analysis started with transcribing. I personally transcribed all interviews following Hesse-Biber and Leavy's guidance (2006, p.347) advocating that "transcribing research data is interactive and engages the reader in the process of deep listening, analysis and interpretation. Transcription is not a passive act, instead provides the researcher with a valuable opportunity to engage with his or her research material right from the beginning of data collection."

Following the transcription process, I re-read all the transcripts for coding. Both the transcription and re-reading process were useful in identifying several major themes emerging from the interview data. Then, I uploaded all transcripts into NVivo 11, a qualitative data analysis software on which the interview data was coded under identified

themes. Charmaz (2006, p.3) defines coding as the labels which are attached to parts of data to describe what they entail. According to Benaquisto (2008, p.85), "the coding process refers to the steps the researcher takes to identify, arrange, and systematise the ideas, concepts, and categories uncovered in the data". Overall, coding could be defined as the process of generating ideas and concepts from raw data such as interview transcripts, field notes, and reports.

After completing the first cycle of the coding process, I arranged themes in a reiterative way where some codes were removed while others were integrated with others. Without using the NVivo software programme, identifying the themes and analysing them consistently would have been difficult. Such software programmes can display the coded extracts, and therefore, researchers can inspect them several times and review comments highlighted under the same theme.

A frequent criticism regarding coding is that it seeks to transform qualitative data into "quasi-quantitative" data which may inadvertently rid the data of its variety, richness, and individual character. This concern, however, is not relevant to this research because coding was used in this thesis only as a tool for the technical classification of interview data in line with the model that facilitates the use and the analysis of the data. Here, the following statement of Patton (2002, p.442) should be emphasised: "computers and software are tools that assist analysis. Software doesn't really analyse qualitative data". Smyth (2008, p.565) also argue that "NVivo does not analyse data for the researcher. It is a management tool enabling greater depth in analysis and facilitating the searching of large quantities of transcript data so that the researcher can make considered judgments".

4.2.2. Document Review

One of the most important uses of documents in case study research is to corroborate and enrich evidence gathered from other sources (Yin, 2014, p.107). Indeed, "if the political scientist can combine the information gained from elite interviews with other sources of data, such a combination produces a powerful research package" (Richards, 1996, p.204). Therefore, in this thesis, I complemented semi-structured elite interviews with documents following systematic document review procedures.

Overall, documents may include books, journals, brochures, organisational or institutional reports, newspapers (clippings/articles), letters, announcements and minutes of meetings,

agendas, diaries, calendars, maps, e-mails, and photo albums (Bowen, 2009, pp.27–28; Yin, 2014, p.106). They could be in several formats such as in print (e.g., books, articles, reports), digital (e.g., web pages, blogs, e-mails) and visual (e.g., pictures, video, artefacts) forms (Denscombe, 2017, p.204). In this thesis, besides books and journal articles, I used available documentation on municipal strategic plans, municipal performance and annual activity reports, municipal bulletins and magazines, minutes of municipal council meetings, online versions of daily national and local newspapers, video recordings of municipal council meetings available on municipal websites or YouTube, and media interviews of politicians or academics available on TV or YouTube.

I accessed most documentary sources via online websites of governmental and non-governmental institutions and organisations, the University of Southampton libraries, and national thesis centres in Turkey and the UK. Furthermore, during the fieldwork, I collected hard-copies of strategic plans and activity reports of municipalities as well as several other official publications of municipalities and citizens' assemblies, such as bulletins, journals, and brochures.

In qualitative case studies, documents can be used for various purposes, five of which are particularly useful. First, documents can provide background information and historical insight into the phenomena under investigation (Bowen, 2009, p.29). In this thesis, documentary sources especially helped me understand the emergence and progress of participation processes. Documents provided clues, particularly in atypical case studies, about why and how citizen participation projects emerged, who the participants included, the obstacles encountered along with other details. Second, information obtained from documents may shape research questions and guide the development of qualitative interviews and field observations (Bowen, 2009, p.30; Yin, 2014, p.107). In this thesis, I generated the majority of the semi-structured interview questions under the guidance of existing documentary data, such as studies or reports regarding the case studies of interest, municipal strategic plans and progress reports, previous interviews of politicians or academics in media, YouTube videos on participation projects, as well as news and videos available on municipal websites or news sites. Third, documents may provide additional data not captured in interviews (Bowen, 2009, p.31). For instance, during the interviews I conducted, some interviewees forgot details on citizen participation such as dates of events, names of places or stakeholders participating in the meetings. Moreover, some interviewees were not able to provide detailed information about existing projects due to

time restrictions. In such cases, documents were useful in capturing exact dates, names, or details of the projects. Fourth, documents can use to verify the dates of events as well as the spelling, titles or names of people, places, or organisations that might have been mentioned in an interview (Yin, 2014, p.107). In this regard, documents helped me check these details and feel more comfortable with my research. Fifth, documents can use to verify findings and corroborate evidence gathered from other data sources. Existing advice suggests that if the documentary evidence is contradictory rather than corroboratory, the researcher should investigate the topic further (Bowen, 2009, p.30; Yin, 2014, p.107). In this thesis, documentary sources were sometimes helpful in checking the accuracy of the answers given in the interviews. There were some inconsistencies and contradictions between statements of interviewees and documents. In these cases, I conducted further investigation to ensure the accuracy of findings, and to increase the reliability and validity of the research, all of which made me more confident in my research.

4.2.2.1. Primary Documentary Data

The sources used in this study can be categorised as primary and secondary sources. Primary sources refer to documents that provide first-hand, original information (VanderMey, Meyer, van Rys and Sebranek, 2012, p.442; Galvan, 2017, p.1). In this thesis, primary sources were predominantly official documents including the 1982 Constitution, local government laws, Turkish Ministry of Interior regulations, official publications and statistical datasets from Turkish state organisations, Turkish municipalities' strategic plans, performance and annual activity reports, bulletins and magazines, minutes of municipal council meetings, and official publications of the EU and other supranational organisations (e.g., UNDP, OECD). I also used other sources such as newspaper and magazine articles (factual accounts) as primary sources. Primary resources were mostly in written form. But I also used resources in audio-visual formats such as video recordings of municipal council meetings, plenary sessions of citizens' assemblies, and citizen participation processes.

4.2.2.2. Secondary Documentary Data

Secondary sources refer to resources that discuss, analyse, synthesise, interpret, evaluate, or summarise primary sources (VanderMey *et al.,* 2012, p.442). In this thesis, secondary sources included policy evaluations conducted by influential think-tanks or Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), interpretive newspaper or magazine articles, review

articles, and book reviews. Secondary sources also included interview transcripts available on official municipality or NGO websites as well as those published by newspapers or municipal bulletins and magazines. I also used online versions of available daily local newspapers, especially during case study selection and data analysis. In this thesis, popular national newspapers published in Turkish (e.g., Haberturk, Hurriyet, Milliyet) and English (e.g., Daily Sabah, Hurriyet Daily News) were also useful. Video recordings of interviews with politicians and academics on television news or YouTube were also used as secondary sources.

4.3. Ethical Considerations

Studies included in this thesis were conducted with the approval of the Ethics Committee of the University of Southampton. The fieldwork began after ethics approval were secured, and all ethical rules were followed throughout the entire research.

I translated all the interview questions, participant information sheet and consent forms from English into Turkish. These forms were equivalent in meaning to the forms which had been approved by the University's Ethics Committee. Before the interviews, I introduced myself to the participants and shared the aims and details of the research. Then, I informed the participants that the information taken from them would be only used for academic purposes, and they were free to participate in the study. I also informed the participants about the ethical rules (including anonymity and confidentiality) and that all of the rules concerning confidentiality would be obeyed. I provided the participants with the participant information sheet and received informed consent from the participants.

I recorded the interviews with the permission of the interviewees. As discussed earlier, two interviews were not recorded upon the request of the interviewees, while five were not recorded in order to help the participants feel comfortable. Five participants did not permit the use of their names in this study and wanted to use their rights to anonymity. This right of participants was ensured with the following option on the consent form "I understand that my responses will be anonymised in reports of the research". The ground rule was "for citation but not for attribution". No one refused attribution, but some politicians were not able to attend their interview appointments because of their busy schedules. Any information deliberately given 'off the record' during the interviews was not included in this thesis.

After the interviews were completed, I reminded the participants that they could withdraw their data at any time by contacting me via my contact details, which I provided on the participant information sheet. This right was communicated to the participants with the following option on the consent form "I understand my participation is voluntary, and I may withdraw at any time without my legal rights being affected".

4.4. Conclusions: Challenges and Limitations

I encountered some significant challenges and limitations during the research, which I overcame by using various tools and methods discussed below.

4.4.1. The Selection of Case Studies

Case study selection was the first substantial challenge. Case selection was time- and resource-intensive. I identified case studies by examining over one hundred official municipality websites as well as the websites that introduce global citizen participation practices (e.g., Participedia, Participation Compass) and national citizen participation practices (e.g., Social Democratic Municipalities Association [SODEM] and Katılımcılık Pusulası). Municipal annual activity reports, strategic plans, municipal bulletins and journals, and academic reports were also helpful for identifying case studies. However, it was not possible to access all required information electronically through municipal websites. In these cases, I had to visit the municipalities in person to access the relevant information.

I spent a considerable amount of time for identifying atypical case studies. Since citizen participation practices in Turkey is relatively recent, atypical practices remain scarce. In addition, it is challenging to locate appropriate information which would allow the identification of such practices. More importantly, it was challenging to find objective resources, especially municipal publications, to identify them. I put a great effort to overcome such challenges to increase the reliability and validity of the research by searching for alternative documentary sources and conducting interviews with politicians from different positions and different political parties as well as public officials and some people who were neither politicians nor public officials to crosscheck the information.

4.4.2. Identifying and Contacting Interview Participants

After the selection of case studies, I began to identify key actors of citizen participation cases, which proved to be a difficult task. Many municipal websites did not include

sufficient or up-to-date information on municipal councillors, top municipal executives, heads of the municipal directorates and municipal officers. Further, news or reports on citizen participation cases did not contain enough information about relevant directors and team members. In order to identify and reach relevant actors, I followed snowball sampling, which is defined by Bryman (2016, p.415) as a technique in which the researcher initially samples a small group of people relevant to the research, and these sampled participants propose other potential participants. During my fieldwork, I reached some key actors with the suggestion and help of the interviewees.

In line with existing studies involving elite interviews, contacting the key actors was another challenge. Richards (1996, p.200) states that by definition, elites are less accessible and are more conscious of their own importance. In the same vein, Burnham *et al.* (2008, p.235) argue that "the biggest problem is getting access to a member of an elite group is that such individuals are usually very busy and they have to be provided with some convincing motivation for seeing a researcher". Therefore, elite interview samples inevitably tend to be a lot smaller.

In my case, municipal mayors, the centre of local politics, were the most difficult people to reach due to their workload. I selected six case studies from six different metropolitan district municipalities to be examined in this study; however, I was able to make appointments with the mayors of only three of these six municipalities (Kadikoy Municipality, Maltepe Municipality and Selcuk Municipality). I was unable to talk to mayors of Akyurt Municipality, Kadikoy Municipality, and Kecioren Municipality; however, in these cases, I conducted interviews with vice-mayors and/or deputy mayors.

I used several methods to secure interview appointments. I initially tried to contact potential interviewees via the official organisational email address. However, it was not always possible to access potential participants by email, especially since no email contact information was provided on some official websites of municipalities and citizens' assemblies–mostly, these websites only included fax and telephone numbers of the institutions. While many citizens' assemblies had no official websites, there was no up-to-date contact information on websites of some citizens' assemblies and municipalities. In Turkey, the citizens' assemblies mostly prefer to use social media, especially Facebook, Twitter and Instagram, rather than official websites. Most municipalities also prefer social media. In some cases, citizens' assemblies (e.g., Selcuk Municipality Citizens' Assembly

and Akyurt Municipality Citizens' Assembly) had neither a website nor a social media account. I obtained the contact information of such citizens' assemblies from relevant municipalities. During the fieldwork, I came to realise that many politicians did not use their organisational email addresses or checked their emails frequently, since many of my initial emails did not receive responses. Therefore, I sought to identify personal email addresses of the potential participants using Internet search engines; however, these attempts were also unsuccessful. I was able to arrange only a couple of appointments via email.

I tried to contact potential participants via telephone in cases where emails were unsuccessful. I obtained either organisational or mobile phone numbers of the participants through different channels: the official website of the Turkey Citizen's Assemblies Platform, relevant official websites of local assemblies and/or municipalities, and previous interviewees. While I arranged appointments with municipal councillors mostly by calling them directly on their mobile phones, I arranged appointments with mayors by calling the private secretariat directorates of municipalities, who are responsible for scheduling mayoral appointments. I also arranged some appointments with presidents and secretaries-general of citizen' assemblies by calling secretaries of the citizen' assemblies. Where telephone calls were unsuccessful, I arranged appointments via texts. There were some cases where politicians (e.g., Ertekin San who was Municipal Councillor of the Akyurt Municipality from the JDP and President of the Akyurt Municipality Citizens' Assembly at the same time; Ufuk Yildiz who was Municipal Councillor of the Maltepe Municipality from the JDP) were keen to participate in interviews; however, they could not do so due to conflicting schedules.

Notably, there were politicians for which neither email address nor telephone number was available. In these cases, I tried to reach the politicians via their social media accounts. I sent private messages to eight municipal councillors on Facebook. One of them replied to the message within only a couple of minutes and scheduled an appointment, and two replied in a few days and scheduled appointments. Five councillors did not see the messages; however, I conducted interviews with two of these five councillors with the help of other interviewees. Moreover, I was able to arrange few appointments by directly visiting municipal or citizens' assembly buildings.

Busy schedules of political elites led to further challenges. Most participants did not provide a strict appointment time and asked me to see them at an approximate period such as "in the morning", "in the afternoon" or "on Monday". In these cases, I had to go to their offices early and wait for a long time for the interview. Therefore, I was unable to conduct more than one interview in a day. Further, several times I had to revisit the offices before I could get an interview. As a result, I ended up spending a considerable longer time messaging and re-messaging, emailing and re-emailing, visiting and re-visiting, or calling and re-calling than running the actual interviews.

It should also be noted that some appointments had to be cancelled. In the first round, two appointments were cancelled due to extreme weather conditions across the country in the winter, and three appointments were cancelled upon the request of the politicians due to their conflicting schedules. During this period, the political elites were busier than usual as they were preparing for the constitutional referendum which was held in Turkey on 16ᵗʰ April 2017. This referendum was particularly important as it proposed significant amendments to the Turkish constitution (e.g., the abolishment of the office of the Prime Minister and establishment of a presidential system along with an increase in the number of MPs from 550 to 600).

In the second round, three appointments were cancelled upon request. Shortly after I began the second round of interviews, President Recep Tayyip Erdogan announced his plans to bring the presidential and parliamentary elections forward by more than a year. The parliamentary and presidential elections had previously been scheduled for November 2019. However, on 18ᵗʰ April 2018, the President announced plans to hold presidential and parliamentary elections on 24ᵗʰ June 2018, and the relevant bill was passed in the Turkish Parliament on April 20ᵗʰ to allow early elections on June 24ᵗʰ. The schedules of politicians, therefore, became substantially busy after this time. Thus, I had to postpone most of the interview appointments for a few days or even a few weeks, while three appointments were inevitably cancelled.

4.4.3. Conducting Face-to-Face Interviews

In total, the two rounds of interviews took about three months. During this time, I conducted 40 face-to-face interviews in different districts in four selected provinces for which I visited ten municipalities and eleven citizens' assemblies. I also visited few other state institutions and participants' own workplaces to conduct interviews. Since face-to-

face interviews are characterised by synchronous communication in time and place, it required considerable effort, time and cost. I had to cover a vast distance by plane and bus. This was further complicated by the need to visit the same location several times, since it was not possible to cluster all interview appointments in the same province on the same or consecutive days. In the first round, heavy snow also adversely impacted my plans. Although I had initially planned to conduct interviews in the four largest provinces, I was unable to complete the scheduled interviews in Bursa in the first round. Furthermore, I was able to carry out only one interview with a mayor. Therefore, I had to run another round of interviews to mitigate the gaps in the case studies and the number of mayoral interviews. Overall, these obstacles meant that I went to all four provinces at least twice and spent a significant amount of time and money for travel and accommodation.

4.4.4. Getting Consent to Use the Names of Interviewees

Generally, the participants consented to the use of their names in this thesis. Indeed, many stated that it was an honour for them to provide their opinions for a PhD thesis. However, few participants did not provide detailed information regarding the obstacles of citizen participation. The participants were hesitant in responding to some questions since they believed their responses might affect their future careers. Indeed, after the recording was completed, some participants stated that they would not want to be pitted against their institutions.

Five interviewees did not consent to the use their names in the thesis. While seven participants preferred anonymisation of their responses, two withheld their decision until after they reviewed the interview transcripts. Others consented to the use of their names in the study after completing their interview(s).

4.4.5. Transcribing, Coding and Translation of the Interviews

Transcription of the interviews was a time-consuming process, in line with Brinkmann and Kvale's (2015, p.206) observation that "transcribing large amounts of interview material is often a tiresome and stressing job". The following opinion of Bryman's (2016, p.481) was also reaffirmed: "allow around five to six hours for transcription for every hour of speech", since I had to replay some interviews several times due to background noise.

After transcribing was complete, coding and identifying common themes presented another challenge. Mason (2018, p.4) states that "coding can be a massively time-consuming

activity". Since I had a large body of data, it was difficult to identify and analyse the themes.

After the transcription and coding processes were complete, a more difficult process began, since all interviews were conducted in Turkish, and they needed to be translated into English. Translating is more complex than transcribing, since one must be careful to maintain connotations and meaning. In my case, some Turkish proverbs and idioms were very difficult to translate into English.

4.4.6. Credibility of Documentary Sources

Denscombe (2017, p.258) argues that documents rely on the interpretation of their author, and hence they may not always present the objective reality. Pierce (2008, p.86) adds that some documents (e.g., newspaper, magazine or TV interviews) are highly edited. Moreover, the credibility of documents available on the Internet poses a particular challenge for researchers. Information found on the Internet can be out-of-date and poor quality, since there is little control over what is placed on the Internet. Web documents, therefore, require special scrutiny (Denscombe, 2017, pp.251–252). Therefore, the potential for over-reliance on the document as objective evidence has been widely criticised in case study research (Yin, 2014, p.106).

During my research, I observed that information, especially on participation practices in Turkey, in several documentary sources was outdated, incomplete or inaccurate. Moreover, I identified a substantial body of news from various local and national newspapers on case studies which duplicated news announced on the official websites of municipalities. On the other hand, some municipal publications lacked objectivity.

Furthermore, after the nationwide local elections held on 31st March 2019, many web documents were no longer accessible, since following the elections, the majority of the municipalities where new mayors were elected updated their websites removing references to the older administrations. In order to overcome all these difficulties, I used a triangulation approach by employing qualitative interviewing and document review techniques and put a great effort to gather quality diverse data from various reliable data sources.

CHAPTER 5: Citizen Participation in Turkish Local Governments

Chapter 5 consists of three sections and discusses the status of citizen participation in Turkish local governments in two parts. The first section presents a brief overview of the developments of citizen participation until the 2000s, while the second section investigates the developments since the 2000s. This is because while attempts to institutionalise citizen participation were prevented by political turmoil and military interventions before the 2000s, the European Council gave Turkey the status of candidate country for EU membership in December 1999 and then Turkey launched an unprecedented reform process in public administration. In the beginning of the 2000s, new local government laws were enacted and new participation mechanisms were formed at the local level. Some other laws related to citizen participation were also enacted. Thus, the first section reviews the process that prevented the development of citizen participation in Turkey until the 2000s. Then, the second section examines the public administration reform in the beginning of the 2000s and discusses to what extent has the aim of the establishment of a participatory management understanding been achieved with this reform. Accordingly, this section examines commonly used participatory mechanisms, including those formed in the 2000s, and discusses the primary gaps in existing mechanisms, and to what extent there is a gap between stated intentions and actions of Turkish local political elites and between rhetoric and reality of citizen participation in Turkish local governments.

5.1. Citizen Participation in Turkish Local Governments until the 2000s

In Turkey, citizen participation in local administrative processes was firstly protected in the Municipality Law no 1580 dated 1930. In Article 13 of the Law no 1580, under the title "Townsmen's Law", it was stated that:

> Every Turk is a townsman of the town where s/he is enrolled as a native in the state register. Citizens have the rights to vote, stand for election, participate in the municipal administration and make use of the town's continuous welfares.

Despite the existence of legal infrastructure for citizen participation since 1930, citizen participation was not put into practice until the 2000s. Military coups (in 1960, 1971, and 1980) prevented the development of democracy and institutionalisation of participation. Turkey's 1961 Constitution, introduced following the 1960 military coup to replace the

Constitution of 1924, allowed the election of mayors directly by citizens and it was first practiced in 1963. In the late 1970s, Turkey's first participatory budgeting project was launched in Fatsa by the Fatsa Municipality. However, in September 1980, another military coup hit Turkey; all mayors and councillors were removed from their offices to be appointed centrally. Further, the activities of all political parties were ceased, and several political parties were closed. Many politicians, including political leaders, were arrested and banned from politics.[7] The activities of over 23,000 associations were also stopped. In short, political life was brought to a standstill until the November 1983 national elections (Kocak and Eksi, 2010, p.302; Ayan Musil, 2011, p.35).

The current constitution[8], which has replaced the Constitution of 1961, was ratified by a referendum in November 1982. However, the constitutional referendum and national elections did not take place in a free and competitive setting, since immediately after the ratification of the Constitution, Kenan Evren, the leader of the military coup, was appointed as the President of Turkey[9]. Not surprisingly, the 1982 Constitution further strengthened the centralised state structure, and in comparison with the 1961 Constitution, the 1982 Constitution was less lenient towards participatory democracy (Hazama, 1996, p.318; Sahinoglu and Gorgun, 2017, p.118).

In Turkey, the efforts to institutionalise citizen participation began to draw attention after the Habitat II Conference, a major environmental summit of the United Nations (UN) held in Istanbul in June 1996. With this conference, the UN Local Agenda 21[10] project was initiated in Turkey (Goktolga and Ekici, 2016, p.116). Chapter 28 of the Agenda 21 outlined the critical role for local governments in implementing sustainability at the local level and appealed to local governments to engage in dialogue with all local stakeholders (e.g., ordinary citizens, NGOs, labour unions, academics, and private sector) to improve sustainable development. In other words, the Local Agenda 21 project, developed under the auspices of the UNDP, underlined the need for a new participation process to go beyond existing and traditional consultation by involving the whole local community in

---

[7] The ban on the political leaders were removed in 1987, and the ban on the political parties were removed in 1992 (Ayan Musil, 2011, p.35).
[8] The majority of the articles of the Constitution of 1982 has been amended by the Parliament and through referenda.
[9] He served as president until November 1989.
[10] Local Agenda 21 was conceptualised in chapter 28 of Agenda 21, which was the outcome of the UN Conference on Environment and Development held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 and served as an action plan regarding sustainable development at the global level.

local administrative processes (Coenen, 2009, pp.165–171), and citizens' assemblies were of crucial importance to achieve this goal.

In Turkey, the Local Agenda 21 project was first put into practice in late 1997. In the first stage, citizens' assemblies were established in nine cities in different regions of the country which were identified as project partners. The project spread to other cities, and the number of local administrations which adopted the citizens' assembly model exceeded 50, and thus, in 2001, the UNDP declared the project carried out in Turkey as one of the successful Local Agenda 21 projects in the world leading to the transformation of this project into the long-term "Turkey Local Agenda 21 Programme" (Savut, 2011, pp.350–356; Goktolga and Ekici, 2016, p.119; Celik and Omurgonulsen, 2017, p.176).

Before the establishment of the citizens' assemblies during the Local Agenda 21 process, there were various platforms where citizens and local actors came together. In the beginning of the 1990s, in several cities, public meetings organised by the local administrations were held under different names, such as city parliaments, city senates, neighbourhood boards (Keles, 1993, p.29). However, Local Agenda 21 increased the level of participation of citizens, NGOs, and other stakeholders in decision-making processes at the local level, and accelerated the institutionalisation of citizen participation.

5.2. Citizen Participation in Turkish Local Governments since the 2000s

With the recognition of Turkey's status as an EU candidate in December 1999, Turkey began to pursue an unprecedented public administration reform process. In particular, during the first term of the JDP rule, between November 2002 and July 2007, many laws were enacted.[11] With new local government laws, new participation mechanisms were formed. Furthermore, some other laws related to citizen participation also entered into force. One of the most important of these laws was the Law no 4982 on the Right to Information (9 October 2003). The purpose of this law was to ensure an accountable and transparent public administration. Law no 4982 gave everyone a right to access information about the activities of the public institutions (Article 4), and obliged the public institutions to provide information and document their activities, with the exceptions set out in the law, and to promptly, effectively and correctly review and decide on the

---

[11] In the first term of the JDP rule, except for the Village Law, the following laws regulating other local government units were adopted: The Metropolitan Municipality Law no 5216 (10 July 2004), the Special Provincial Administration Law no 5302 (22 February 2005), and the Municipality Law no 5393 (3 July 2005).

applications requesting access to information (Article 5). Another law related to citizen participation was the Public Financial Management and Control Law no 5018 (10 December 2003). With this law, a performance-based budgeting system based on strategic planning was put into force. In order to ensure accountability, transparency, and effective and efficient collection and use of public resources, this law requires the preparation of strategic plans in consultation with relevant stakeholders. This law also requires preparation of annual performance programmes and activity reports measuring achievement in terms of strategic planning. Crucially, such documents must be open and accessible to the public. In short, the public administration reform in the early 2000s aimed the establishment of a participatory and democratic administration understanding as well as the efficient and effective provision of public services.

In the following sub-sections, I will examine commonly used participation mechanisms in Turkey, including those formed in the 2000s, and discuss to what extent has the aim of the establishment of a participatory management understanding been achieved. Further, I will evaluate to what extent there is a gap between rhetoric and reality of citizen participation in Turkish local governments, and discuss the view of local political elites on participation.

5.2.1. Citizens' Assemblies

The citizens' assemblies, which were initially established in the Local Agenda 21 process in Turkey, gained legal status through Article 76 of the Municipality Law no 5393 enacted in 2005. With this law, the establishment of the citizens' assemblies became compulsory for metropolitan municipalities and other municipalities with a population of more than 50,000. The Ministry of the Interior published the "Regulation on Citizens' Assemblies" in October 2006, and the municipalities began to form citizens' assemblies in accordance with this regulation. In June 2009, several articles of this regulation were amended. According to Article 4 of the regulation, a citizens' assembly refers to:

> [T]he democratic structures and governance mechanisms based on common sense and consensus through which the central government, local governments, public professional organisations and the civil society come together with an understanding of partnership in the framework of townsmen's law, identifying and discussing development priorities, problems, visions of the city, and development solutions on the basis of sustainable development.

A citizens' assembly must consist of the following organs: chairperson of the citizens' assembly, general assembly, executive committee, and assemblies and working groups (Article 9 of the Regulation on Citizens' Assemblies). The general assembly is the most powerful organ of a citizens' assembly and convenes at least twice a year in January and September (Article 10 of the Regulation on Citizens' Assemblies). The chairperson and executive committee are elected by the general assembly for a two-year period in the first term and a three-year period in the second term (Article 11 of the Regulation on Citizens' Assemblies). The general assembly of a citizens' assembly consists of the following members (Article 8 of the Regulation on Citizens' Assemblies):

- The highest civil administrator of the locality (provincial governor or district governor), or his or her representative;
- The mayor or his or her representative;
- Representatives of public entities (not to exceed ten) to be nominated by governors in provinces and by district governors in districts;
- Heads of neighbourhoods[12],
- Representatives of political parties with an organisation established in the town;
- At least one and at most two representatives from the local university; or where there is more than one university, one representative from each university;
- Representatives of public institutions, trade unions, notaries, bar associations and related associations and foundations;
- One representative from each assembly and working group within the citizens' assembly.[13]

The executive committee is composed of at least seven members, including chairpersons of women and youth assemblies within the citizens' assembly (Article 11 of the Regulation on Citizens' Assemblies).

Citizens' assemblies have important duties such as developing a culture of participation, democracy and consensus in the framework of the principle of subsidiarity; contributing to

---

[12] In municipalities with up to 20 neighbourhoods, heads of all neighbourhoods are the members of the general assembly of a citizens' assembly. In other municipalities with more than 20 neighbourhoods, heads of neighbourhoods should elect representatives among themselves and this number should not to be more than 30 percent of the total number of heads of neighbourhoods and not to be less than 20 individuals.

[13] According to Article 12 of the Regulation on Citizens' Assemblies, citizens' assemblies may form assemblies (e.g., women, children, youth, elderly, disabled) and working groups (e.g., health, transportation, sports, agriculture, tourism, education). Ideas generated in the assemblies and working groups are deliberated in the general assembly, and if accepted, submitted to the relevant municipal council for consideration.

creating a common understanding that encompasses the entire city in determining, implementing and monitoring the main strategies and action plans for the city; contributing to effective, efficient and fair use of the city's resources; contributing to the development of civil society; increasing the activity of disadvantaged groups (e.g., children, youth, women, disabled people) in social life and ensuring their participation in local decision-making processes; and contributing to the implementation of principles of transparency and accountability in the city administration (Article 6 of the Regulation on Citizens' Assemblies). Despite these important duties, the decisions made in the citizens' assemblies have no power of sanction. According to Article 76 of the Municipality Law, opinions formed within a citizens' assembly are submitted to the relevant municipal council for consideration and are deliberated at the first meeting of the municipal council rendering citizens' assemblies function as advisory boards.

Although citizens' assemblies are considered one of the most important tools for the establishment of more participatory and democratic local governance in Turkey, they face severe difficulties in conducting their activities. First of all, citizens' assemblies are not allocated an independent budget. Municipalities are required to support citizens' assemblies by allocating funds from municipal budgets (Article 16 of the Regulation on Citizens' Assemblies); however, the amount of aid is not specified in legislation.

In the current system, the attitudes of the municipal managements, especially mayors, towards citizens' assemblies have the utmost importance. In general, citizens' assemblies do not have sufficient income and staff to fulfil their responsibilities. Many municipalities also do not allocate separate buildings for citizens' assemblies. Most citizens' assemblies carry out their activities in small offices in municipal buildings often leading to inefficient conduct of their activities. Although there are many assemblies and working groups within the citizens' assemblies, most of these are not active in practice. Further, since citizens' assemblies are financially supported by municipalities, these assemblies are often under severe pressure from mayors. In general, they are considered as municipal units or backyards of the municipalities. Due to the financial relationship between the citizens' assemblies and the municipalities, many citizens' assemblies are headed by mayors or vice-mayors, deputy mayors, advisors of mayors, municipal councillors, all of whom are either members of the same political party as the mayors or share similar political opinions. In cases where the chairperson of the citizens' assembly has an opposing political opinion to the mayor, financial support to the citizens' assembly is often reduced to a minimum.

Due to all these factors, in general, citizens' assemblies are unable to make independent decisions, and they are overshadowed by municipalities making them representatives of particular ideologies or political parties which often leads to a public confusion regarding their status where they are confused with municipal councils (Demirci, 2010, pp.35–37; Erkul, 2010, p.60; Ozdemir, 2011, pp.48–50; Sahin, 2011, pp.182–184; Ulusoy and Tekdere, 2015, pp.178–179; Karakurt Tosun, Keskin and Selimoglu, 2016, p.109).

Many municipalities with a population of more than 50,000 have not yet established a citizens' assembly. According to a report of the Union of Citizens' Assemblies of Turkey, as of January 2018, only 22 out of 81 metropolitan municipalities established citizens' assemblies, whereas the number of citizens' assemblies established by provincial and district municipalities was 273. Considering that there are almost 1400 municipalities in Turkey, these figures show that a vast majority of municipalities that are obliged to establish a citizens' assembly have not yet established these assemblies. Further, half of the existing citizens' assemblies have been established just for the sake of formality and do not carry out any activity (Yavuz and Aktasci, 2018, p.32). The most important reasons for this situation are that (i) many municipal administrators, especially mayors and municipal councillors, oppose citizens' assemblies due to apprehensions that these assemblies would limit their authority (Ozdemir, 2011, p.48), and (ii) there are no sanctions for municipalities that do not establish a citizens' assembly or do not provide sufficient financial support to citizens' assemblies to carry out their activities (Cukurcayir, Eroglu, Aydinli and Colakoglu, 2011, p.305).

5.2.2. Strategic Planning

Strategic planning, one of the mechanisms introduced during the public administration reform period in the early 2000s as a budgetary control mechanism, created another opportunity for citizens to participate in administrative processes. As discussed earlier, with Law no 5018 enacted in 2003, the preparation of strategic plans for public institutions became compulsory to ensure accountability, transparency, and the effective and efficient collection and use of public resources. The local government laws enacted in 2004 and 2005 also obliged local governments to prepare strategic plans detailing their mission, vision, aims, targets, and performance criteria for their activities and staff. According to these laws, SPAs, metropolitan municipalities, and municipalities with a population of more than 50,000 are required to prepare a strategic plan of five years within six months of

the nationwide local elections. These plans must be prepared in consultation with citizens and other stakeholders such as NGOs, universities, and professional organisations. The strategic plan serves as the basis for the preparation of the budget, and it is deliberated and adopted by the council of the local government before the budget. The local governments are also obliged to prepare annual performance programmes and activity reports measuring achievement in terms of strategic planning. Such plans, programmes and reports must be submitted to the council for approval prior to their submission to the Ministry of Interior. Crucially, all these documents must be made public.

However, the above processes are poorly implemented in public institutions, including local governments. Many studies (e.g., Turan, Guler and Guler, 2013, Sahin, 2014; Elcik, 2015; Demirbas and Eroglu, 2016; Akdogan, 2018) show that local governments are not willing to involve stakeholders in these important processes. In general, strategic plans are prepared and implemented without the adoption of a participatory management approach. Existing research demonstrates that most local governments do not adequately collect or consider the suggestions, complaints, and demands of internal and/or external stakeholders. In practice, strategic plans are generally prepared by a core team from the relevant directorates of municipalities (such as the strategy development directorate, and the plan and project directorate) within a short period to meet legal obligations. Therefore, the projects based on the strategic plans are prepared with a top-down perspective and do not meet the expectations and needs of citizens and other stakeholders leading to public frustration. Further, some local governments do not share their strategic plans, annual reports, and performance programmes with the public, while many fail to share these documents in a timely manner (Elcik, 2015; Demirbas and Eroglu, 2016).

5.2.3. Public Meetings

Public meetings are organised to listen to citizens' complaints, demands, expectations, and suggestions, and then to develop relevant solutions and to shape plans and programmes accordingly. Public meetings have been frequently organized by many Turkish local governments, especially municipalities, across the country since the 1990s. They are held under the leadership of the mayors but vice-mayors, municipal councillors, and directors of the departments within the municipalities also attend these meetings. These meetings are usually held in the offices of mayors, although some administrators conduct them in a

mobile stage truck, a coffee house, a cultural centre, or another public place to reach more people and to be closer to the citizens.

In public meetings, the citizens from any background have an opportunity to convey their complaints, demands, or suggestions freely and face-to-face to the senior administrators. Considering that especially, in heavily populated areas, citizens cannot easily find the opportunity to talk face-to-face with the administrators, public meetings are useful mechanisms for citizens. Moreover, considering that participation in administrative processes is not among the priorities of Turkish people, public meetings also provide important opportunities for the administrators who want to establish a close relationship with citizens. Further, these meetings are useful for the administrators who want to better understand the needs and expectations of citizens and to deliver better public services accordingly. However, due to the economic problems and high unemployment rate in Turkey, job and financial support demands from the municipalities are the top reasons for the citizens to participate in public meetings (Guven and Alan, 2019, p.53). More significantly, Turkish administrators mostly use these meetings as public relation exercises, not as a means of democratizing planning and decision-making. Thus, there is no guarantee that citizens' opinions will be taken into consideration in the decision-making.

5.2.4. Public Opinion Polls and Surveys

Another practice often used by Turkish local governments is public opinion polls and surveys. Article 15 of the Municipality Law and Article 7 of the SPA Law state that municipalities and SPAs can conduct public opinion polls and surveys to explore public opinions on their services. In recent decades, local governments conduct surveys mostly on their official websites since online surveys are cost-effective, relatively easy and quick.

Nevertheless, the power of Turkish citizens to shape the decisions that affect their lives through such simple practices is very limited. This is because, in general, local governments conduct public opinion polls and surveys for trivial goals such as determining the name of public places (e.g., streets, libraries, or sports halls), determining the colour or seating arrangement of the city buses, tramways, or ferries, or determining the logo of municipalities. But, these opinion polls and surveys are often advertised by politicians as exemplary participation processes. Satisfaction surveys regarding public services are also quite common across the country. However, there is limited evidence that the findings are taken on board when planning public services.

5.3. Conclusion

The effects of participatory management approach emerging in the 1960s have been observed in Turkey since the late 1990s. The efforts to institutionalise citizen participation especially began with the Local Agenda 21 process launched in 1996 in Turkey. Within the scope of the public administration reform in the early 2000s, almost all laws concerning local governments were amended in accordance with the principles of transparency, accountability, participation, effectiveness and efficiency, and new opportunities were created to allow citizens to participate in administrative processes. However, although citizen participation mechanisms have now been in use for more than a decade in Turkish public administration at the local level, these mechanisms are poorly implemented in local governments and weakly supported by the administrators. Not surprisingly, these mechanisms have largely failed to achieve the targets of the laws, which is making public service delivery more efficient, effective and accountable through the involvement of citizens and other stakeholders in administrative processes.

In Turkish local governments, administrators are often reluctant to share their decision-making power with citizens. Although during election campaigns, candidates make promises to involve citizens in administrative processes and to collaboratively run local governments with citizens, they mostly do not fulfil their promises after the elections. Turkish administrators usually involve citizens in administrative processes superficially or symbolically, and they have substantial control over public policies and administrative decisions. In particular, administrators do not allow citizens to be involved in the processes related to financial issues. Turkish administrators generally involve citizens in administrative processes after the issues have been finalised and decisions have been made. That is, citizen participation in Turkish local governments often remains a window-dressing ritual. Turkish administrators generally see citizen participation as a public relations or box-ticking exercise. Therefore, citizens have a very limited influence on public policies and decisions that directly affects their lives.

Considering Arnstein's (1969) citizen participation ladder introduced in Chapter 3.2., citizen participation in Turkish local governments is mostly limited to degrees of tokenism. This shows that the citizen participation mechanisms, which were widely introduced in the early 2000s especially with the demands from the EU, have not been thoroughly internalised by Turkish administrators.

CHAPTER 6: Typical Case Studies Investigating Citizen Participation Motives of Turkish Local Political Elites

This chapter examines the motives of Turkish local political elites regarding citizens' participation in administrative processes using typical citizen participation practices. These case studies were identified from three different metropolitan district municipalities located in Ankara and Izmir.

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section examines a regular public meeting project which was carried out by the Kecioren Municipality (Ankara). The second section evaluates a strategic planning process conducted by the Akyurt Municipality (Ankara). The third section assesses the Selcuk Citizens' Assembly established by the Selcuk Municipality (Izmir). Finally, the fourth section provides an overall assessment of the extent of the gap between stated intentions and actions of the municipal administrators on citizen participation, the extent of the gap between rhetoric and reality of participation in these municipalities, and therefore citizen participation motives of the administrators of these local government units.

6.1. Kecioren Public Meetings

The Kecioren Public Meetings project was carried out by the Kecioren Municipality led by Mayor Mustafa Ak of the governing and centre-right JDP between the local elections of March 2009 and March 2019. The public meetings project continued for Mayor Ak's two five-year working periods.

By the end of 2008, Ankara was the second largest city in Turkey with a population of just over 4.5 million, and Kecioren was the second largest district both in Ankara and Turkey with a population of nearly 780,000 inhabitants (TurkStat, 2019). According to municipal administrators, the actual population of the district is more than the officially reported population, and this situation causes significant problems for the municipality. Although citizens are legally required to make address change notification within 20 working days, many people do not update their residential records for various reasons. In this regard, Fahri Aktas[14] (26.12.2016), Kecioren Municipality Councillor from the JDP stated that:

---

[14] Fahri Aktas performed duties as the Councillor of the Kecioren Municipality and Deputy Chairperson of the JDP Group within the Municipality Council between 2014 and 2019. He was also the Councillor, Vice-Mayor and Deputy Mayor of the Kecioren Municipality between 2004 and 2009.

The official population of our district is 890,000 by the end of 2015; however, I certainly believe that the actual population is over 1 million. The [difference between the official and actual population] is a barrier for the municipalities in providing sufficient services. This is because the Iller Bank [a state-owned development and investment bank] pays us [the municipality] per person per month based on the official population. The shares given to the municipalities over a total collection of general budget tax incomes constitute a significant part of our budget. However, the citizens often do not update their residential records to make sure that their 'home' districts get more service. Since the citizens do not update their official place of residence to where they currently reside, we serve a larger number of people with a smaller budget. This causes financial problems when serving the citizens.

The reason for the high population is that Ankara offers more facilities and opportunities (e.g. better education, better job and career, better standard of living, better entertainment) than many other cities in Turkey. The cost of living in Ankara is also lower than that in Turkey's biggest city, Istanbul. Further, property rentals are cheaper in Kecioren than in some other central districts in Ankara. Therefore, the populations of both Kecioren and Ankara have been increasing daily[15], and high population density and high migration inflow have become significant threats for Ankara. Indeed, in strategic plans of both the Kecioren Municipality and Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, rapid population growth and high immigration are listed among the most significant threats.

Even though the cost of living and rental properties is relatively low in Kecioren compared to other places in Turkey, these issues coupled with high unemployment, all of which are likely related to rapid population growth, remain as major challenges for the district. Moreover, traffic congestion poses a severe problem in Kecioren.

Population overcrowding as well as the major problems stated above constitute substantial obstacles for Kecioren residents when participating in municipal administrative processes and to attending face-to-face talks with the senior municipal officials. Further, these problems also pose a challenge for the administrators in establishing close and healthy

---

[15] By the end of 2019, the population of Ankara was just over 5.6 million, while the population of Kecioren was nearly 940,000. Ankara remained the second largest city, and Kecioren was still the second largest district both in Ankara and Turkey (TurkStat, 2019).

relationships with local residents. In this context, Ferhat Erdogan[16] (27.12.2016), the Vice-Mayor and Municipal Councillor of the Kecioren Municipality from the JDP stated that:

> Kecioren is the second biggest district in Turkey. We try to involve the
> public in administrative processes as much as possible. The citizens often
> participate in processes they find either relevant to themselves or their
> neighbourhoods. However, people need to work long hours to sustain a
> comfortable living. Thus, participation in our administrative processes is
> not among the priorities of people.

> Further, the age-long problems of our country relating to education,
> employment, and finances confine the citizens to their shells. In this case,
> we cannot expect the citizens to put aside their own problems and be
> involved in administrative processes. Financial concerns prevent the public
> from participating in administrative processes. As economic welfare
> improves, citizen participation in the administrative processes increase.

To mitigate for the difficulties, and to create more opportunities for citizen involvement in administrative processes and to establish a strong relationship between the municipality and the citizens, the Kecioren Municipality began to organise weekly public meetings.

6.1.1. Implementation of Public Meetings

Mayor Ak began to organise public meetings every Wednesday in mid-2009 at his mayoral office. These meetings provided an opportunity to the citizens to state their complaints, demands, expectations and suggestions face-to-face to the mayor. Several municipal councillors, vice-mayors, and heads of directorates within the municipality also attended these meetings in order to solve citizens' problems more quickly and efficiently.

During a Wednesday public meeting in 2012, Mayor Ak made the following public statement to explain why these meetings were held:

> We meet our citizens at public meetings and listen to all kinds of their
> problems and request. We are here to help people who convey their wishes

---

[16] Ferhat Erdogan had served as the Councillor and Vice-Mayor of the Kecioren Municipality between 2014 and 2019 and as the District Chairperson of the JDP District Presidency of Kecioren between 2008 and 2012. Mr Erdogan was also the Presumptive Candidate for the Mayor Office of the Kecioren Municipality for the 31 March 2019 local elections from the JDP.

and complaints. According to the requests from our citizens, we are producing solutions to the problems. We also find the opportunity to evaluate the projects that people of Kecioren want to share with us. We serve our citizens by involving them in the decision-making process because the problems of all our citizens are our problem (Kecioren Municipality, 2012).

In the context of Wednesday public meetings, the mayor met thousands of citizens face-to-face. Furthermore, almost every Friday, he performed the Friday prayer at different mosques in different neighbourhoods to ensure he met diverse citizens. [17] After he performed the Friday prayer[18], Mayor Ak met the people who attended the prayer and listened to their demands, complaints, and suggestions. Following these conversations, he walked on the streets and visited shopkeepers and talked to people (Haberturk, 2017a). To establish a strong relationship with the citizens, the mayor also often walked in the parks, on the streets, and visited public bazaars held in different neighbourhoods every day.

In addition to these regular public engagement activities by the mayor, the Kecioren Municipality established a help desk unit to receive citizens' complaints, requests, expectations, or suggestions with a view to improve communication with the citizens. In this regard, Municipal Councillor Fahri Aktas (26.12.2016) stated that:

> We have a special unit, 'Ak Masa [White Desk]'. We established this unit in 2009 within our Public Relations Directorate. All citizens can apply to this unit in various ways (e.g. via phone, e-mail, social media, and face-to-face) and convey their opinions, suggestions, complaints, or requests 7/24 [every day at all hours]. We established this unit to better serve and communicate with our citizens. Each year, thousands of citizens apply to this unit for various reasons.

Nevertheless, according to the results of the external stakeholder survey conducted within the scope of the 2015–2019 strategic plan preparation work, some external stakeholders found Mayor Ak's efforts during his first term insufficient. Some external stakeholders thought that there was not a close relationship between the municipality and the citizens

---

[17] As of 2019, there are 51 neighbourhoods in Kecioren.
[18] A congregational prayer which replaces the second prayer of the day on every Friday and must be conducted in a mosque.

and the municipality did not take the opinions of the citizens into account in its administrative processes. Moreover, some external stakeholders thought that the municipality did not care about NGOs, while some argued that the municipality did not treat everyone equally (Kecioren Municipality, 2014, pp.231–235).[19] For this reason, Mustafa Ak, after being elected as Mayor of Kecioren in the March 2014 local elections for the second time, brought a new dimension to public meetings, as discussed below.

In October 2016, Mayor Ak began to conduct Wednesday public meetings in different neighbourhoods of Kecioren with the slogan "my mayor is in my neighbourhood" (*Milliyet*, 2016) in order to prevent the burden which would be caused by requiring the citizens to come to the municipal building to convey their ideas and to establish a closer relationship with the citizens. Before going to the neighbourhoods, the municipality advertised the time and venue of the meetings via various channels such as official social media accounts, the official website of the municipality, text messages, and local press. The neighbourhood meetings were held in the afternoon in a mobile stage truck and continued for three to four hours. However, due to cold and snowy weather, these public meetings were held in the mayor's office in winters.

Either prior to or after the neighbourhood meetings, the mayor visited some apartment buildings in the relevant neighbourhood to hold "neighbour meetings". Mayor Ak conducted these neighbour meetings to enhance neighbour relations, friendship, unity and solidarity arguing that:

> People who live in the same buildings do not know their neighbours; however, our religion holds us responsible for our neighbours' rights…. Understanding, loving and helping each other increases happiness in that city. The cities should make people peaceful the same way we live in peace in our homes…. We should bring neighbour relations, friendship, and unity and solidarity into the forefront (Kecioren Municipality, 2013; *Haberturk*, 2017b).

---

[19] The Kecioren Municipality identified 65 external stakeholders including citizens, heads of neighbourhoods of Kecioren, associations and NGOs, district presidencies of trade unions, bank branches, higher education institutions within the borders of the district, and other public and private institutions in the district or province. Citizens were not included in the external stakeholder survey. To receive the opinions of the citizens, a citizen satisfaction survey was conducted. However, there was no information about how many people participated in these surveys.

6.1.2. Assessment of the Kecioren Municipality's Efforts towards Citizen Participation

The Kecioren Municipality set out its vision in the 2010–2014 and 2015–2019 strategic plans as follows: "to become a leading municipality in terms of direct engagement with our society, innovation, high-quality life, and services that adhere to world standards" (Kecioren Municipality, 2009, p.1; Kecioren Municipality, 2014, p.89) under the slogan "where the most valuable treasure is our people" (Kecioren Municipality, 2015). In these strategic plans, stakeholders including citizens, NGOs, associations, the head of neighbourhoods, district presidencies of all political parties, and many other state institutions in Kecioren and Ankara were considered as important external stakeholders. In line with this vision, the municipality did not only carry out public meetings and establish a help desk unit but also established some other units to institutionalise citizen participation.

In Mayor Ak's first term, the Kecioren Municipality established a Volunteer Academy to promote voluntary participation of citizens in municipal activities and services for several reasons including fostering a sense of responsibility among citizens, ensuring solidarity among citizens, strengthening citizens' sense of belonging to both the district and city, increasing citizens' trust in society and public institutions, supporting NGOs, and developing projects for disadvantaged groups in the society. This volunteering scheme was promoted via large banners in popular places as well as brochures (*Hurriyet*, 2015d). The Volunteer Academy provided training to hundreds of citizens through expert trainers.

Further, in the second term of Mayor Ak, a Civil Society Academy was established to strengthen solidarity in society, to give a voice to civil society in the decision-making processes, and to develop projects for underserved groups including women, children, elderly, people with disabilities, and poor people. In 2015 and 2016, the municipality conducted meetings and workshops for university students and NGOs not only in Kecioren and Ankara but also across the country (*Hurriyet*, 2015a; *Hurriyet*, 2015b; *Sabah*, 2016).

Ferhat Erdogan (27.12.2016), the Vice-Mayor and Councillor, summarised the activities of the municipality to involve citizens in the administrative processes as follows:

> We always try to involve the public in our administrative processes. The
> Volunteer Academy and the Civil Society Academy that we established in
> 2011 and 2015 respectively are examples of this. We established these

units to increase awareness in society on volunteering and to ensure the participation of all stakeholders in decisions that affect their lives. We organise training activities to promote volunteering. Further, once a year, we hold meetings with NGOs and discuss their suggestions, ideas and demands, all of which we include in the administrative processes. We support NGOs and bring together university students through our Civil Society Academy.

Despite all these activities of the municipality, my findings demonstrated that the influence of citizens and other stakeholders on decisions that closely affected their lives remained limited. According to the Kecioren Municipality's administrators whom I interviewed, this situation is a result of a series of significant problems, such as unemployment, high cost of living, traffic congestion which are experienced not only in Kecioren and Ankara but also in Turkey. Therefore, in general, participation in administrative processes is not among the priorities of residents of metropolitan cities. Both Municipal Councillors Mr Aktas and Mr Erdogan emphasised that people often attended the public meetings or applied to the municipality via help desk unit to request a job for themselves or their children or to request financial support. Similarly, Confidential 2 (09.01.2017), an officer of the Kecioren Municipality, stated that citizens did not show sufficient interest in participation processes. In this context, Confidential 2 stated that:

> We established the Volunteer Academy in 2011, and the number of volunteers is only about 3000 by the end of 2016, and the volunteers are not only from Kecioren but are also from all central districts in Ankara. Considering the high populations of Kecioren and Ankara, this number is very small. More significantly, many people indeed do not come to this academy voluntarily. There is a compulsory module in the education faculties of all universities titled "Community Service Practices", and students should work in voluntary services for at least 12 hours to pass this module. Nevertheless, after completing their compulsory work period, some of them continue to attend some of our volunteer projects.

Overall, the statements from the interviewees demonstrated that, in general, citizens used participation for their own benefit, not for the common good.

Interestingly, despite the low success of citizen participation, both Kecioren and wider Ankara province have significant levers which can be used to overcome obstacles to participation. For instance, as of 2018, about 45% of Ankara's population was under 30 years old, and there were more than 250,000 university students (Ankara Development Agency, 2018, p.3). According to statistics of Turkey's Council of Higher Education (n.d.), in 2018, Ankara was home to eight state universities and thirteen private universities in addition to the Police Academy and National Defence University Turkish Military Academy, several of which were located in Kecioren making Kecioren home to thousands of university students. [20] Moreover, as of 2013, the education level in Kecioren and Ankara is higher than that in overall Turkey.[21]

In fact, it would not be fair to attribute the low success of participation in Kecioren solely to citizens' attitudes. According to Confidential 2 (09.01.2017), although the municipality established the Volunteer Academy and the Civil Society Academy and the mayor often underlined the importance of participatory management, these units were not provided with sufficient financial support, personnel and vehicle support to carry out their activities effectively. Therefore, the fate of these academies was the same as the fate of the vast majority of the participation projects in Turkey. These academies were almost non-functional as of 2017.

Further, I found that the municipality did not adequately involve the citizens and other stakeholders in the strategic planning process in which municipal projects and policies are shaped. Additionally, although the establishment of a citizens' assembly became compulsory in 2005 for municipalities with a population of more than 50,000, the Kecioren Municipality under the governance of Mustafa Ak did not establish a citizens' assembly. In short, the municipal administrators did not transfer genuine power to the citizens to influence the decisions that affect their lives and restricted to citizens' input to lower rungs of Arnstein's citizen participation ladder.

---

[20] In Kecioren, there are various faculties and vocational schools affiliated to Ankara University, Ankara Yildirim Beyazit University, Hacettepe University, and University of Health Sciences.

[21] As of 2013, the percentage of illiteracy above six years old was 2.31% in Kecioren, while this was 2.34% in Ankara and 3.86% in Turkey. The proportion of Kecioren's and Ankara's people with an associate degree or bachelor's degree, master's degree and PhD were also over than in Turkey. The percentage of people with an associate degree or bachelor's degree was 9.76% in Turkey, this was 13.13% in Kecioren and 15.76% in Ankara. The percentage of people with a master's degree 0.78% in Turkey, this was 1.09% in Kecioren and 1.89% in Ankara. Moreover, the percentage of people with a PhD degree was 0.22% in Turkey, this was 0.26% in Kecioren and 0.63% in Ankara (Kecioren Municipality, 2014, p.46).

6.1.3. Administrators' Motives

Findings showed that the most prominent motive of the administrators of the Kecioren Municipality for citizen participation was *to better understand the needs and expectations of citizens and to deliver better public services accordingly* due to rapid population growth in the district. The administrators I interviewed generally spoke about delivering better services to their citizens.

Vice-Mayor and Councillor Ferhat Erdogan identified *political affiliation* as another motivating factor to establish a strong relationship with citizens and to involve citizens in administrative processes. He stated that his political party, the JDP, often emphasised the importance of developing strong relationships with citizens, and encouraged especially local administrators to strengthen their relations with citizens. Further, he stated that his party selected the candidates for local elections among people who had strong relationships with local citizens. Thus, the establishment of strong relationships with citizens became a significant motivating factor for those who wished to be re-elected as mayor or councillor.

Overall, citizen participation for the administrators of the Kecioren Municipality was not about power-sharing. They used citizen participation mostly as a public relations exercise.

6.2. Akyurt Municipality 2015–2019 Strategic Plan Preparation Process

The Akyurt Municipality is one of the few municipalities which prepared a strategic plan without a legal mandate. The first strategic plan in Akyurt was prepared in 2006 under the governance of Gultekin Ayantas[22], a member of the JDP. This plan included short-term goals covering the years 2006 and 2008, medium-term goals covering the years 2009 and 2010, and long-term goals covering the years 2011 and 2023[23]. In the March 2009 local elections, Mr Ayantas was elected for the second time, and 2010–2014 Strategic Plan was prepared. And Mr Ayantas was elected once again in the March 2014 local elections, and the 2015–2019 Strategic Plan was prepared. This section focuses on the last plan which was prepared between June and November 2014.

---

[22] For the March 2019 elections, Mr Ayantas, who served as the mayor for three consecutive terms (2004–2019), was not nominated by his party, since the JDP implements a three-term rule which limits mayoral service for a maximum of consecutive three terms in order to inject dynamism and rejuvenate party cadres.
[23] The 100th anniversary year of establishment of the Republic of Turkey.

6.2.1. The Process

The Akyurt Municipality, led by Gultekin Ayantas, began to prepare strategic plans in 2006 when the population of the district was approximately 23,000. The population of the district reached nearly 30,000 in 2014. Although the population was well below 50,000, the smallest population for which municipalities become legally obligated to prepare a strategic plan, Mr Ayantas decided to prepare of a strategic plan for the 2015–2019 period as well initiating the preparations in May 2014 following the local elections.

In the 2015–2019 Strategic Plan (Akyurt Municipality, 2014b, p.5), Mayor Ayantas explained the motives behind the decision to prepare a strategic plan as follows:

> The first stage of meeting local common needs effectively and efficiently is planning. The following stage is to use the resources effectively, efficiently and economically. This is because significant initiatives can undoubtedly be achieved through serious planning processes. It is hard to predict the outcomes of unplanned initiatives.

> With this awareness, we prepared and put into action the 2006–2010 Strategic Plan for our first five-year working period. After we were re-elected, we prepared the 2010–2014 Strategic Plan. And we prepared the 2015–2019 Strategic Plan after you elected us for the third time. We have put in place annual performance programmes linked to our budget compatible with strategic plans, and we will continue to work in this discipline over the next five years. Therefore, we now have a roadmap with realistic objectives that does not contradict with Akyurt's problems. Herein, we aimed to avoid uncertainty and wastefulness.

For the 2015–2019 strategic plan, firstly, a survey entitled "Akyurt Municipality Image Brand/Citizens' Service Satisfaction and Expectations Research" was conducted in June 2014 to find out about Akyurt people's opinions about municipal services. This research provided the administrators of the Akyurt Municipality with insights on various topics such as citizens' expectations, service satisfaction, problems, priorities and services that should be realised primarily (Akyurt Municipality, 2014b, p.25).

Following the survey, on 12th August 2014, a meeting was held with 27 external stakeholders under the presidency of Mayor Ayantas to meet the expectations of the

citizens, and to receive suggestions and opinions. These stakeholders consisted of members from all state institutions and organisations as well as all other institutions having a legal personality within the borders of Akyurt district.[24] The heads of the directorates within the municipality also attended this meeting (Akyurt Municipality, 2014a; 2014b, p.25).

Additionally, during the preparation process, written opinions of the directorates within the municipality were received, meetings with heads of the directorates and units were held, and views were exchanged continuously (Akyurt Municipality, 2014b, p.26). In accordance with all survey and meeting results, a SWOT analysis was performed, and mission, vision, basic principles, strategic goals and objectives, and performance indicators were determined. On 5th September 2014, the 2015–2019 strategic plan was unanimously approved by the Akyurt Municipal Council[25], and it was then submitted to and approved by the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Council.

6.2.2. Assessment of the Akyurt Municipality's Efforts towards Citizen Participation

Both the strategic plan and annual activity report of the Akyurt Municipality emphasised the importance of citizen participation in administrative processes. In the strategic plan, the development of a transparent and participatory management approach was one of the priority strategic objectives. In line with this vision, the municipality made some efforts, the most concrete of which was the establishment of a citizens' assembly in 2007. Considering that the establishment of citizens' assemblies became compulsory in 2005 for municipalities with a population of more than 50,000 but many municipalities with a population of more than 50,000 had not yet established a citizens' assembly at the time of this thesis, it can be argued that Akyurt Municipality made substantial progress towards participatory democracy.

However, according to Ilhan Sener[26] (16.01.2017), the Vice-Mayor and Councillor of the Akyurt Municipality from the JDP, it was very difficult to develop a participatory

---

[24] Some external stakeholders of the Akyurt Municipality were as follows: District Governorship, District Police Directorate, District Gendarmerie Command, District National Education Directorate, District Health Directorate, District Agriculture Directorate, District Population Directorate, District Youth Services and Sports Directorate, the Chamber of Agriculture, and Akyurt Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association.
[25] Between 2014 and 2019, the Akyurt Municipality Council consisted of 15 councillors, including 12 councillors from the JDP, two councillors from the Good Party and one councillor from the NMP. In the 2014 elections, the NMP won three seats, but two councillors resigned in 2017 and joined the Good Party.
[26] Ilhan Sener performed duties as the Vice-Mayor and Councillor of the Akyurt Municipality and Councillor of the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality between 2004 and 2018. He passed away on 23rd October 2018.

management approach in Akyurt due to the population structure. Similar to the statements of the councillors from the Kecioren Municipality, Mr Sener claimed that participation in administrative processes was not among the priorities of the people.

Although both Akyurt and Kecioren are located in the capital Ankara, their population characteristics differ widely. Akyurt is an industrial area about 30 kilometres away from the city centre with both urban and rural characteristics. It has many large factories, the numbers of which increase each year. Therefore, people, especially from the surrounding provinces, immigrate to Akyurt in search of employment. According to official statistics, between 2007 and 2019, the residential population of the district increased by about 50%, from about 23,000 to 35,000. Many workers also commute to Akyurt for work.

Moreover, the educational attainment of Akyurt's citizens is lower than the Ankara average. Ilhan Sener (16.01.2017) provided additional information about the population structure of Akyurt as follows:

> In terms of income, our district is behind the average income in Ankara; I think our district has one of the lowest incomes [in Ankara]. Akyurt has received immigrants thanks to the industrial potential; however, most of these people are non-skilled and earn minimum wage. Their educational level is relatively low. Manufacturers and consumers have nearly equal statuses.

In the 2015–2019 Strategic Plan of the Akyurt Municipality, the features of the population are considered as significant obstacles to ensuring participatory democracy in the district. Specifically, in the SWOT analysis, the following characteristics were identified as threats (Akyurt Municipality, 2014b, p.35):

- The low socio-economic level of the district
- The existence of a social structure incompatible with urban understanding
- The increased daytime population in comparison to the night-time population
- The increased migration inflow and the high cost of solutions to problems caused by intensive migration inflow
- The weak tolerance displayed by people because of the lack of a democratic culture
- The attitudes, thoughts and behaviours related to traditional social structure

To overcome such significant challenges, the establishment of a citizens' assembly and the preparation of strategic plans without legal obligations were, inarguably, valuable efforts especially when considering the poor participatory management understanding in Turkish local government and reluctance of Turkish local political elites to involve citizens and other stakeholders in administrative processes.

Nonetheless, during my research, I was not able to find sufficient evidence that the Akyurt Municipality put adequate efforts to establish participatory democracy in the district due to several reasons. Although the municipality established a citizens' assembly about a decade ago, this assembly has been almost non-functional, and it was particularly challenging to access information on this assembly. This is because the citizens' assembly had neither a website nor a social media account. Despite my comprehensive research, I identified very few online news articles from the local press and the official website of the municipality. I also obtained some information about the activities of the assembly through the minutes of municipal council meetings which were available on the website of the municipality.

During the interviews, Akyurt Municipality Councillor Yavuz Kok[27], explicitly stated that he had not attended the meetings of the citizens' assembly, and he was not aware of its president (11.05.2018):

> Proposals are received at the municipal council from the citizens'
> assembly. But if you ask me if I have seen important proposals, I say they
> are very ordinary. The proposals are not ones which could offer a vision for
> or innovation to the city. I am not saying beneficial proposals are not made,
> but extraordinary proposals which could improve the city are lacking. The
> proposals from the assembly constitute minor issues. To be honest, I
> haven't participated in meetings of the citizens' assembly, and I am
> unaware who the president is. They bring some proposals to the municipal
> council, but these are issues which the municipal units would already
> address. Citizens' assemblies are established to lead and guide the public,
> but this is not reflected in the proposals the Akyurt Municipality Council
> received.

---

[27] Yavuz Kok performed a duty as the Councillor of the Akyurt Municipality between 2014 and 2019. He was elected as the member of the NMP but he joined the Good Party in 2018.

The statements of Mr Kok clearly emphasised the ineffectiveness of the citizens' assembly in Akyurt. However, the most significant finding was that a municipal councillor himself was not aware of who the president of the citizens' assembly was. During the interview, Mr Kok asked me who the president of citizens' assembly was. When I told him the name of the president, Mr Kok reported that he has indeed known the president well for a long time even though he was not aware that he was the president. Considering that Akyurt is a small district and the citizens' assembly was headed by a deputy mayor and councillor for more than one term of the citizens' assembly, this situation becomes even more remarkable.

Notably, in an ordinary general assembly meeting of the Akyurt Municipality Citizens' Assembly held in June 2016, Mayor Ayantas also stated that although the citizens' assembly held regular meetings and produced many ideas, they had not yet achieved the desired level of success in the citizens' assembly (Akyurt Municipality, 2016).

Further, there seemed to be some discrepancies between the statements in the 2015–2019 Strategic Plan and those made in practice. In the plan, it was stated that a survey was conducted to measure citizens' satisfaction on municipal services and to identify their expectations from the municipality. However, the survey results were never shared with the public. There was also no information about who and how many people participated in this survey and what kind of questions were asked. In this regard, Councillor Yavuz Kok (11.05.2018) said that:

> Unfortunately, in Turkey, writing and practice shows discrepancies. When
> such issues are put on paper, many flowery words are used. But, how much
> of it reflects reality?

He added that:

> The advantage of preparing a strategic plan for Akyurt, despite it not being
> mandatory, is the opportunity to prepare for a higher population in the
> future. The strategic plan could be helpful for managing projects and
> establishing a reliable system, but in terms of functionality, I don't see it
> [the 2015–2019 Strategic Plan of the Akyurt Municipality] as a reflection
> of public expectations.

Moreover, the Akyurt Municipality did not hold a meeting with citizens during the strategic plan preparation processes. Further, the citizens' assembly was not involved in the strategic

planning process. Additionally, information was not available about the planning team developing the strategic plan. Overall, there was a considerable gap between stated intentions and actions of the administrators and citizen participation remained merely a window-dressing ritual.

6.2.3. Administrators' Motives

The findings demonstrated that motives pertaining to service delivery were dominant. The most prominent motive was *to deliver municipal services effectively and efficiently*.

With Law no 6360, in all 30 metropolitan provinces, thousands of villages were transformed into neighbourhoods during the 2014 local elections and were integrated into the boundaries of the closest district municipalities. The service area of the Akyurt Municipality was also expanded due to the new neighbourhoods which were integrated into its boundaries. Accordingly, the demands of the citizens had changed and increased. Thus, the administrators of the Akyurt Municipality were also motivated *to respond to the increasing and changing public demands.* In this regard, Vice-Mayor and Councillor Sener (16.01.2017) stated that:

> Our service area was expanded, and thus, the needs and problems were inevitably increased. We are making more effort to meet citizens' needs and expectations, but expectations of the citizens are more than the facilities of the municipality. We prefer a participatory management approach because if people participate in the administrative processes, they could really understand the problems and the reasons why these problems cannot be resolved.

In addition, Akyurt Municipality's administrators had one important motive beyond service delivery: *to develop a sense of responsibility among citizens*. In this line, Mr Sener (16.01.2017), argued that to produce better solutions to common problems in the district, citizens should take responsibility and help administrators. However, he maintained that citizens were reluctant to take any responsibility:

> Our people expect everything to be given to them from the municipality without taking any responsibility. We established a citizens' assembly without legal obligation, and it is headed by a person who is the deputy mayor and municipal councillor from the JDP: Ertekin San. Indeed, it

would be better if this assembly is managed by a person from outside the municipality, by a non-politician. However, no one wants to assume responsibility. So, we have to lead the citizens' assembly[28].

Mr Sener added that:

> I was born and raised here. Now, I am 50 years old. I personally experienced the troubles here. I make an effort to serve the district where I was born and raised. We try to leave a better city for our children. The willingness and support of our people are essential to produce real solutions to problems. We can solve these problems only by acting together in concert. A few people cannot solve all the problems. For this reason, we do not prefer a top-down management approach, but we can't receive support from our citizens.

Similarly, in a meeting of the Akyurt Municipality Citizens' Assembly held in June 2016, Mayor Ayantas called citizens to take responsibility and be interested in the problems of the district (Akyurt Municipality, 2016). Nevertheless, the findings indicated that the efforts of the administrators to encourage citizens to be involved in administrative processes and be interested in the problems of the district were not sufficient.

6.3. Selcuk Municipality Citizens' Assembly

The Selcuk Citizens' Assembly was established in September 2014 by the Selcuk Municipality led by Mayor Dr Dahi Zeynel Bakici from the JDP. This assembly was established without a legal mandate as the mayor believed it would be beneficial for the public and the municipal administration. According to Dr Bakici, citizens' assemblies should be established in all municipalities regardless of their population. In this regard, he (24.01.2017) said that:

> In Turkey, citizens' assemblies are widely seen as a formality imposed by the EU membership criteria. The population criterion exists for the establishment of citizens' assemblies. According to Article 76 of Law no 5393, citizens' assemblies must be established in settlements where the population is over 50,000. The same criterion also exists for setting up a

---

[28] In June 2019, Resul Can, the Deputy Mayor and Councillor of the Akyurt Municipality from the JDP, was elected as the President of the Akyurt Municipality Citizens' Assembly.

strategic plan. However, all municipalities need to support the establishment of citizens' assemblies. Also, all municipalities should develop strategic plans regardless of their size. Population and similar criteria should not be established. Despite the fact that our population is under 50,000, we believed that a citizens' assembly should be established.[29] The citizens' assembly was a need for our district.

6.3.1. The Establishment Process of the Selcuk Municipality Citizens' Assembly

In the March 2014 local elections, Dr Dahi Zeynel Bakici[30] of the governing JDP was elected as the new Mayor of the Selcuk Municipality. After Dr Bakici took office, he began to work towards the establishment of a citizens' assembly. For this purpose, he firstly organised a meeting in early September 2014 and invited the representatives of all NGOs and trade unions in the district. Representatives of many NGOs and trade unions attended the meeting held under his chairpersonship. In this meeting, Bakici explained the objectives of the citizens' assembly and its potential contributions to the district. The participants were also informed about the functions, working principles and structure of the citizens' assemblies. This is because the level of awareness about citizens' assemblies was low in the country. In this meeting, it was particularly emphasised that the citizens' assemblies are not political bodies and that unlike the common situation in Turkey, the municipality would not dominate the citizens' assembly (*Yeni Asir*, 2014).

Within a month of this meeting, the first plenary session of the citizens' assembly was held to elect a president and executive committee. In this election, two candidates competed, and Irfan Yildiz was elected by the general assembly as the founding president. Further, the executive committee and substitute members were elected (Selcuk Municipality, 2014). Subsequently, the executive committee meeting was held, and the secretary-general was elected. In the Selcuk Municipality Citizens' Assembly, the establishment of assemblies for women, youth, children and people with disabilities was decided.

According to the Working Directive of the Selcuk Municipality Citizens' Assembly, the chairpersons of the assemblies within the citizens' assembly can serve as chairpersons for a maximum of two consecutive terms, and the members of these assemblies cannot

---

[29] The population of the Selcuk district was nearly 35,000 by the end of 2013.
[30] Dr Bakici performed his duty as the Mayor of the Selcuk Municipality between 2014 and 2019. For the March 2019 local elections, he was not nominated by his party.

undertake political canvassing or advocate for any political party. Further, the chairpersons of youth branches of political parties cannot be candidates for the chairpersonship of the youth assembly (Selcuk Municipality Citizens Assembly, 2014b). The following statement of Mayor Bakici (24.01.2017) might illustrate the reason behind these rules:

> When we consider the NGOs and citizens' assemblies in Turkey, we see that the same person is in the presidency for a long time and execution is in the hands of the same people. This is wrong, as we should be stimulating dynamism in NGOs, citizens' assemblies, etc., as they are some of the essential means for carrying out democracy. The presidents and the administration system need to go through some changes after they complete the required time span.

The establishment of the Selcuk Municipality Citizens' Assembly was welcomed by many people. Regarding its establishment, Founding President Irfan Yildiz (08.05.2018) stated that:

> It is not easy to decide on the establishment of the citizens' assembly. It is a fairly virtuous behaviour to ensure the participation of other people in the administration of the district. I thank Mr Mayor for his virtuous behaviour

The current President of the Selcuk Municipality Citizens' Assembly, Atay Tozlu, who took office in October 2016, also underlined the importance of this citizens' assembly for the district and the establishment of a participatory and democratic administration understanding in Turkey. In November 2016, Mr Tozlu and the new executive committee of the citizens' assembly visited all state institutions and organisations, NGOs, political parties, and media organisations in the district, urging them to support the citizens' assembly in producing projects for Selcuk under a common purpose. They also visited Mayor Bakici. During this visit, President Tozlu stated that:

> I welcomed the establishment of the citizens' assembly two years ago in Selcuk. Its establishment was needed, and this need was met by Mr Bakici. We owe him thanks. Mr Bakici expressed his support for all of our projects, and this is a source of strength for us. We will try to do our best for Selcuk, and for the people of Selcuk (*Hurriyet*, 2016).

During the personal interview with me on 8th May 2018, Mr Tozlu also stated that:

> Citizens' assemblies are really important and necessary mechanisms for
> Turkey, but unfortunately many municipalities have not yet established
> them. They are very important for the establishment of a consensus culture
> in Turkey. The society is already divided, and citizens' assemblies are the
> best platforms for prevention the political polarisation, reduction of
> tension, development of projects for the benefits of citizens. In my opinion,
> citizens' assemblies are the kitchens of local governments. Imagine a
> home: a kitchen is a must for a home.

According to Filiz Ceritoglu Sengel[31], the Councillor of the Selcuk Municipality and Izmir Metropolitan Municipality from the opposition RPP, the establishment of a citizens' assembly in Selcuk was an important step towards participatory democracy. In this regard, she expressed that (10.05.2018):

> Citizens' assembly must be structured and developed in accordance with
> the common efforts of NGOs, and it doesn't need to be established in
> Selcuk. Was it good that it was established? Yes, it has been fantastic. In
> the end, it is the NGOs which shape both the politics and living conditions
> of a community. Each NGO is crucial because each focuses on a different
> issue. For example, I am the president of SEGEM-DER—the Association
> for Supporting Continued Development and Education. This association
> positively differentiates women, children, and people with disabilities. It
> especially focuses on people with disabilities. In addition, in Selcuk, we
> have associations and clubs which focus on sports. Such issues concern all
> cities and efforts must be made to address them. In this vein, I strongly
> believe that a common vision is paramount. What is a common vision?
> What can we do to improve the city, and yes probably it is a sort of
> compatriot awareness, but what can we do to improve cultural attitudes?
> The Citizens' assembly is pivotal in answering these questions.

---

[31] In the March 2019 local elections, Filiz Ceritoglu Sengel was elected as the new Mayor of Selcuk Municipality from the RPP.

Municipal Councillor Ceritoglu Sengel (10.05.2018) added that:

> However, the citizens' assembly has its own challenges: fantastic ideas are
> raised there, but the assembly does not have the power to implement these
> ideas. It cannot force the municipal council to implement these ideas. The
> ideas raised in the assembly does reach the council. However, the main
> responsibility falls on the local administrators for realising these ideas
> because it is only upon the municipal council's approval that something
> could be done. When the administrators have questions, the citizens'
> assembly can address them. In this regard, the assembly is critical.

Although the Selcuk Municipality Citizens' Assembly was welcomed by many people due
to its potential benefits, Mayor Bakici (24.01.2017) discussed the difficulties faced during
the establishment of the citizens' assembly as follows:

> Of course, I faced difficulties. First of all, the municipal council[32] opposed
> [establishing the citizens' assembly]. This is because some consider
> citizens' assemblies as a shadow over the municipal councils. However,
> citizens' assemblies are neither opponents nor substitutes or shareholders
> of the municipal councils. In contrast, citizens' assemblies must be seen as
> supporters of the municipal councils because they substantially help
> illuminate and address issues as well as focussing on perceived
> deficiencies. If the citizens' assemblies work to their full potential, they
> will see that they would substantially benefit the area, the district.
>
> I can also say that the [head of] local authority [district governor] might
> think that I unnecessarily added to his workload. In Turkey, democratic
> organisations have always been seen as obligatory. Therefore, the district
> governor might have considered the citizens' assembly unnecessary when
> there is the municipal council. The district presidency of the political party
> I am affiliated with might have difficulty understanding this [need] as well.
> I did receive criticisms like this.

---

[32] The Selcuk Municipality Council consisted of eight members from the RPP, five members from the JDP
and two members from the NMP. That is, in the council, the political party with which Mayor Bakici was
affiliated was in the minority.

6.3.2. The Implementation Process of the Selcuk Municipality Citizens' Assembly

In the first two years of the citizens' assembly, many ideas were produced by the citizens' assembly and submitted to the municipal council. Some of these included (*Artemis Haber*, 2015; *Hurriyet*, 2015c; Selcuk Dergi, 2015, p.25):

- establishment of a library,
- construction of a women's shelter,
- phased removal of plastic-bag use in the district,
- introducing recycling containers to the neighbourhoods,
- cleaning of the Little Meander River (Küçük Menderes River),
- the establishment of a municipal bread-production facility for cheap and healthy bread production,
- the reorganisation of the Selcuk Municipality Eftal Doğru Sports Facilities by creating different activity areas within the field,
- the construction of a dormitory building by the Credit and Dormitories Institution for the accommodation of male and female university students.

In June 2015, the Selcuk Municipality allocated a building exclusively for the citizens' assembly to increase its effectiveness. According to Founding President Yildiz, the allocation of this building was an important indication of the mayor's support for the citizens' assembly.

Mr Yildiz (08.05.2018) stated that NGOs showed great interest in the citizens' assembly during his presidency. However, he discussed that they also faced some challenges:

> The establishment of the citizens' assembly disturbed some power-holders because citizens, whose voice had never been heard so far, began to be involved in the decision-making process. That is, ordinary citizens began to have a say in city management and these power-holders were afraid to lose their power and authority. The status quo is a way of life in Turkey. Those who hold even the smallest office do not want to share their power.

Mr Yildiz added that:

> On the other hand, some people, including former local politicians and more significantly the district president of a well-known NGO, belittled the citizens' assembly. This is because these assemblies work as advisory

bodies and have no power of sanction. They also do not have a budget.
They are financially supported by municipalities, and the opinions
produced in the citizens' assemblies are submitted to the municipal council.
Therefore, for these people who belittled our citizens' assembly, citizens'
assemblies and our efforts did not make any sense.

He (08.05.2018) also drew attention to another important issue:

I am not a politician, and citizens' assemblies are not political platforms.
But, unfortunately, political parties tried to turn the citizens' assembly into
a political arena. They tried to turn the citizens' assembly elections into a
political race. We made every effort to prevent this situation. This situation
is contrary to the nature of citizens' assemblies. Therefore, we were
criticised by the political parties for opposing this situation and for not
supporting any political party.

During the presidency of Mr Yildiz, there was another significant problem, perhaps the
most important challenge for the citizens' assembly: limited budget. In this regard, Mr
Yildiz (08.05.2018) expressed that:

The major challenge we had pertained to the limited budget provided to us
by the municipality. There was not much which could be allocated to the
citizens' assembly. Indeed, this is the biggest challenge citizens'
assemblies face all over Turkey. However, financial power is necessary for
strengthening independence, democratic structure, and raising public
awareness on citizens' assemblies enabling them to be more functional.
The citizens' assembly could have accomplished more active and
beneficial projects if it had an appropriate budget.

In October 2016, the first term of the citizens' assembly came to an end, and an election
was held to elect a new president and an executive committee for the second term covering
a three-year period until the next nationwide local elections in March 2019. This is because
according to the Regulation on Citizens' Assemblies, the president and executive
committee must be elected for a two-year period in the first term and a three-year period in
the second term. Founding President Yildiz did not run as a candidate in these elections. Of
the two candidates competing, Atay Tozlu was elected as the new president.

I conducted an interview with Mr Tozlu on 8th May 2018, 1.5 years after he took office. During this interview, he stated that many ideas were produced, and several seminars, trainings and courses were held especially for women during his presidency. However, during his term, the limited budget challenge arose again as one of the major obstacles:

> So far, we have held our executive committee meetings monthly, and the general assembly meetings quarterly. Although the Regulation on Citizens' Assemblies states that the general assembly within a citizens' assembly must convene at least twice a year, our general assembly convenes every January, April, July and October in order to make the citizens' assembly more active. I wanted to state this situation because, in Turkey, many citizens' assembly hold these meetings very rarely, while many citizens' assemblies are established only on paper.

> In the past one and a half years, about 100 proposals were submitted to the citizens' assembly. We selected important ones and sent them to either the general assembly for discussion and debate, or to the municipal council for implementation, or directly to the mayor. The proposals are plenty. However, we do not and cannot receive adequate financial support from the Selcuk Municipality. This is because the municipality is in debt. As the president of this establishment, I am trying to do my best to represent the citizens' assembly appropriately. We work hard for our district. Within the citizens' assembly, we organise many activities, trainings and courses. Could it be better? Yes, of course, but even the smallest job is costly.

He further added that:

> When we approach the municipality or the mayor with a proposal, we do not receive any objections. However, we are also unable to receive results. We do not obtain a result [acceptance] for about 80% of our proposals. I believe this is because of the financial difficulties the Selcuk Municipality currently faces. Is it always like this? No, this must be temporary. But of course, in the meantime, we do face difficulties.

Mr Tozlu argued that a lack of implementation of the proposals raises questions on the work of the Assembly:

> People raise proposals, but when the assembly is not able to realise these proposals, they argue that the citizens' assembly does not do anything. However, the citizens' assembly does not have a budget, any vehicles or technical equipment. It is the Selcuk Municipality who can implement these proposals. Of course, some do not know the intricacies of the process and make judgments without thorough knowledge. What we can do as citizens' assembly is to relay the proposals to relevant authorities, discuss their importance, and clarify the root of problems. We already do these anyway, but when relevant authorities do not implement the proposals, [people] think that the citizens' assembly does not do anything. A significant reason for this is the pertinent lack of awareness of the remit and responsibilities of the citizens' assembly among citizens.

These statements of President Tozlu showed that more effort is needed to inform citizens about the citizens' assembly. However, since October 2016, the beginning of the second term of the citizens' assembly, it is quite challenging to identify the activities that have been carried out by the citizens' assembly. Although the assembly had an official website and social media accounts which were used actively during its first term, these channels have not been used during second term and they were no longer available in 2019. Even obtaining a telephone number or email address for the citizens' assembly is arduous. Indeed, I had to obtain the telephone number of this assembly from the relevant municipality when seeking interview participants. Further, regarding the activities of the citizens' assembly in the second term, despite my comprehensive research, I was able to identify very few online news articles from the local press and the official municipality website. However, I was able to access some information about the activities of the citizens' assembly through the minutes of municipal council meetings which were available on the official website of the municipality. I was able to identify that, although the establishment of the women, youth, children and disabled assemblies was decided within the Selcuk Municipality Citizens' Assembly, only women and youth assemblies were established, and only the women assembly was active.

Selcuk houses several higher education institutions affiliated to the University of Turkish Aeronautical Association and Dokuz Eylul University, and the majority of the members of the youth assembly within the Selcuk Municipality Citizens' Assembly are university students. Since these institutions are recently established in the district, the number of university students in Selcuk is low, although it is increasing every year. According to Tozlu, it will take some time for the youth assembly to establish a robust working system, and he believes that the youth assembly will eventually be as active as the women assembly as "this is democracy: it takes time and requires effort".

In 2018, there were nine working groups within the citizens' assembly: environment and health; transportation, traffic and parking; urban consciousness, zoning and urban planning; sports events; agriculture and trade; tourism and trade; historical and cultural heritage; education, art and culture; press and publicity. Nonetheless, information on the activities is limited and it is likely that the majority of these groups are yet to be active.

6.3.3. Assessment of the Selcuk Municipality's Efforts towards Citizens Participation

Undoubtedly, the voluntary establishment of a citizens' assembly and the establishment of a democratic structure within the citizens' assembly were important steps towards participatory democracy. More significantly, the willingness of a mayor to share his power with stakeholders was an outstanding example in Turkey. Founding President of the Selcuk Municipality Citizens' Assembly Irfan Yildiz (08.05.2018) summarised the importance of mayor's efforts with the following words:

> The mayor actually demonstrated great efforts. Of course, his academic and personal background had an important play in this. He shared his administration with stakeholders, something I find extremely important. I see this as an example of outstanding grace and democratic approach. Because many people don't want to share the smallest of power. Think about it, a mayor volunteers to share his power with relevant stakeholders. This is such a momentous thing in Turkey.

Further, Mr Yildiz (08.05.2018) stated that:

> In our tradition, being held accountable for actions doesn't really have a place, but citizens' assemblies become a platform in which people are held accountable. They serve as places where expenditures, appointments, and

applications can be questioned. We invited the mayor to all our general assemblies, and the mayor responded to each proposal and criticism without discrimination. I hardly believe any other mayor would participate in the general assemblies of citizens' assemblies and address proposals and criticisms.

However, despite these efforts, the Selcuk Municipality Citizens' Assembly cannot be considered as an atypical case. Although the mayor stated that he was ready to share his powers with the stakeholders, the influence of citizens and other stakeholders on municipal decisions remained very limited. In the citizens' assembly, many ideas were produced to contribute to the development of the district and society but the vast majority of them could not be put into practice. Therefore, the desired success could not be achieved. Indeed, with the following words, Mayor Bakici (24.01.2017) acknowledged that he had to make more efforts to achieve his goals regarding the citizens' assembly:

I have not yet found an opportunity to put some ideas into practice, and some of my ideas that I have practised have not yet achieved the desired success.

During the personal interview with me, the mayor stated that the strategic plan of the municipality was also prepared without legal obligation. However, this plan was never shared with the public, and therefore it is unknown to what extent this plan was prepared considering the views of citizens. Moreover, the Selcuk Municipality under the governance of Dr Bakici established a help desk unit under the name of 'Hizmet Masası [Service Desk]' in September 2014 that enabled citizens to convey their complaints, requests or suggestions to the municipality easier. The citizens showed considerable interest in this unit and frequently used it. Nevertheless, the administrators continued to have substantial control over the decisions that affect citizens' lives.

6.3.4. Administrators' Motives

Unlike the previous typical case studies, the municipal administrators' motives regarding citizen participation were mostly beyond service delivery. The first prominent motive that I found was *to create a mechanism which represents true citizen participation*. Mayor Bakici worked as a lecturer in the Department of Local Government at the Dokuz Eylul University Izmir Vocational School for 18 years (between 1995 and 2013), and I was

trained in this department between 2006 and 2008. I attended many of his classes throughout these two years. I recall that he frequently emphasised the importance of participatory democracy to meet the real needs of people, to raise democratic awareness of citizens, and to develop civil society. After he was elected as a mayor, Bakici found a great opportunity to put his ideas and knowledge into practice and to challenge and change the top-down administration understanding. According to him, citizens' assemblies are excellent platforms to adopt a bottom-up approach. However, as he (24.01.2017) stated:

> It is a fact that in Turkey, citizens' assemblies are in close personal contact with mayors, and mayors and the citizens' assemblies have common political orientations.

To change this situation, he argued:

> We need to pay attention that a citizens' assembly should not be in close personal contact with the mayor and not be involved with a single political party. Another important point is that different layers of the public must be represented in the citizens' assemblies. Given that the mayor and the citizens' assemblies have common political orientations and fit like a hand in glove, the success of the citizens' assemblies is cancelled out.

> As municipal mayors, we need to be open to criticism and therefore differing views. In line with this, and despite the pressures, we established a voting platform within the Selcuk Municipality Citizens' Assembly through which the people can freely and independently vote. If you look into the citizens' assembly that we established, you will find that the views of both the head and the executive committee of the citizens' assembly are in opposition to mine, and different segments of society are represented in the citizens' assembly.

The Mayor also drew attention to pressures on the citizens' assemblies in Turkey and added that:

> I attend the meetings of the Assembly only as an observer. I speak only when there is a need to answer a question, and I ensure that I do not influence anyone. I ensure that they discuss and act freely and independently. In other words, I never looked at the issue through a lens

that pressures them because the municipality pays for their expenses, and I never will. I have never considered pressurising them in this way.

The second prominent motive I identified pertained *to fostering a discussion and consensus culture*. According to Mayor Bakici, one of the severe problems in Turkey is political fanaticism, which posed a significant obstacle to the development of discussion and consensus culture and therefore to increasing citizen participation (24.01.2017):

> We support political parties as if we are supporting [football] teams. This is very wrong; everyone should use their [critical] thinking skills. God has given everyone the ability to think. Everyone should use it. One must not be extremely loyal. In other words, one must not readily accept what one is told. This is one of the biggest barriers to increasing citizen participation. Citizens' assemblies are excellent platforms to overcome such obstacles.

Similarly, the founding President Irfan Yildiz underlined the need *to develop a discussion and consensus culture*. Because according to him, Turkish politics did not have a structure which would welcome a discussion culture (08.05.2018):

> Democratic lifestyle must be universally accepted for citizens' assemblies to be publically accepted. Democracy must be internalised. Citizens' assemblies have a challenging job at places where democracy is not accepted and not practised. As you know, the traditional governance model in our country is based on political dominance. This is also true for local governance, but citizens' assemblies follow a different structure. Citizens' assemblies are umbrella units for all NGOs, political and worldly beliefs which together form the city sociology. There, you can learn about the fabric of a city; you can learn about the layers of the political and civic structure, and more significantly you can find out that different people and ideas can unite in a single platform.

Despite these important motives regarding citizen participation, the efforts made by the Selcuk Municipality fell short in assuring genuine citizen participation.

6.4. Conclusion

In this chapter, three different types of citizen participation practices were examined as typical case studies to explore the motives of local political elites towards citizen participation in administrative processes. Firstly, I examined a regular public meeting project which was carried out by the Kecioren Municipality. Then, I assessed the strategic planning process conducted by the Akyurt Municipality. Finally, I evaluated the citizens' assembly established by the Selcuk Municipality. Importantly, the assessments in this chapter were not only limited to citizen participation practices. To enable overall assessments for each municipality regarding their understanding of participatory management, I researched and identified other efforts related to citizen participation. Further, since community characteristics may significantly affect the motives of the local political elites and the success and sustainability of citizen participation processes, I investigated the population structures served by these municipalities.

In each case study, the administrators stated that they did not prefer a top-down management approach. Accordingly, they underlined their efforts for the establishment of a participatory management approach in their municipalities and pointed out the participation mechanisms they established as examples of their efforts in this regard. However, I found that although the administrators were not against citizen participation in administrative processes, they did not give genuine power to the citizens to influence the decisions that affect their lives. The administrators collected citizens' opinions on municipal services or municipal plans and projects through various mechanisms, but there was no guarantee that the citizens' opinions would be taken into account in the decision-making. Therefore, citizen participation remained a window-dressing ritual.

Further, the findings indicated that the participation mechanisms mostly became almost non-functional after a short period as the vast majority of participation projects in Turkey. According to some administrators, the most significant reason for this situation was citizens' indifference towards participation mechanisms. They argued that participation in administrative processes was not among the priorities of people especially due to the high unemployment rate and high cost of living. But I found that the administrators did not provide adequate support, including financial, personnel and vehicle support, to the participation mechanisms. Since citizen participation is a relatively new concept for Turkey, citizens do not have adequate knowledge about citizens' assemblies, strategic

planning, participatory budgeting, volunteering opportunities or other participation mechanisms. The findings showed that the administrators also failed to introduce the participation opportunities and mechanisms to the public adequately.

The findings demonstrated that the administrators predominantly used citizen participation as a public relations exercise. The findings also showed that the administrators sometimes used citizen participation to legitimise the decisions they had already made. During the personal interviews with me, almost all administrators of these municipalities expressed their willingness to be re-elected in the upcoming local elections. In public speeches and press interviews, the mayors of these municipalities also frequently expressed their demand to run again in the upcoming local elections and their intention to serve at least one more term. The findings indicated that the administrators also used citizen participation to enhance their prospects for re-election. In short, in the municipalities examined in this chapter, participation often was not about a real change that would bring democracy into decision-making. Considering Arnstein's citizen participation ladder, citizen participation practices were, in reality, forms of non-participation or tokenism at best. Therefore, the administrators continued to have substantial control over public policies and administrative decisions. Overall, there was a considerable gap between stated intentions and actions of the administrators on citizen participation and between rhetoric and reality of citizen participation in these municipalities.

CHAPTER 7: Atypical Case Studies Investigating Citizen Participation Motives of Turkish Local Political Elites

In this chapter, the motives of Turkish local political elites for seeking citizen's participation in administrative processes are examined over three atypical case studies. These case studies include projects carried out by three different metropolitan district municipalities located in Bursa and Istanbul.

Similar to Chapter 6, this chapter consists of four sections. The first section examines a neighbourhood committees project carried out by the Nilufer Municipality (Bursa). The following section explores a problem-solving process regarding urban space usage conducted by the Kadikoy Municipality (Asian side of Istanbul). Next section evaluates a comprehensive urban regeneration project carried out by another municipality located in the Asian side of Istanbul province, the Maltepe Municipality. Finally, the fourth section provides an overall assessment of the extent of the gap between stated intentions and actions of the administrators on citizen participation, the extent of the gap between rhetoric and reality of participation in these municipalities, and therefore participation motives of the administrators of these municipalities.

7.1. Nilufer Neighbourhood Committees and Participatory Budgeting

Located in central Bursa, the Nilufer Municipality was governed by Mustafa Bozbey for four consecutive terms, between 1999 and 2019.[33] The neighbourhood committees project was established in this district in March 2009, shortly after Mr Bozbey was elected for the third time as the Mayor from the main opposition RPP under the umbrella of the Nilufer Municipality Citizens' Assembly. Concurrently, the municipality had launched a participatory budgeting project with the slogan "Your Neighbourhood, Your Decision!" in order to provide a platform for the neighbourhood residents to voice their thoughts and opinions regarding the investments and projects aimed at the neighbourhoods.

In 2013, during a panel speech entitled "participatory budgeting in municipalities", Mayor Bozbey pointed out the problems in representative democracies and explained the reasons

---

[33] Mustafa Bozbey entered the mayoral race in the April 1999 local elections as the Democratic Left Party's candidate, then he joined the RPP before the March 2004 local elections. For the March 2019 local elections, the RPP nominated him as the candidate for the Mayor Office of the Bursa Metropolitan Municipality. In this election, although Mr Bozbey received about 47% of the votes, the JDP candidate, Alinur Aktas, won the election with about 49% of the votes.

for the establishment of the neighbourhood committees and for introducing the participatory budgeting as follows:

> … The social, cultural, and political concepts, which we thought we knew well, are constantly evolving. Today, it is obvious that representative democracy does not meet the needs of the public. We are looking for new initiatives to address the crisis of representative democracy. The first of these is to adopt a participatory democracy approach that aims to involve the individuals in relevant processes directly. The second is to adopt a pluralistic democracy view that targets communities. The citizens can be involved as a participant in the processes of representative democracy and through a view of pluralistic democracy. In Nilufer, we are trying to implement this in the neighbourhood committees. This is because we believe democracy will develop from the local level (Nilufer Municipality, 2013).

7.1.1. The Process

The neighbourhood committees project was established in 42 neighbourhoods and it was expanded to all 64 neighbourhoods of the district with the expansion of Nilufer's jurisdiction after 2012.[34] By the end of 2018, the project covered a population of about 441,000. In this regard, Ikbal Polat[35] (29.12.2016), Ex-Director of the Nilufer Neighbourhood Committees stated that:

> Neighbourhood committees were set up since the participatory budgeting project works were based on neighbourhoods. When you ask the citizens to participate in municipal activities, a population of over 400,000 cannot come to the municipality; therefore, you need to delegate this process on a neighbourhood scale.

---

[34] With Law no 6360, which was enacted in November 2012, the service areas and responsibilities of the metropolitan municipality districts had increased with the expansion of the jurisdiction. Prior to the law, in the Nilufer district, there were 42 neighbourhoods and 22 villages. With the new law, the villages became neighbourhoods and were integrated into the jurisdiction of the Nilufer Municipality.

[35] Ikbal Polat was an independent candidate (a joint candidate of small left-wing parties, left-leaning trade unions, and associations) for the Mayor Office of Bursa Metropolitan Municipality for the March 2014 local elections. She is currently the Secretary-General of the [Istanbul] Kadikoy Municipality Citizens' Assembly.

The neighbourhood committees were established through democratic elections as described by Ms Polat (29.12.2016):

> These committees are not led by volunteers, individuals appointed by the Mayor, the president of the citizens' assembly or the executive committee of the citizens' assembly. The fundamental principle states that these structures need to be established democratically through elections.

However, it should be noted that there are also unelected individuals who participate in these committees as "natural members". The natural members of the committees include the following: the head of neighbourhood and members of the board of aldermen; the representative of the parent-teacher association; the representative of the family health centre; representatives of NGOs (society, union, clubs, co-op, etc.) who work at the neighbourhood level; student representatives from primary, middle and high schools. Since these individuals are previously elected by the people through democratic elections, they participate in the neighbourhood committee directly (Elvan Atay, 16.04.2018; Derya Ozgok, 24.04.2018).

On the other hand, the "elected members" of these committees need to participate in an election to become a member of the committee. This process was highlighted by Elvan Atay (16.04.2018), the Secretary-General of the Nilufer Municipality Citizens' Assembly:

> When this process began in 2009, elections were set in a way that every 1200 individuals [neighbourhood residents] were represented by one member. In 2011, this number fell to 600 [1:600]. In 2014, for every 300 individuals, one member was elected. This target of 300 existed from the very beginning. Indeed, 300 is the number of people who participate in each ballot box; in other words, a street has 250–300 voters. Therefore, this was our target number for representation: one representative member per ballot box who can represent that street. However, it was not possible to reach the target of 300 from the beginning, because civil society was not very strong—you know that this is the situation in Turkey. Therefore, we started with 1200 and eventually reached 300.

The term of office of the neighbourhood committee members is similar to the term of office of the president and executive committee of the citizens' assembly: two years in the first term and three years in the second term. Every neighbourhood resident has a right to vote in the elections. One member is elected at each ballot box. The elections abide by the principle of 'confidential voting and open counting' (Nilufer Municipality Citizens' Assembly, n.d.).

In neighbourhoods where there are fewer ballot representatives than the natural members, the number of elected committee members must match that of the natural members. The boards have a one-third quota separately for women and youth (18–29 years of age), and a one-fifth quota separately for individuals with disabilities and LGBTI individuals, where applicable. The quotas are applied at the overall neighbourhood scale.

Before the neighbourhood committee elections, an election campaign is held to promote the Neighbourhood Committee Project and to encourage residents running as candidates or voting in the elections. In this period, elections are announced to the public in various ways such as brochures, billboards; radio, television and newspaper advertisements, and through official websites and social media accounts of the municipality and the citizens' assembly. Also, the heads of communities, NGOs, trade unions and occupational chambers as well as the district presidencies of the political parties are visited by municipal employees or members of the citizens' assembly to promote the project and participation in the committee elections (Elvan Atay, 16.04.2018; Derya Ozgok, 24.04.2018).

The administration of the neighbourhood committees involves the head of the neighbourhood as the committee president, two vice-presidents, a secretary, and the representative of the Nilufer Municipality Citizens' Assembly. After the elections, the members of the neighbourhood committee appoint the executive board members in their first meeting. The neighbourhood committees convene at least once a month. The membership of members who fail to attend three consecutive meetings without apologies is terminated (Nilufer Municipality Citizens' Assembly, n.d.).

In the neighbourhood committees established through democratic elections, decisions are taken primarily by consensus. In cases where a consensus is not reached, the decision is finalised through voting where a two-thirds majority needs to be established for resolution. Moreover, in cases where a consensus is not reached, the neighbourhood committee may decide to hold a public meeting. If a decision cannot be reached in this public meeting, a

referendum may be held with the decision to be taken at this meeting (Nilufer Municipality Citizens' Assembly, n.d.).

The neighbourhood committees receive support from the Nilufer Municipality Citizens' Assembly in matters such as the meetings, training, and conducting projects (Elvan Atay, 16.04.2018). They mainly work to:

- identify the common needs of the neighbourhood residents,
- improve the quality of life in the neighbourhood,
- sustain relationships with the municipality and other public bodies,
- provide opinions on matters relating to the communities,
- collaborate with other institutions,
- increase the participation of neighbourhood citizens in the decision-making processes regarding public administration,
- identify neighbourhood priorities.

The responsibilities of the neighbourhood committees involve identification and development of projects which would increase the quality of life in the neighbourhood, promote the neighbourhood culture, and increase the awareness of democracy, rather than simply deciding whether roadworks are needed, or discussing matters relating to bin collection and lighting. To realise this vision, the committees could undertake activities to address the specific neighbourhood problems, increase the active participation of disadvantaged groups in city life, provide training, and promote joint discussions (Elvan Atay, 16.04.2018; Derya Ozgok, 24.04.2018). Overall, in the neighbourhood committees:

- The problems faced by the committees are discussed.
- Committees could work jointly to address problems related to that area.
- A participatory process involving diverse actors is undertaken.
- The site and street representatives could be established, if desired.
- Special commissions could be set up.

The committees cannot be discriminatory, side with political parties, or raise money through any method. The Citizens' Assembly provides the materials (banners, brochures, social media promotion, sound system, etc.) and advises the committee regarding campaigns, activities, or petitions. Moreover, the Citizens' Assembly provides training to the committee members on different topics (e.g., human rights, gender equality, the

responsibility and remit of municipalities, project development) to ensure that all committee members have an equal level of understanding of these issues (Elvan Atay, 16.04.2018; Derya Ozgok, 24.04.2018).

To understand the effectiveness of the neighbourhood committees which were established due to their potential contributions to the development of the district and society, I asked all interviewees from the Nilufer Municipality to provide a concrete example from implemented processes through neighbourhood committees. Surprisingly, Gokhan Dincer[36], the Municipal Councillor of the Nilufer Municipality from the JDP, stated that there was not a solid example. He (17.04.2018) said:

> The neighbourhood committees project aims to consult with the residents of the neighbourhoods when forming the municipal budgets. For example, when a new sports facility is needed in a neighbourhood, the committee will be consulted for their feedback on where and how they wish the facility to be built. This is what was told to us [municipal councillors] by the mayor. However, how many projects have these neighbourhood committees really created? I don't think there is a solid example. We never received any information on the total number of proposals put forth or projects conducted by these committees. We also didn't receive any information on the specific proposals and suggestions received by these committees during the budget planning process.
>
> The proposals we receive from these committees revolve around street or park names—this has been the remit of these committees so far. Even though the municipality claims that the neighbourhoods are a platform for bringing democracy to the local level, I don't think they are very practical.

However, according to Mayor Bozbey and other interviewees, there were many solid examples. In this regard, Mayor Bozbey (24.04.2018) stated that:

> We prepared a project to renew a street called "Gazi Avenue". I introduced and defended a project in the neighbourhood committee meeting; however, the committee opposed the project. We told the citizens to not immediately

---

[36] In the March 2014 elections, Gokhan Dincer was elected for the first time as the Municipal Councillor of the Nilufer Municipality from the JDP. In the March 2019 elections, he was re-elected from the same party.

make decisions, and to discuss this project among themselves, and thus, we allowed them a month to discuss it. In the end, citizens decided to do it the other way, not the way I suggested. I respected their decision, and we implemented a project which would address the demands of the neighbourhood.

Up until this time, I have never insisted on conducting certain activities. Indeed, even during elections, we do not insist that we should do certain projects. Instead, we say we 'only recommend' certain projects. If you say you will do something and insist that you are not merely making recommendations, you would go against anything you say on participation. Maybe the public doesn't really agree with your opinions. Maybe, they don't find them right.

Ms Polat (29.12.2016) provided another example:

To attain the first citizen participation in 2009, the municipality decided to take important decisions guided by the decisions of the neighbourhood committees. Firstly, the participation process was integrated into the administrative process of the Directorate of Public Transport Services. Each directorate starts planning and budgeting for the next years' projects starting from June of the previous year. The Directorate of Public Transport Services sent their plans for the next year to the neighbourhood committees in July and August. These plans [have so far] involved planning of asphalt roads and pavements. The committees have evaluated these plans and provided feedback on priority asphalt roads and pavements. After this, since 2011, all plans of the Directorate of Public Transport Services are prepared at the directorate and sent for feedback to the neighbourhood committees which then go to the municipal council for approval.

The year 2012 involves the revision of the strategic plan, and therefore, this revision process was opened to the neighbourhood committees. When revising the strategic plan, changes cannot be made to its overall vision and mission, but only to the strategies for meeting the vision and mission. Nilufer's vision was to become the city of art and sports; therefore, you

cannot change this. However, you can change the strategy for achieving this. For example, the plan stated that this would be attained through installing AstroTurf [artificial turf] in each neighbourhood; however, the committee changed this. AstroTurfs target only boys and are sexist. Girls want to play volleyball, basketball and handball in those fields. Therefore, the AstroTurf strategy was amended to accommodate all four of these sports rather than only football. Many more suggestions were raised besides this. All suggestions, except for those colliding with current regulations, were accepted and added to the Strategic Plan by the municipalities. In this way, we undertook the process of strategic plan revision through citizen participation.

7.1.2. Difficulties Encountered in the Neighbourhood Committees

Interviewees underlined that severe difficulties were experienced during the establishment and implementation of the committees. In this context, Mayor Bozbey (24.04.2018) said:

> Since we adopt a participatory approach, we include all relevant stakeholders in our projects, especially those pertaining to the strategic and budget plans. Participatory budgeting looks very nice on paper, but it is so challenging to achieve in practice.

In a press interview in 2014, Mayor Bozbey identified the most important reason for these difficulties as follows:

> In the 2009–2014 term, my goal was to attain 80% success. We had 42 neighbourhoods at the time, and I talked to every single one. We aimed to establish at least 80% of the system, but unfortunately, our success only reached 50%.

> One of the reasons why these committees did not reach our targets is the heads of neighbourhoods. Even though they are also the head of the neighbourhood committees, they do not like to be interfered by neighbourhood residents. It is very difficult for them to accept this, or sometimes they pretend they have accepted it [neighbourhood committees] but they do not go ahead with regular meetings. Of course, it is not easy to change an established system. The head of the neighbourhood is

responsible for everything in the neighbourhood, and the residents must consult him [in the established system]. However, we state that 'the residents should relay their complaints, and the neighbourhood committee should make the relevant decisions'. Issues which are a priority for the residents may not be a priority for the head of the neighbourhood. For example, if there is a demand for a park, the neighbourhood committee should decide where the park should be set up. This is what we want from them (Bozbey, 2014).

Derya Ozgok (24.04.2018) stated another reason for resistance experienced against neighbourhood committees as follows:

Of course, it is not easy to establish this system. Even the municipal administrators and employees took over five years to accept this system. They think "Come on, I am a technical staff member. I have trained in this matter for years. This is my project. I planned it. Are citizens going to discuss my project?"

However, difficulties were not only caused by the attitudes of the head of the neighbourhoods and municipal administrators and employees. Elvan Atay discussed another setback which was due to the misunderstanding among citizens. In this regard, she (16.04.2018) discussed:

When we began the neighbourhood committees project, there was a prejudice which perceived the committees as a backyard of the mayor's party. But this was not true. This is because every neighbourhood resident has a right to run as a candidate and participate in the committee elections.

On the other hand, a significant difficulty arose due to misunderstandings among committee members. Elvan Altay (16.04.2018) stated:

When the participatory budgeting project was set up, the development index of the Turkish Statistical Institute, the population of the neighbourhoods, and all other details were considered when allocating relevant budgets. But people and the head of neighbourhoods started to think odd things. They thought this money would be given to the committees in cash. However, this is not legally possible. Actually, this

project is slightly above the capacity of the public—it is very hard to explain it to them. It took a long time for us to explain to them that the committees would not receive cash but rather they would be allocated a budget with which they can decide what to do. Indeed, still, there are some people who do not fully understand this. Therefore, we amended the working style of the project. Now, citizen participation takes place during the development and implementation of the strategic plan of the municipality. We also develop plans for city development in collaboration with the neighbourhood committees.

Ikbal Polat (29.12.2016) mentioned similar difficulties:

The municipality allocated a portion of their budget to the neighbourhoods in accordance with the Turkish Statistical Institute's Development Index and allowed the neighbourhoods to decide how the money will be spent. However, the municipality does not directly provide the committees with cash. The neighbourhood committees decide where the money will be used, and we spend the money on that. The money has been used in accordance with the wishes of the committees as long as the wishes were in line with the public space.

The citizens initially misunderstood this. Everyone thought their own neighbourhood committee would receive cash; however, this was not the case. The municipality cannot give anyone direct cash. The reality was that the committee would decide how the money would be spent. It took us 1.5–2 years to communicate this to the committee. During this time, citizen participation reduced due to beliefs that the municipality did not fulfil its promises. Therefore, we tried to address this issue. Believe me, attaining participation processes, in other words, encouraging individuals to run for neighbourhood committee elections, allocating appropriate budgets, and incorporating these to the strategic plan, is not easy. Both the municipality personnel and volunteers worked very hard.

Further, in a press interview in 2017, Ali Cenk Algun, Director of Nilufer Municipality Civil Society Relations Office, stated that:

When we started working on neighbourhood committees in 2009, we faced reactions from the people such as "we chose you, so you have to decide what to do. Do not trouble us, have we voted you in vain?" But in recent years, the people who said this turned into active people who constantly kept us to account when they realised that this kind of participation projects are beneficial mainly for them. Sure thing, these cannot be done over a day. A significant amount of effort has been put on citizen participation projects in Nilufer, and finally, we have just started to reap the fruits (Algun, 2017).

7.1.3. Assessment of the Nilufer Municipality's Efforts towards Citizen Participation

My findings demonstrated that the Nilufer Municipality led by Mayor Bozbey made a considerable effort to integrate a relatively novel citizen participation mechanism into the Turkish public administration system highly dominated by a top-down management approach. Considering that the country is very unfamiliar with neighbourhood committees and participatory budgeting and administrators are reluctant to involve citizens and other stakeholders in the processes especially related to financial issues, the efforts made by the Nilufer Municipality were outstanding. However, the criticisms of Municipal Councillor Gokhan Dincer regarding the full internalization of the committees and participatory budgeting by the public should not be ignored.

The Nilufer Municipality, led by Mayor Bozbey who often advocated that not everything should be between the lips of the mayors, carried out additional projects in order to involve all stakeholders in administrative processes. For instance, Mr Bozbey conducted monthly public meetings in the municipal council meeting hall during his time at the office. Further, between 2015 and 2019, Mayor Bozbey brought his office to the neighbourhoods every Friday under "The Mayor is Here" project and spent all his day at a neighbourhood. During these days, he listened to the wishes, problems, and thoughts of the residents in a caravan in face-to-face meetings (Nilufer Municipality, 2017a). Moreover, the municipality allocated two buildings for NGOs to allow them to effectively carry out their activities. The first one, the Nilufer Associations Campus, was opened in 2012 where the municipality provided diverse facilities to over 100 NGOs. In 2017, the second one, the Karaman Associations Campus, opened and about 250 NGOs have benefited from the facilities of these buildings. The official opening ceremonies of these buildings were both

held on 5th December, the International Volunteer Day, to emphasise the importance of volunteering. In Turkey, only a handful of municipalities provide such facilities to NGOs.

In addition to including the citizens and NGOs in the administrative processes, the Nilufer Municipality considered the suggestions of its own staff through the "Personnel Suggestion System". Uniquely, it awarded staff who suggested innovative ideas through this system. Mayor Bozbey argued that the number of employees who make suggestions increase every year (Gungormez, 2013; Nilufer Municipality, 2017d).

During the mayoralty of Mr Bozbey, the Nilufer Municipality also carried out the "MP-Public Meeting Project" to carry the MP-citizen meetings at the municipal building instead of the traditional political party offices. As the first of its kind in Turkey, a separate room was allocated to all political parties that have a group in the National Assembly (Nilufer Municipality, 2017b; 2017c). Through this project, the public met Bursa MPs directly and discussed their problems with their representatives in the parliament.

Mayor Bozbey's following activities also broke traditions in the Turkish local management system: 24-hour web streaming of the mayoral office since 1999, sharing of his daily schedule through the official municipality website, and allowing citizens the right to speak before the municipal assembly meetings. As a result of these efforts, in 2013, the Nilufer Municipality received the Excellence Award of European Foundation for Quality Management (EFQM) in the category of "Adding Value to the Citizen" and became the first local government which received this award in Europe. The Nilufer Municipality was also among the EFQM award finalists in 2008 and 2012.

In short, unlike the common situation in Turkey, citizen participation did not remain in theory in Nilufer Municipality, and the administrators made significant efforts to put rhetoric into action and to go beyond a window-dressing ritual.

7.1.4. Administrators' Motives

The findings demonstrated that motives behind the participatory management approach of the Nilufer Municipality were related to service delivery, citizen education, and strengthening community and democracy. Notably, the strengthening democracy and community was cited the most by the interviewees.

One of the prominent motives of the municipal administrators was *to better understand the needs and expectations of citizens and to deliver better service accordingly*. The

municipality aimed to produce projects that addressed the demands of the citizens. They were aware that the projects developed without including the citizens may not address the needs and expectations of the citizens and cause a waste of resources. For this reason, Mayor Bozbey and other municipal administrators stated that the municipality respected the decisions of the neighbourhood committees, and the municipal projects had been developed in accordance with the opinions of these committees. In this context, Elvan Atay (16.04.2018) highlighted:

> Through neighbourhood committees, we identify the needs of neighbourhoods. Of course, municipal workers can go and identify the needs of neighbourhoods themselves; however, the local residents are better equipped to identify their needs and problems. In addition, when plans and projects are conducted with the people, the people really develop a sense of ownership and belonging. The use of public spaces increases and we don't waste our efforts on unsuccessful or unpopular projects.

Another prominent motive behind the participatory management approach was *to educate the community*. Specifically, the interviewees underlined that citizens, in general, do not adequately know the responsibilities, duties, and powers or authority limits of the municipal administrations. Since citizen participation is a relatively new concept for Turkey, citizens also do not have adequate knowledge about citizens' assemblies, neighbourhood committees, participatory budgeting, or other participation institutions and mechanisms. Interviewees Ikbal Polat, Elvan Atay, and Derya Ozgok especially underlined that, for instance, it took a long time to explain to the public that the municipality cannot give money to the committees in cash but rather it will allocate a budget to the committees and the committees will decide how this money will be spent. In addition, citizens did not exercise their democratic right to audit their representatives and representative institutions. The Citizens' Assembly provided training for the neighbourhood committee members regularly on different topics including volunteering, the remits and responsibilities of municipalities and citizens' assemblies.

Uniquely, the motive of the administrators *to create an exemplary local administration model in Nilufer for Turkey* was prominent as discussed by Mayor Bozbey (24.04.2018):

> The municipality system implemented in Turkey is based on the strong mayoral system. Almost everything is between the two lips of the mayor. Is

that right? It never is. Democracy cannot be top-down. 'What the mayor says is right' mentality cannot be accepted. We urgently need to change this understanding.

Indeed, the leaders have been saying for years: we will strengthen local governments; we will strengthen the democracy starting from local governments; we will adopt participatory democracy. But, they only say these. When it comes to putting these promises into practice, we cannot see any activities. Everyone knows that these promises cannot be realised through a top-down approach.

To change this understanding, I had progressed participatory management step by step since 1999, the year when I was first elected as the mayor. In 2000, we adopted a quality administrative system. I aim to represent an administrative philosophy; we follow a different administrative system. We follow our administrative philosophy and administrative system with a view to develop and lead the change in both the city and the citizens. Through the neighbourhood project, we offer Turkey a different model for local governance. If you want people to be happy, live peacefully, and feel safe, you need to involve them in relevant processes.

Similarly, during a press interview in 2014, Mr Bozbey expressed that:

We set up neighbourhood committees five years ago, and there are still no other examples of such committees in Turkey. This is because our [Turkish] understanding of municipal administration dictates that [decisions of the] municipal administration are between the lips of the mayor. Alternatively, the vice-mayor, assigned by the mayor, dictates these decisions. Existing laws also support this understanding; they [the mayor or vice-mayor] say 'do', and their wish is done regardless of people's thoughts. There are hundreds, if not thousands, of examples of this. Is this [the] right [way to administer]? No, it is never the right way. If a country wants to attain democratic understanding, this is only possible if democracy starts at neighbourhoods. Democracy cannot be attained in a top-down manner (Bozbey, 2014).

7.2. Managing Public Participation with Dialogue and Interaction: The Model of Kadife Street

This project was conducted by the Kadikoy Municipality and the Design Atelier Kadikoy[37] (a centre developing ideas concerning public spaces) between May and September 2014 in order to solve significant urban space usage problems in Kadife Street and its vicinity known as "the street of bars" in the Kadikoy district located on the Asian side of Istanbul.

In 2008, Kadikoy's population saw a fall from nearly 750,000 to about 530,000. This is because before the March 2009 local elections, the government established seven new districts with Law no 5747 and the number of district municipalities rose from 32 to 39. These new district municipalities were formed by dividing some neighbourhoods from the existing neighbouring district municipalities. Since some neighbourhoods of Kadikoy joined the newly formed Atasehir Municipality, the population of Kadikoy decreased significantly. Moreover, as the intensity of urban transformation increased, the population of Kadikoy reached its lowest level ever at 451,000 in 2017. However, the day time and visitor population reached about three million (*Kadikoy Life*, 2017). This is because public transportation provides easy access to Kadikoy by all Istanbulites as well as domestic and foreign tourists. Therefore, Kadikoy became a very popular meeting point at the city, and the entertainment sector increased its popularity in the district. Existing bars, cafes and restaurants that are located in residential areas of the district have expanded onto the sidewalks, and thus, the streets are increasingly becoming crowded.

Kadikoy's Kadife Street and its vicinity particularly became trendy and earned its reputation as "the street of bars" due to its colourful nightlife. Many new entertainment places, particularly bars and cafes, opened in this residential area. While these places were initially condensed around Kadife Street and its vicinity, they are now spread across a wider area. As a result of this expansion and rapidly rising rents, many businesses, such as clothing stores, bookstores, and grocery stores had to abandon the area in search of more

---

[37] The Design Atelier Kadikoy is an organisation established by the collaboration of a public institution (the Kadikoy Municipality), an urban planning consultancy company (Urban Strategy) and a civil society institution (the Foundation for the Protection and Promotion of the Environment and Cultural Heritage). The Atelier evaluates urban problems under three themes: Design, Research and Participation. One of its most important missions is to ensure that every person who lives in Kadikoy has a say in urban development decisions. The Design Atelier Kadikoy creates ideas and products for public good in collaboration with citizens, volunteers, students, and designers.

affordable locations. Overall, all these changes caused the emergence of significant urban space problems in Kadikoy leading to polarisation of local residents, area users and business owners. Local residents, business owners, and visitors of the street carry different viewpoints regarding the use of the urban space. While local residents insist the area is a residential area, some consider the area as a commercial area or a space for entertainment. Thus, conflicts have emerged between the residents and owners and customers of bars and cafes (Kienzle, 2016; Kadikoy Academy, 2016).

Many residents in Kadife Street and its surrounding area are long-term homeowners who have been living there for an average of 50 years. Therefore, they have a strong sense of belonging to their locality, and object to rise of entertainment venues in the area. They argue that their living standards have decreased since the opening of the bars and cafes, particularly since 1997. During this time, the user profile of the street inevitably changed disturbing local residents. Indeed, many complain that the noise of those who consume alcohol on the street, particularly at night time after the closing hours of bars and cafes, is disturbing. The noise from the bars and cafes is another significant problem for the residents of the area. Further, the expansion of bars and restaurants into the streets has resulted in ever-shrinking sidewalks, forcing pedestrians to walk in the road. This situation thus inevitably severely hampers vehicle traffic in this area and creates a major inconvenience for both drivers and residents (Kienzle, 2016; Kadikoy Academy, 2016).

In order to resolve these issues, the residents in Kadife Street approached the Kadikoy Municipality and relevant institutions and ministries in Ankara in 2012. Due to rising complaints of the residents, the previous administration of the Kadikoy Municipality, led by Mayor Selami Ozturk[38], took some measures in February 2013. For instance, the municipality removed the tables and chairs placed on the streets by the owners of bars and cafes, and set closing hours for off-licence alcohol retailers as 10.00 p.m., instead of the 00.00 a.m., in dense residential neighbourhoods. Even though the visitors of the area and the owners of the liquor stores objected to these restrictions, the prohibition of the sale of alcohol after 10.00 p.m. reduced the crime rate in the region by 60% (*Gazete Kadikoy*, 2013). However, these measures did not succeed in the long run, and the problems began to increase in the area.

---

[38] Selami Ozturk, a member of the main opposition RPP, governed the municipality for four consecutive terms, between 1994 and 2014.

When local residents re-filed complaints to the Kadikoy Municipality, this time, led by Mayor Aykurt Nuhoglu[39], the municipality chose to address the complaints and resolve underlying issues by following a different path to the rest of the country: they opted for a strategy based on dialogue and consensus, as they believed the problems could be addressed by bringing together all related parties instead of following the prevalent focus on increasing surveillance and instilling bans on alcoholic beverages and social venues. Thus, the municipality, with the support of the Design Atelier Kadikoy, initiated a process, immediately after the March 2014 elections, with the direct participation of the citizens who struggle with these problems every day (Kienzle, 2016; Kadikoy Academy, 2016).

7.2.1. The Process

In order to develop realistic solutions to the significant urban space usage problems, the municipality invited all relevant parties to participate in a series of meetings. The following people were in the target group for this participatory process: the tenants and property owners in Kadife Street and its surrounding streets; owners of bars, cafes and restaurants in this area; people frequently using this area (visitors); the head of the related neighbourhood (Caferaga Neighbourhood); senior officials of the Kadikoy Municipality, and designers and sociologists (Kienzle, 2016; Kadikoy Academy, 2016).

A series of meetings and workshops were organised in the street and the buildings of the Kadikoy Municipality and the Design Atelier Kadikoy between the 16 May and 11 June 2014, with the entire process concluding in September 2014. This process was an opportunity for all involved parties to get to know and understand each other. During this time, the officials from the municipality and designers from the Design Atelier Kadikoy listened to all relevant parties, reported their statements and developed strategies for the resolution of the problems. The entire process was monitored by volunteer social workers (Kadikoy Academy, 2016). The series of meetings and workshops are briefly detailed below.

---

[39] Aykurt Nuhoglu, a member of the RPP, governed the Kadikoy Municipality between 2014 and 2019. For the 31 March 2019, he declared his presumptive candidacy for the Mayor Office of the Kadikoy Municipality from the RPP but the party did not nominate him for a second time.

Consciousness Raising Meeting (Friday, 16 May 2014)

The process began on May 16th with Consciousness Raising Meeting. In this meeting, experts from the Directorate of Strategy Development and other relevant directorates within the municipality came together and planned future meetings that would include all relevant parties. The participants for future meetings were also determined in light of the interviews and observations in Kadife Street and its vicinity. Regarding this process, Batur Secilmis (04.05.2018), a graphic designer at the Design Atelier Kadikoy, stated:

> We went to the field. We conducted separate observations during the day and night. We started to photograph the city before dawn, before it got dark. We took photos of the street from the building across the road. Hourly, these photos observed the crowd in the street. These observations continued for a week, including weekdays and the weekend. We aimed to find individuals who frequently use Kadife Street and asked for their opinions. We also aimed to map the flow of the people and calculate relevant statistics.

In this period, the designers from the Design Atelier Kadikoy were also consulted about the process, and the roles that could be taken up by the designers were discussed (Kadikoy Academy, 2016).

The Workshop on Kadife Street and its Vicinity (Friday, 30 May 2014)

On May 30th, a workshop was delivered to the residents of Kadife Street and its surrounding area, the people who socialised on the street, the businesses owners, the head of Caferaga Neighbourhood and the Caferaga Solidarity (a civil initiative in the neighbourhood). This was the first attempt to bring together all related parties. The officials from the municipality, designers and sociologists also attended in this workshop as observers and listeners. The total number of participants was not high (45 people) but they were from diverse backgrounds, including a psychologist, an engineer, an architect, urban planners, students, and business managers (Design Atelier Kadikoy, 2014; Kadikoy Academy, 2016).

The workshop was moderated by urban planners and held in two phases. Firstly, the participants discussed the problems under four main headlines—cleaning, noise, safety, and social tension—and then proposed suggestions for solutions. In the first phase, firstly the residents expressed their complaints and demands. The residents particularly requested the closing down of bars as they encouraged people to consume alcohol outdoors especially after smoking was banned indoors by the central government and the tables and chairs that were placed on the street transformed the street into an "open-air bar". The residents stated that they did not want their streets to be known as "the street of bars". Furthermore, they expressed that before to the opening of bars, they were already living there and despite their strong feeling of attachment to their neighbourhood, they are now feeling unwanted in their own living area, and they were also told to move out. More importantly, they argued that they might be forced to leave if the problems persisted. They also complained that their houses were considerably losing their value (Design Atelier Kadikoy, 2014; Kadikoy Academy, 2016). Further, the residents expressed that they had no problem with alcohol consumption, but their living standards decreased, and they could not sleep due to noise. They also complained that they had to have iron bars installed on their windows and balconies for security because sometimes people threw bottles up to the fourth floor (Kadikoy Academy, 2016).

In response, the bar owners stated that they were also victimised because of what had happened, and the problems of this street should be solved by common sense and not by banning the bars like in many other places. The bar owners emphasised that they were ready to collaborate with other stakeholders to resolve the problems. They argued that they would indeed preferred people to drink inside the bars as that would be more profitable for them, but the people preferred to drink outside because it was more economical than buying the drinks at the bars.[40] According to the bar owners, placing tables on the street was important because it was profitable for them and it made the street safer and more peaceful. After all parties voiced their complaints and demands, a "solution group" of 18 people consisting of representatives of all stakeholders was formed (Kadikoy Academy, 2016).

In the second phase of the workshop, the residents, designers, bar owners and the users of the street came together to discuss the following question: "How can we create social and

---

[40] Here, drinking outside refers to people buying alcohol at off-license retailers and drinking on the street.

spatial change with minor interventions?". As a result of these discussions, all parties proposed many solutions (Design Atelier Kadikoy, 2014). In this workshop, a clear solution could not be produced to overcome the problems, but all the participants expressed that they left the "tense" meeting feeling like they were able to voice all of their concerns and demands. Participants agreed to reconvene at a later date to reach a communal decision to address the concerns of all parties (Kadikoy Academy, 2016).

Brainstorming Workshop with Designers (Tuesday, 2 June 2014)

Another workshop was held with nearly 30 volunteer designers on 3rd June 2014. This workshop was held in two phases. In the first phase, the problems and concerns stated by all parties in the first workshop were discussed. In the second phase, the appropriate ideas that were to be developed as suggestions for the next meeting were selected. In order to provide better recommendations to the municipality, the designers also visited the relevant area and made observations (Lepeska 2014; Kadikoy Academy, 2016).

Workshop with Solution Group, Designers and Municipal Officials (Monday, 9 June 2014)

On June 9th, another workshop which included all parties was held again in two phases. In the first phase, the designs which were developed by the designers were presented to the officials of the municipality, and these designs were assessed by all parties (Kienzle, 2016; Kadikoy Academy, 2016). In the second phase, residents, business owners, street users and officers from the municipality developed new solution suggestions first in small groups and then in a large group. The suggested interventions on Kadife Street and its vicinity were marked on the map. In this workshop, everyone's responsibility in the new process was clarified. Further, it was decided that these suggestions would be shared with those who were not able to attend the meeting, and their opinions would also be collected (Kadikoy Academy, 2016).

In this workshop, the designers suggested that the municipality should improve cleaning and monitoring in the street and its surrounding area. They also recommended (i) public art to increase awareness of locals' concern, (ii) several events along the waterfront (the Marmara Sea coast) to draw people away from the street, and (iii) new landscaping, lighting and infographics to create a more civil public setting (Lepeska, 2014).

In this meeting, designers from the Design Atelier Kadikoy and municipal officers came together to create a roadmap of solutions. They re-evaluated the problems and the solutions that were raised by all parties and the revisited the responsibilities of the parties. Then, a shared report was created to inform all people about the problems and developed solutions (Kadikoy Academy, 2016).

7.2.2. Outcomes

Based on the consensus reached as a result of a series of meetings and workshops, designers prepared banners and posters, and the municipal staff visited the area to distribute and display them. However, when they went to the area, they saw many banners and posters that were already prepared by the Caferaga Solidarity to draw attention to the various problems (e.g., garbage, noise, sleeping). Thus, the municipal staff did not replace the existing banners and posters (Kadikoy Academy, 2016; Batur Secilmis, 04.05.2018).

Additionally, the residents began to place tables in front of their apartment buildings to drink tea. Therefore, they prevented others from sitting in front of their buildings, and perhaps unintentionally, they began establishing closer relations with the street users. Also, street users began to warn each other to be more careful when using the streets. More importantly, awareness on drug abuse increased in the area (Kadikoy Academy, 2016; Batur Secilmis, 04.05.2018).

Furthermore, the municipality conducted physical interventions such as illumination of all blind spots in the area. The street also began to be cleaned (washed) by the municipality after certain hours, and the wet sidewalks prevented the users of the street from sitting down on the ground. The washing on the street at midnight would normally have caused substantial opposition, whereas this decision was made through the collective decision-making process. This shows that the parties made a concerted effort to overcome their prejudices and to develop a mutual understanding (Kadikoy Academy, 2016; Batur Secilmis, 04.05.2018).

In a press interview in 2016, Mayor Nuhoglu stated:

> The tension between the youth who socialise by drinking alcohol in Kadife, Ihsan Unluer and Haci Sukru Streets, which are known as "the street of bars", and street residents caused by the noise and environmental pollution

was one of the most important problems of Kadikoy. In order to resolve the problem, we arranged meetings with residents, young people and tradesmen. We gathered the demands of the residents and the tradesmen. We tried to bring the people together who drink alcohol on the street and the residents in order for them to understand each other and empathise with each other. Finally, the problem was resolved. Consequently, we have not received any complaints on these streets for about a year. The point here is to bring people together and to make them understand how they feel and what they need. This problem could have been solved in other means, for example, by appointing 24/7 security teams. But, instead, we have produced a solution in which everyone understands and listens to each other (Nuhoglu, 2016).

Although Mayor Nuhoglu maintained that the problems were solved, Maltepe Municipality Councillors Goksel Oksuz[41] (25.04.2018) and Omer Sahan[42] (26.04.2018) from the JDP argued otherwise. They contended that they still continue to receive complaints from the relevant area. Indeed, they were not aware of any work conducted in the area to address the complaints. In this regard, Mr Oksuz (25.04.2018) stated:

I am not aware if the municipality had conducted any work on this issue, to be honest. Therefore, I am unable to make detailed comments; however, the main issue is due to the high number of entertainment places and pubs around that area. The number of these places has increased considerably. Further, they have paid occupancy fees and expanded into the roads. The public there is very uncomfortable about this.

I don't know they tried to solve these issues, but even if they did, we still continue to receive complaints. So, these issues are not completely resolved. The citizens living in that area still come to us. We don't have any data indicating that these problems have been resolved.

---

[41] Goksel Oksuz served as the Kadikoy Municipality Councillor between 2014 and 2019 from the JDP. In the March 2019 local elections, he was a presumptive candidate from the JDP for the Mayor Office of the Atasehir Municipality, neighbour district of Kadikoy.
[42] Omer Sahan performed duties as the Councillor of both the Kadikoy Municipality and Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality between 2014 and 2019 from the JDP.

Likewise, Omer Sahan (26.04.2018) stated:

> What do they mean problems have been resolved? Problems are ongoing in that area and increasing day by day. People are still complaining; go listen to them. There is a Facebook group called 'Moda Bulten' to which around 5,000 people have joined. I have joined it as well—people still complain about the ongoing problems in that area in this platform.

In September 2019, in the Moda Bulten Facebook group, people continued to share their complaints regarding ongoing problems in this area. Nevertheless, considering that, in Turkey, such problems are usually addressed by using police and municipal police force, the strategy followed by the Kadikoy Municipality remains remarkable. The design of the process based on careful observations, the inclusion of all sides affected by the problems and the decisions taken by consensus made this process exceptional.

7.2.3. Assessment of the Kadikoy Municipality's Efforts towards Citizens Participation

The interviewees from the Kadikoy Municipality, Vice-Mayor and Municipal Councillor Bahar Yalcin[43] (29.12.2016) and Egecan Erdogan (29.12.2016) who is a researcher at the Kadikoy (Municipality) Academy, discussed that the municipality included the people not only in this process but also in many other projects (e.g. Kadikoy's Bicycle Transport Project, Local Equality Action Plan for Kadikoy). This is because all projects are shaped by the municipal strategic plan prepared through a participatory approach in which the citizens and all other stakeholders participate in relevant discussions. In this context, Mr Erdogan (29.12.2016) stated that:

> Right after the local elections, we prioritised the development of the strategic plan through a participatory process. The strategic plan serves as a roadmap and a seminal document. We have assured both ourselves and the citizens that we will remain loyal to it. This document acts as a report card because it will be revisited in two years to evaluate our performance and establish what has been done and what is needed to be done. Sometimes,

---

[43] Between 2015 and 2019, Bahar Yalcin performed duties as Municipal Councillor and Vice-Mayor of the Kadikoy Municipality from the RPP. Yalcin was responsible for four directorates within the municipality: Strategy Development, Plan and Project, Youth and Sports Services, Social Support Services.

revisions, which are loyal to the primary goal of the strategic plan, may be necessary. The strategic plan shapes all municipal projects.

We are all citizens, and all municipalities and other state institutions are funded by our taxes. Therefore, we require their service and expect they match at least the following criteria: Do these institutions hear and incorporate my voice into their projects? Can I be a part of the decision-making process as a citizen?

He (29.12.2016) added that:

To prepare our strategic plan, we held a series of meetings. We organised three different research conferences [with a total of 350 participants] followed by special group meetings that focussed on specific issues involving topics, such as sports, culture and art, and urban regeneration. Then, the representatives from all participatory sessions, the municipal councillors and the directors of the municipality met in a decision-making conference and priorities among the visionary criteria and the projects suggested throughout the entire process were determined. Thus, we understood what the public demanded. [44]

Particularly, both Yalcin and Erdogan emphasised that the population structure of the district makes it necessary to implement projects in a participatory manner. In this regard, Mr Erdogan (29.12.2016) stated that:

The high educational level in Kadikoy accompanies the need for participation in accordance with the demands of the citizens. When individuals want to participate directly in processes, you no longer have the luxury to exclude them. Indeed, this is an important source of motivation for us. This is associated with the qualifications of Kadikoy citizens.

According to Erdogan (29.12.2016), the population structure of the Kadikoy district has an important share in the success and sustainability of participation processes. He stated that

---

[44] Detailed information regarding the preparation process of the 2015–2019 Strategic Plan of Kadikoy Municipality is available from: https://participedia.net/case/4292 [Accessed: 01.09.2019].

the level of both education[45] and wealth of citizens of Kadikoy is above the national average. The number of retired and older people is also far above both the province and national average.[46] Further, retired people show high interest in municipal participation projects because they have much more free time than employed people and they generally have a high level of education. Moreover, the educational level of housewives is also far above both the province and national average.

Furthermore, the Kadikoy district houses thousands of university students, who, according to municipal authorities, show a notable interest in participation processes. According to the 2018–2019 academic year statistics released by the Council of Higher Education, over 770,000 students were registered to higher education programmes (excluding open and distance learning programmes) in all the 57 state and private universities in Istanbul.[47] While some universities are located within the borders of Kadikoy, there are also universities in neighbouring districts. In short, all these characteristics of Kadikoy's population accompany the need for citizen participation in accordance with the demands of the citizens (Bahar Yalcin and Egecan Erdogan, 29.12.2016).

On the other hand, Vice-Mayor Yalcin believed that ensuring the continuity of participation was also vital. In this context, she (29.12.2016) maintained:

> The true participation process can be made possible through mechanisms that can ensure continuous participation. Unfortunately, one of the biggest issues in our country is that the participation processes fail to continue after initiation. Thus we established the "Kadikoy in My Mind" digital platform immediately after the March 2014 local elections to receive suggestions and demands of the citizens. It is like a blog or an online forum. Any citizen could open a topic related to Kadikoy and anyone could leave comments. Therefore, this platform enables a discussion environment.

---

[45] According to the 2015 data of TurkStat, the percentage of illiteracy above six years old was only 0.98, while this was over 3.5% in Turkey. The percentage of people with an associate degree or bachelor's degree was 28.73%, while this was under 10% in Turkey. Further, the percentage of people with a master's or PhD degree was 7.58%, while this was only 1% in Turkey (Kadikoy Municipality, 2016, p.47).

[46] According to the 2015 data of TurkStat, while 6% population of Istanbul comprised people aged 65 years and over, this rate was 18% in Kadikoy. Also, 27% of the district population was comprised of people aged between 46 and 64 (Kadikoy Municipality, 2016, p.45).

[47] All data, from 2013–2014 academic year to present, related to the Higher Education System in Turkey is available from: https://istatistik.yok.gov.tr/ [Accessed: 01.09.2019].

Discussions could be related to any state institution in Kadikoy such as the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, General Directorate of Highways, Istanbul Water and Sewerage Administration, or the Kadikoy Municipality. In this way, the platform acts as a facilitator. It is useful for involving specifically younger generations, as they use the digital platform more frequently than older generations. This digital platform fulfils an important task for continuity of participation processes.

In order to ensure the continuity of participation processes, we also established an urban research centre, the Kadikoy [Municipality] Academy. Moreover, we are the co-founder of Design Atelier Kadikoy. These two units fulfil their responsibilities by liaising completely with external bodies who are individual citizens, NGOs, and other public bodies.

According to Mayor Nuhoglu, the Kadikoy (Municipality) Academy particularly plays a significant role in the participatory governance approach:

Kadikoy Academy has been established as a school, where the residents will participate in city thinking and receive training, and take culture and art courses. The main idea in establishing this Academy is organising the relations of the young and old people with the local governments, supporting their contribution to the decision making processes, reviewing of the local governments both in Turkey and in the world, monitoring the current developments. We will welcome everybody, who thinks, works and writes on cities around a table and allow them to exchange opinions (Kadikoy Municipality, 2015).

Besides, Mayor Nuhoglu and Vice-Mayor Yalcin, other interview participants Egecan Erdogan (researcher at the Kadikoy Academy) and Batur Secilmis (a graphic designer at the Design Atelier Kadikoy) discussed some unique projects and activities carried out in line with a participatory management approach. Municipal Councillor Goksel Oksuz from the JDP also discussed that as an architect, he was especially aware of some notable works of the Design Atelier Kadikoy.

Mr Erdogan also talked about the Kadikoy Municipality Citizens' Assembly and highlighted its importance in ensuring continuous participation. In this regard, Ikbal Polat (29.12.2016), the Secretary-General of the Kadikoy Municipality Citizens' Assembly stated that:

> Within the Kadikoy Municipality Citizens' Assembly, we formed six assemblies to increase the active participation of disadvantaged groups in city management. We also established seven working groups, and in our last general assembly meeting, we decided to establish five more working groups. Further, we are trying to set up neighbourhood committees. We carry out preliminary works for the neighbourhood committees with the municipality. We also carry out weekly public meetings with the municipality in the neighbourhoods.
>
> We have many shortcomings but we are a very active citizens' assembly. That is, our citizens' assembly is above the country standards. One of the most important reasons for this is that we established a democratic structure within the citizens' assembly. In contrast to many citizens' assemblies in Turkey, our president is not a politician. He is a representative of an NGO and was born and raised in Kadikoy, so he knows Kadikoy well. Moreover, our executive committee of ten people is entirely composed of NGO representatives, and these NGOs represent different segments of society. Further, in many places, the person supported by the mayor is elected as the president of the citizens' assembly, and usually, only one candidate participates in these elections. But, in Kadikoy, the president of the citizens' assembly is elected through a democratic election and these elections are very competitive.

Despite all these important efforts for ensuring genuine citizen participation, the following criticisms of Kadikoy Municipality Councillors from the JDP should be taken into account for further democratisation of administrative processes. Municipal Councillors Goksel Oksuz and Omer Sahan argued that the efforts of the Kadikoy Municipality towards participatory democracy were unsatisfactory. Further, Mr Oksuz (25.04.2018) claimed that the participation processes carried out by the municipality did not represent the true citizen participation:

The strategic plan details the 5-year vision of the municipality when a new mayor is elected. The budgets must abide by this strategic plan. What are they [the senior administrators of the municipality] saying now? They are arguing that they developed the strategic plan using a participatory approach. But were we [the Kadikoy Municipality Council[48] members of the JDP] invited? Yes, but only in the final step. The plan had already matured by then. Decisions were already made, and internal and external dynamics were already considered when we were invited. So, why were we invited? We were involved in the participation process when they had already identified a host of targets from which they asked us to select. We criticised this approach in the municipal council. Why did we criticise it? Because we weren't involved in underlying works. When we look at who were already involved, we can see that, yes, individuals from NGOs were invited, but these individuals were closely associated with their political ideals. Indeed, the individuals who participated in this process were only those who politically agreed with them. In all honesty, this is how things work in Turkey. But this does not represent true participation.

Additionally, he (25.04.2018) expressed that:

As you know, strategic plans are reviewed after the first two years. Therefore, the 2015–2019 Strategic Plan was reviewed for the 2017–2019 period. They told us that they conducted public surveys. In the municipal council meeting, I said that let us see the results of the surveys. But, the results were never shared with us. So, I think that maybe such a public survey never existed.

Similarly, Municipal Councillor Omer Sahan (26.04.2018) said that:

Participation does not exist at the Kadikoy Municipality in a real sense. The mayor administers Kadikoy with a very restricted team. The mayor did promise many things, but these promises remained in theory. Likewise, citizen participation was not put into practice.

---

[48] Between 2014 and 2019, the Kadikoy Municipality had a total of 45 municipal councillors, including 39 members from the RPP and six members from the JDP.

7.2.4. Administrators' Motives

Overall, motives of the administrators of the Kadikoy Municipality were to better understand citizens' needs and expectations and to deliver improved services, to build public trust in public institutions including municipalities, to develop a sense of responsibility among citizens, and to create an exemplary participatory management model. These motives are briefly discussed below.

During the interviews, both Egecan Erdogan, Researcher at the Kadikoy (Municipality) Academy, and Bahar Yalcin, Vice-Mayor and Municipal Councillor, frequently highlighted that municipal processes were carried out in a participatory manner because it was essential *to understand citizens' needs and expectations better and to deliver improved services*. They also argued that it was vital to develop realistic solutions to the problems. In this regard, Mr Erdogan (29.12.2016) stated that:

> The current municipal administration recognises the need for collaboration for developing solutions for many problems. This is because solutions developed outside the citizens may not always address the demands of the citizens. For example, several municipal officers could gather to assemble a document setting out the current view of the municipality on gender. However, in the current environment, this process is likely to involve both a top-down approach and errors, since the process would be limited to the members' individual experiences, observations and knowledge. But, if you open this issue to a wider audience, you would get wider views, discussions and critiques, and end up having a richer document which would also influence the implementation of projects.

Vice-Mayor Yalcin identified another motive: *to build public trust in public institutions*. She discussed that the determination and implementation of municipal projects in a participatory manner was of utmost importance for building trust between the citizens and public institutions. This is because she (29.12.2016) believed that:

> People have a serious feeling of distrust in the public institutions, in general. I believe that it is a very critical problem for the country. They suppose that a public institution or a municipality inevitably keeps some secrets. Local governments have a responsibility at this point. A citizen does not have the chance to work with the MPs or ministers directly but he

or she can work in person with the people that the mayor gave responsibility or the public relations department of the municipality. The public can conceive what you do if they work in cooperation with you. Nobody can understand each other unless they work together and take mutual responsibilities. So, the smaller the scale of the local governments is, the better it is. But, in our country, on the contrary, the area where the municipalities in the metropolitan provinces are obliged to serve has been expanding with recent local government laws. If the public can reach you, they trust you, and they can work with you. How is it possible to trust somebody whom you cannot reach and work together? So, we make a great effort to take our decisions with the public as much as possible.

Another motive behind the participatory management approach of the Kadikoy Municipality was *to develop a sense of responsibility among citizens*. Vice-Mayor Yalcin stated that one of the significant problems in Turkey is that citizens generally do not take responsibility and expect everything from the administrators. However, according to Yalcin (29.12.2016), this wrong attitude needed to be abandoned:

> The participation process cannot be established when individuals do not take responsibility and instead wait for someone else to tackle their problems. Then the process will be diminished to "I pay my taxes; the municipality should solve my problems", and unfortunately, this is the prevalent culture in our country.

> If citizens say, "okay I conveyed my problems, the municipality shall solve them", they may not be happy with the solutions that the municipality develops. However, if everyone participates in the process, they could really understand the problem and the reasons why the problem cannot be resolved through the actions taken. For this reason, as the Kadikoy Municipality, we did not tackle problems on our own; we only helped contextualise them. We made sure these problems were regarded as common issues and provided a common platform through which common solutions could be found, and relevant discussions could be held. We followed this strategy to develop a sense of responsibility among the citizens.

Relevant to this prevalent culture in Turkey, Bahar Yalcin acknowledged another prominent motive behind the participatory management approach of the Kadikoy Municipality: *to create an exemplary participatory management model*. According to her, to tackle this culture, there was a need to present good examples to citizens.

Notably, all interviewees from the Kadikoy Municipality stated that citizen participation was misunderstood not only by citizens but also by administrators. In this regard, Vice-Mayor Yalcin (29.12.2016) stated that:

> Unfortunately, in Turkey, participation is generally diminished to consulting the citizens regarding issues such as the colour of city buses or city line ferries, and asking them whether it should be painted red or green. I do not think this represents the true spirit of participation. The citizens should be consulted to design bus routes or be consulted prior to buying such ferries to establish whether there is a need. The participation process involves identifying the problems together and then finding solutions together. I really appreciate the participation projects we undertake for the elimination of these misunderstandings. I think participation projects we undertake can give hope to people and show them that such things can be done.

Similarly, Mr Erdogan (29.12.2016) argued that:

> Participation is very different from and more important than choosing the colour of city buses and city line ferries. There are many more important issues for which direct citizen involvement is essential. There is a confusion of what true citizen participation stands for in our country. For example, when the municipality is going to buy a ferry, the citizens could have a say on the financial facet of this decision. Participatory budgeting is a matter of fact, and we can work develop mechanisms to incorporate it into our decision-making processes. Public institutions should develop such mechanisms. However, if we only focus on participation when choosing the colour of the ferries or buses, in other words only allowing public voice when deciding the colour of them, it would not be possible to attain a true understanding of citizen participation.

7.3. Basibuyuk, Gulsuyu, and Gulensu Urban Regeneration Project

This urban regeneration project was launched in the earliest shantytowns in Istanbul—Basibuyuk, Gulsuyu and Gulensu neighbourhoods in the Maltepe district located in the Asian side of the province—immediately after RPP candidate Ali Kilic was elected as the Mayor of the Maltepe Municipality in the March 2014 local elections.[49]

It is important to review the history of the establishment of shantytowns in Turkey's big cities in order to understand the need for this urban regeneration project. Briefly, in Turkey, migration from rural areas to big cities increased in the late 1940s following the mechanisation of agriculture and increasing industrialisation. During this period, people in rural areas were increasingly becoming unemployed due to mechanisation of farming, while new factories were built in large cities creating a need for a larger workforce. Consequently, big cities began to attract many migrants. With the dramatic rise in the migrant population particularly in the 1960s, big cities began to face housing crises. For these new poor inhabitants, there were neither affordable housing nor urban lands on which to construct new houses. Further, no long-term credit was available to make housing more accessible to these people, while neither the central government nor the local governments were interested in addressing the growing housing problem. Since industrialisation benefitted the country's economy, the state unofficially allowed the migrants to construct their own houses on state-owned vacant lands. Thus, new migrants began to build shanty houses with poor living conditions on vacant lands owned by either the municipalities or the Treasury. In these areas, there were no urban services or infrastructure leading to the illegal use of electricity and water (Yalcintan and Erbas, 2003, pp.93–98).

After the 1980s, the numbers of shanty houses increased significantly. While initially shanty houses were built by poor immigrants to allow them to survive, in the 1980s, these illegal houses also started to be built for sale or lease as a result of populist policies of both central and local governments. Since the population living in shanty houses increased considerably, these areas began to shape election campaigns and determine election results in big cities. In order to attract votes, almost all political parties made promises to shantytown residents and thus legalising shanty houses became a populist policy. Since the voters were aware of the weakness of political parties on this issue, periods before the elections became the best periods for constructing new shanty houses. Although fifteen

---

[49] In the March 2019 elections, Mr Kilic was re-elected.

laws on shantytowns were enacted between 1948 and 1988, these laws did not offer permanent and comprehensive solutions (Yalcintan and Erbas, 2003, pp.94–98). In contrast, the number of floors of the existing shanty houses started to increase due to the increasing amnesties given to shanty house owners. For instance, the Law no 2981 enacted in 1984 provided shanty house owners an opportunity to obtain title deeds to the land they occupied upon payment of a certain sum of money and allowed the establishment of up to four-storey buildings on such land. Subsequently, many shanty house owners got their land titles and one-storey shanty houses started to turn into relatively permanent multi-storey houses establishing shanty houses as the predominant source of housing for the urban poor in big cities in Turkey (Schwegmann, 2013, pp.81–83; Ozdemir and Eraydin, 2017, pp.733–734).

In Turkey, although shanty houses are built in all big cities, the largest shanty house population exists in Istanbul which attracted millions of immigrants in search of jobs or better living conditions since the late 1940s. Migrants who especially came to Istanbul during the industrialisation period established their own shanty houses on state-owned lands, and Basibuyuk, Gulsuyu and Gulensu neighbourhoods located on the hills of the Maltepe district have transformed into shantytowns. The two adjacent shantytowns Gulsuyu and Gulensu which are located on the same hill were built in the 1950s (Schwegmann, 2013, p.157), while the Basibuyuk shantytown, located on a nearby hill, was built in the late 1960s (Kuyucu and Unsal, 2010, p.1486). Migrants preferred these neighbourhoods due to their close proximity to factories, and these neighbourhoods also attracted further immigrants in later periods. In particular, in the 1980s and 1990s, thousands of villagers who had to leave their homes in Eastern and South-eastern Anatolia due to security concerns had migrated to big cities with many settling in Gulsuyu and Gulensu (Schwegmann, 2013, p.157).

The rapid increase in the shanty house populations accompanied increases in crime and unemployment rates in these areas. While these neighbourhoods became a popular hangout area for illegal organisations and drug gangs, with the development of public transport after the 2000s, they also became highly accessible to the city centre, universities, big shopping malls and an airport. Moreover, these neighbourhoods enjoy spectacular views of the Marmara Sea, the Princess Islands and the old city of Istanbul, and they are located in one of the few earthquake-safe zones in Istanbul. Therefore, the value of these neighbourhoods increased significantly giving rise to the development of urban

transformation plans for these areas (Lovering and Turkmen, 2011, p.87; Ozdemir and Eraydin, 2017, p.728).

In 2004, the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (IMM) announced the northern side of the E-5 motorway covering the shantytowns including a big part of Basibuyuk, Gulsuyu and Gulensu neighbourhoods as an urban regeneration area. Subsequently, in line with the Turkish Zoning Law, the IMM drafted a master plan (1/5000 scale plan), and the Maltepe Municipality and the Housing Development Administration of Turkey (HDA)[50] signed a joint protocol transferring the developmental rights in these neighbourhoods to HDA (Ergun and Gul, 2011, p.163). However, these plans were not supported by the neighbourhood residents, since they would result in the displacement of the residents from their neighbourhoods which would lead to significant problems, such as loss of family homes and social ties, and difficulties in adjusting to the new places of living which would mostly be apartments or skyscrapers far away from the city centre.

In Gulsuyu and Gulensu, the heads of the neighbourhoods, hometown associations[51], the Gulsuyu-Gulensu Beautification Association (the neighbourhood association of the time), and residents set out to organise protests against the urban renewal plans. These groups organised numerous meetings and received substantial support from urban planners, architects, lawyers in the evaluation of their plans to take action against the renewal plans. Within only a few weeks, thousands of people had signed a petition against the plans which was submitted to the IMM. Thirty-two court cases were also filed (Lovering and Turkmen, 2011, p.88; Ozdemir and Eraydin, 2017, pp.737–738). The culture of solidarity in the neighbourhoods coupled with a considerable left-wing population supporting a tradition of resistance played a critical role in the rapid organisation of this movement (Schwegmann, 2013, p.180; Ozdemir and Eraydin, 2017, p.739). Eventually, the residents won the court cases and the IMM had to cancel these plans.

In 2005, the IMM prepared a new master plan including only the shantytowns of Basibuyuk, Gulsuyu and Gulensu neighbourhoods. Similar to the previous time, as required by the Zoning Law, the Maltepe Municipality—the district municipality of interest—prepared a detailed implementation plan (1/1000 scale plan). However, the

---

[50] The HDA was established in 1984 as a governmental institution to address the housing deficits by constructing affordable housing for low- and middle-income groups as well as providing credit and loans for these groups and housing producers.

[51] Hometown associations are formed by immigrants from the same village, city or region of origin to maintain traditions and collective identity.

implementation of this plan in both Gulsuyu and Gulensu was delayed due to intense protests, while it was put into effect in Basibuyuk in 2007 (Ergun and Gul, 2011, p.163). This is because, in contrast to the Gulsuyu and Gulensu neighbourhoods, both of which had a left-wing population with a revolutionary tradition, Basibuyuk consisted of a relatively conservative and religious population carrying a traditionally pro-state attitude. Further, both the Maltepe Municipality and IMM were governed by the ruling JDP, and the JDP had strong support among the inhabitants of Basibuyuk (Lovering and Turkmen, 2011, p.88; Schwegmann, 2013, p.183).

Despite the general pro-state attitude in Basibuyuk, there was residential opposition to the urban regeneration plans. This is particularly important since until the urban regeneration, the Basibuyuk neighbourhood had no reported history of organised mobilisation (Karaman, 2012, p.1299), and thus opposition to the regeneration plan in this district was not expected. Neighbourhood representatives demanded the cancellation of the urban regeneration plan and they actively conveyed their demands to the Maltepe Municipality and local MPs. They also filed lawsuits to cancel the regeneration plan. However, although the Maltepe Municipality had promised to not begin construction unless it was supported by the locals, the HDA did not wait for the decision of the court and decided to start construction (Lovering and Turkmen, 2011, p.91). This intention of HDA was met with intense protests of the residents to which police was called. In these protests, a series of violent conflicts occurred between the police and the residents, and Basibuyuk residents continued to organise demonstrations and press conferences against the regeneration project on a regular basis for a couple of months. Leftist Gulsuyu and Gulensu inhabitants also joined the protests to support conservative Basibuyuk inhabitants. Nonetheless, under police escort, HDA was able to construct six 15-storey apartment blocks. In late 2008, the court ordered the regeneration project in Basibuyuk to be stopped since it violated "conceptions of public good, principles of urban planning and rules of democratic governance" (Kuyucu and Unsal, 2010, p.17), and therefore the remaining phases of the project were not implemented. During this period, many residents blamed Fikri Kose of the JDP, the incumbent mayor of Maltepe, and eventually he lost almost a fifth of his votes in the March 2009 local elections. In detail, the support of Basibuyuk residents for Fikri Kose decreased from 72% in 2004 to 55% in 2009, and the RPP candidate Mustafa Zengin was elected as the new mayor in 2009 (Lovering and Turkmen, 2011, pp.88–91; Schwegmann, 2013, p.195).

In 2012, the Maltepe Municipality headed by Mustafa Zengin set out to develop a new implementation plan based on the 2005 IMM master plan. Even though consultations were held with heads of neighbourhoods, representatives of the associations in the neighbourhoods, residents and other stakeholders, the municipality was not able to finalise this process (Ozdemir and Eraydin, 2017, pp.740–742). Subsequently, for the 2014 local elections, Ali Kilic declared his presumptive candidacy from the RPP and prepared an election manifesto considering the opinions of Maltepe residents. In this context, during the personal interview with me on 4th May 2018, Melih Morsunbul[52], the Vice-Mayor of the Maltepe Municipality confirmed:

> Ali Kilic established a team for each neighbourhood of Maltepe during his presumptive candidacy to prepare an election manifesto in a participatory manner. Eighteen teams were formed to receive the demands and expectations of the people living in the Maltepe district which consists of 18 neighbourhoods. These teams visited houses, shops and workplaces, and the election manifesto was created considering the opinions of the inhabitants of Maltepe. In other words, he did not prepare his election manifesto with a top-down approach. During this process, the urban regeneration came into prominence in the shantytowns.

Eventually, the RPP nominated Ali Kilic for the Mayor Office of the Maltepe Municipality and he was elected as the new mayor of Maltepe in 2014. Subsequently, in order to find a long-lasting solution for the decades-old problem in these three shantytowns, hosting about 50,000 inhabitants, the new Mayor Ali Kilic launched a radical process in 2014.

7.3.1. Post-2014 Urban Regeneration Planning in Basibuyuk, Gulensu and Gulsuyu

Uniquely, unlike the common practice of urban regeneration projects in Turkey, all relevant parties were involved in urban regeneration planning in Basibuyuk, Gulensu and Gulsuyu. According to Kilic, a participatory approach was essential to solve long-standing serious problems. In this regard, during the personal interview with me on 4th May 2018, Mayor Kilic stated:

> The urban regeneration was one of our main problems when we [my team] took on this job. When migrants moved to Maltepe from various Anatolian

---

[52] Melih Morsunbul has carried out his duty as the Vice-Mayor of the Maltepe Municipality between June 2016 and August 2020.

villages in the 1960s, they constructed shanty houses owned by the Treasury, since they didn't have sufficient economic means. Later on, before an election, these shanty houses received electricity, and right before another they received water and telephone lines… To put it bluntly, the politicians provided services to these citizens as a form of kickback prior to elections. When we set on this journey, we vowed to radically solve this issue. While tackling this issue, we made sure to adopt a people-centred approach where local citizens were encouraged to participate in the regeneration process.

In accordance with the participatory management approach, in the first phase, the municipality formed neighbourhood consultation committees in these three neighbourhoods to receive the opinions of all relevant stakeholders, especially residents who have been living in these areas for a long time. These committees consisted of municipal technical staff, heads of the municipal directorates relevant to urban regeneration, heads of the relevant neighbourhoods, and representatives from the associations in these neighbourhoods. These committees held over 25 well-attended public meetings. These committees also conducted consultation meetings and workshops with other stakeholders including NGOs relevant to urban regeneration, urban planners, architects, civil engineers, sociologists, academics, and construction sector representatives. In these neighbourhoods, the municipality also established urban regeneration contact offices and appointed experts to inform the citizens about the ideas of the Maltepe Municipality and the IMM regarding urban regeneration and to ensure continuous interaction with citizens. As a result of these meetings and workshops, a draft urban regeneration plan was prepared. Subsequently, this plan was finalised in a meeting attended by thousands of residents and submitted to the district municipal council for approval (Maltepe Municipality, 2018).

Mayor Kilic (04.05.2018) summarised this process as follows:

As a first step, we invited experts and academics for a [brainstorming] meeting. This meeting took place for three days including Friday, Saturday, and Sunday. At the end of this meeting, we decided to undertake the project ourselves as Maltepe Municipality instead of outsourcing it to external firms, corporates, or contractors. We established an urban

regeneration office and appointed expert colleagues. This office was open
until 10.00 p.m. to allow the public to receive information on our plans,
and ideas of both IMM and Maltepe Municipality as well as details on
whether and when their streets would receive regeneration works. The
ideas of the municipality were communicated to the public in person, and
hence we eliminated the avenue for information pollution. In the course of
two and a half to three years, this office was visited by thousands of
people. Moreover, in the neighbourhoods, we held about 40 meetings.

We mapped our plans and met in person with relevant stakeholders, such as
political actors, NGOs, platforms, and heads of neighbourhoods to discuss
their ideas and visions for urban regeneration. Our administrator colleagues
then finalised the plans considering the stakeholders' opinions. Then I met
relevant offices, chambers, district representatives of political parties, and
discussed these plans with them in person. I said that these plans were
developed by us [without outsourcing] and acknowledged that they may
lack some things and asked for feedback. Once these activities were
complete, I held a general meeting which lasted 4.5–5 hours and was
attended by thousands of people who live in these shantytowns. In these
meetings, everyone had the chance to ask questions. In the end, our plans
received a standing ovation from people and were approved to be sent to
the municipal council for approval.

During his interview with me, Mayor Kilic drew attention to another important point in this
process: unanimous approval of the plans by both the Maltepe Municipality Council and
the IMM Council. In Turkey, in the municipal councils, the political party with which the
mayor is affiliated usually holds the majority. This was also the case for the Maltepe
Municipality Council: between 2014 and 2019, 23 of the 37 Maltepe councillors were from
the mayor's party RPP, while the remaining 14 were from the JDP. Although the votes of
the RPP councillors were enough to approve the redevelopment plans, the mayor continued
to engage with the JDP councillors and considered their opinions when finalising the plans.
In this context, Mayor Kilic (04.05.2018) affirmed:

After receiving feedback from the citizens, I informed the municipal
councillors from both the JDP and RPP. Colleagues from the JDP

supported the plans and voted in our favour in the Maltepe Municipality
Council. Here, I thank them a lot for their support. It [the process] had to
be like this because in matters concerning public benefit, one must set aside
their political differences. These plans were approved by our municipal
council and immediately went to the IMM Council. In the IMM, I informed
all relevant people, and since we developed these plans in an open and
transparent manner, they were approved unanimously by the metropolitan
council. Later, some deficiencies were found in the plans, and some notes
were added and detracted considering potential increases in the area
population. These amendments were re-approved by the Maltepe
Municipal Council and re-submitted to IMM for a final approval.[53]

During the interview, Mr Kilic maintained that he was especially delighted to fulfil the
promises he had made to the public. The residents of the shantytowns wanted onsite
transformation without the involvement of HDA and high-rise apartment blocks or
skyscrapers. They particularly opposed the ways which HDA managed urban
transformation projects. In these cases, HDA would either offer landowners new build
luxury apartments in the city centres in exchange for their lands at extortionate prices or
provide the residents with more affordable houses located away from the city centres.
Neither scenario would provide a reasonable solution to the shantytown residents. In the
former case, many landowners would be forced to pay significant sums of money to cover
the difference between the value of their current homes and new flats, and, in the latter
case, residents would have to leave their neighbourhoods where they had lived for long
years. Further, although in urban transformation projects carried out by the HDA, the
residents are offered long-term credits for up to 15–20 years, these purchases are not
affordable for shantytown residents who are mostly employed in temporary jobs with low
incomes (Kuyucu and Unsal, 2010, p.1486; Karaman, 2012, p.1294). In this regard, Mayor
Kilic (04.05.2018) argued that:

In urban transformation projects, a considerable percentage of landowners
leave their neighbourhoods. This is because the values of flats rise and
most of the landowners unable to pay monthly maintenance fees of new
luxury flats in skyscrapers. Monthly maintenance fees of these flats

---

[53] After our interview on 4th May 2018, the amendments were also unanimously approved in the IMM
Council in late 2018 concluding the planning period.

correspond to almost minimum wage. Therefore, residents end up selling their new flats after living in these flats for 5–6 months, and buy another shanty house. And upper-income groups settle in these luxury apartments. In short, modern-style "urban transformation exiles" become inevitable. Therefore, in this project, we did not allow skyscrapers and new exiles to happen.

I am very happy that I carried out this process with the public, since I [had previously] told them that my signature would not be found in any project which didn't involve their signature [referring to public approval]. And indeed, I first made sure the plans were approved by the public before approving them myself in the municipal council. This was the planning period. The second period is the project implementation. This is when the real problem begins; we are aware of this. But, there is one thing I trust: public platforms and associations in this area, heads of shantytowns, opinion leaders[54], and the majority of public live in this area are well-informed and aware of urban transformation.

Haydar Battal[55], the Vice-Mayor of the Maltepe Municipality, provided more information regarding the planning process during his interview with me on 4th May 2018 and especially drew attention to the knowledge of the public on urban regeneration:

I have been working in the area [Basibuyuk, Gulsuyu and Gulensu] which will undergo an urban regeneration for 1.5 years due to my job. However, I have previously worked there voluntarily as well. In that area, an urban regeneration was needed because the area was dominated by mafia members, drug dealers and extremists exacerbated by the low financial income of the residents. Illegal electricity, water, residents… I mean, this is important for the state as well. At the moment, there are many people who use electricity and water illegally or who are involved in crimes. The urban regeneration that we carry out will address all [of these] problems: you are

---

[54] Opinion leaders refer to respected individuals in the neighbourhoods with a unique set of followers or supporters. These individuals are usually male and members of different hometown associations. They play an important role in local decision-making.

[55] Haydar Battal is responsible for the following directorates within the municipality: Plan and Project, Slum and Social Housing, Urban Transformation, Reconstruction and Urbanism, and Building Control.

improving living standards, saving the youth, and putting things on the record.

In that area, a plan was set up in 2004, but almost half of the neighbourhood rejected the plan. They argued against it, since they believed it didn't fit them. At the moment, they only work to support the [current] plan. The community members have each become architects, city planners. I was predominantly involved in this process after 2014. When we share information with them [the public], I realise that they are very well-informed. This is very important—they have started to work for this over a decade before us. Neighbours who have been living close to each other for 40 years did not want to part ways.

This process has been very fascinating, very enjoyable. I find myself in a beautiful situation: I am a civil engineer and I have also previously worked as the head of the city planning department in the Maltepe Municipality. So I have serious training, but I also developed a lot there. We went there with a view to teach, but actually we learnt a lot. We held many public meetings and hundreds of people attended each meeting. The whole community was there—this is something unheard of.

7.3.2. Assessment of the Maltepe Municipality's Efforts towards Citizens Participation

The findings demonstrated that the Maltepe Municipality conducted a ground-breaking urban regeneration planning process. A considerable effort was made to involve all relevant parties in the planning process, and to give all citizens the opportunity to express their views. Plans were formed in accordance with the demands and suggestions of the residents and other stakeholders. Further, plans were finalised with the approval of the residents of the shantytowns. Importantly, although not compulsory, the council obtained the approval of the JDP group, which was in the minority in the Maltepe Municipality Council. In short, the Maltepe Municipality led by Mayor Kilic made every effort to go beyond a window-dressing ritual and ensure genuine citizen participation, unlike the common practice of urban transformation projects in Turkey.

However, according to Serkan Bahadir[56] (28.04.2018), Councillor of the Maltepe Municipality from the JDP, the Maltepe Municipality was obliged to carry out this process with a participatory understanding and to involve the JDP in this process. This is because this project interested thousands of people living in the district and the wider province. Therefore, according to him, the political affiliations of the administrators were not important. He added that as the JDP, they would not reject any offers which would benefit the public as a whole. According to Bahadir, this problem had to be addressed immediately since it had persisted for a long time and the residents had suffered unjust treatments. In this regard, during his personal interview with me on 28th April 2018, he argued:

> An important reason for the adoption of a participatory approach in the
> implementation of this project is due to RPP's oppositional position in the
> IMM. In the metropolitan provinces, metropolitan municipalities first
> develop 1/5000 scale master plans, and then district municipalities prepare
> 1/1000 scale implementation plans. That is, plans arrive top to bottom: the
> most detailed one is the one at the bottom which we call 1/1000 scale
> plans. This is because district municipalities have a better overview of the
> local situation. However, the plans of a metropolitan district municipality
> must be congruent with the plans of the metropolitan municipality. In other
> words, the 1/1000 scale plans prepared by the Maltepe Municipality cannot
> negate the 1/5000 scale plans developed by the IMM. 1/1000 scale plans
> developed by district municipalities must be approved by metropolitan
> municipalities. Therefore, since RPP is not leading the IMM and is the
> minority party in the Metropolitan Council, they find it necessary to
> consult the JDP group.

Further, he added that the participatory approach of the municipality only applied to the urban regeneration project:

> For example, we were not involved in the development of the strategic
> plan. The present administration prepared the strategic plan in
> collaboration with the administrative and technical teams they preferred.
> However, since this plan needed to be approved by the Istanbul

---

[56] Serkan Bahadir served as a Maltepe Municipality Councillor from the JDP between 2014 and 2019.

> Metropolitan Municipal Council, once this plan was prepared they
> informed us.

However, a 2018 study conducted by the Arguden Governance Academy, a non–profit initiative focusing on increasing the quality of governance, considered the participatory preparation approach for the 2015–2019 Strategic Plan of the Maltepe Municipality as an exemplary approach.[57] This is because, during the strategic planning process, the Maltepe Municipality conducted surveys with internal stakeholders (municipal employees) as well as citizens and other external stakeholders to obtain their opinions and publically shared details regarding the surveys (e.g., demographic information of participants, survey questions, survey results, the neighbourhood-based municipal service satisfaction rates). Moreover, the municipality conducted two consultation conferences to identify problems and then to produce solutions and develop projects. The results and other details of these conferences were shared in the strategic plan (Arguden, Toksoz, Goymen, Kalaycioglu, Arikboga, Salihoglu, Ogucu Sen and Izci, 2018, p.52). In this line, Mayor Kilic indicated that the people were not only included in the urban regeneration process but also in other processes (04.05.2018):

> In the Cevizli Neighbourhood, we were going to build a huge city park
> including a botanical garden, a children's playground, an amphitheatre, and
> a concert hall, and we announced our intentions online. We told them [the
> public] that we wish to build a park and asked them about their opinions.
> We conducted an online survey and thousands of people participated in this
> survey. Or for example, around the Basibuyuk Neighbourhood, we built a
> seven thousand square meter wellness centre. In this process, we also
> sought public opinion. We conducted online research [survey] and held
> meetings. We developed the plans in these two projects considering the
> opinions of the citizens. We shape our roadmaps in view of public
> expectations in other projects as well.

> Further, after I came to power, I started to conduct weekly public meetings
> in the municipal building at 6 a.m. Although we held these meetings in the

---

[57] Within the scope of this study, 37 out of 39 district municipalities of Istanbul were subjected to an assessment. Since two district municipalities, Adalar and Sile, with a population of less than 50,000 were not required to prepare a strategic plan, they were excluded.

early hours of the morning, 300–400 people had attended each meeting. Then, I started to hold these meetings in the neighbourhoods. Now, I am conducting meetings with women, especially with those who have never voted for the party I am affiliated with and therefore did not vote for me in the last election. In these meetings, I only talk about the municipality. I ask citizens what kind of problems they have in their neighbourhoods. I also inform them about our activities. This is because politicians should not report to citizens only during the elections.

7.3.3. Administrators' Motives

The findings indicated that the municipal administrators' motives revolved around improving the understanding of citizens' needs and expectations and delivering services effectively and efficiently, gaining citizens' trust, and realising an urban regeneration project which would serve as an example for other local governments in Turkey.

Findings demonstrated that one of the prominent motives of the administrators was ***to better understand citizens' needs and expectations and to deliver services effectively and efficiently.*** During the interview, Mayor Kilic advocated that projects which do not incorporate public opinions would fail to survive for long and lead to a waste of resources. Therefore, citizens' opinions should be thoroughly collected and projects must be developed accordingly (04.05.2018):

> I am a civil servant; I was elected to serve for five years. Next year, we have elections again, and God willing, we will serve for another period. Yet, let's say that I am not re-elected, people will continue to live here. Therefore, it is important to listen to them to find out what kind of projects they envision. The input they provide may have deficiencies, may differ from ours. Nevertheless, I believe that projects in which public opinions are not incorporated will fail to survive for long.

He added that:

> My 25-year residence in Europe did provide me with significant experiences. I have really benefitted from this. The experiences I gained there, my observations pertaining to work ethic, and forethought have helped shape my life. I also had the opportunity to observe how urban

regeneration, specifically people-centred urban regeneration, takes place. I witnessed that projects which did not reflect public opinion did not stay for long.

If you can touch the public, become one of them, believe me, you will have less weight to carry. You will share the responsibility and people will more easily feel a sense of belonging to the end project. Otherwise, while you conduct projects, the public will only watch.

Another prominent motive behind the participatory management approach, especially in the urban regeneration project, was *to gain the trust of citizens*. The Vice-Mayor Haydar Battal (04.05.2018) argued that it was impossible to realise an urban regeneration project in the Basibuyuk, Gulsuyu and Gulensu shantytowns without a participatory approach. This is because citizens feared they would lose their properties or have to leave their homes to live in high-rise apartments in the areas far away from their neighbourhoods. Further, citizens had virtually no trust in their representatives and public institutions since the previous plans had been prepared without considering the opinions of residents. Hence, Mr Battal discussed that the municipality firstly aimed to gain citizens' trust.

In addition, Mayor Ali Kilic underlined another motive: *to carry out an exemplary urban transformation process.* He asserted that unlike the common practice of urban regeneration projects in Turkey, they had aimed to establish an on-site transformation model which would prevent forced migration of people. Further, he stated that different than the prevalent regeneration projects, they endeavoured to produce a regeneration project which considered both the environment and nature, and did not allow the construction of high-rise apartments. In this regard, Mayor Kilic (04.05.2018) detailed:

We tried a first in the history of Turkey. We prepared these plans together with our people in the neighbourhoods. We gained the approval of our people regarding every single detail of the plan. Whatever we're going to do, we're going to do it together. We did not impose the plans on our people by working behind closed doors with contractors. We do not allow the construction of 10-storey, 20-storey skyscrapers in this plan. We want the people of these neighbourhoods to continue their residency there. These people have been living in there for 3–4 generations. This project will set an example for local governments. We are planning to write a book and to

shoot a documentary film about our urban regeneration project to set an example [for other local governments in Turkey].

7.4. Conclusion

In this chapter, I examined three atypical citizen participation practices carried out by three district municipalities to explore the motives of the administrators towards citizen participation in administrative processes. Firstly, I studied the neighbourhood committees and participatory budgeting project carried out by the Nilufer Municipality. Next, I assessed a problem-solving process regarding urban space usage carried by the Kadikoy Municipality. Finally, I evaluated an urban regeneration project carried out by the Maltepe Municipality. Importantly, my assessments in this chapter were not only limited to these three citizen participation practices: to better understand administrators' motives, I also explored overall efforts of each district municipality towards citizen participation.

The findings indicated that the administrators of all these three municipalities were highly motivated to create an exemplary administration model for Turkey. They often stated that the top-down management approach dominates the Turkish administration system, and the municipality system implemented in Turkey is based on a strong mayoral system, which causes significant problems. They maintained that, in Turkey, many projects are prepared without considering the opinions of citizens, and thus many of these projects fail to address the needs and expectations of citizens. Further, citizens usually do not develop a sense of ownership of the projects which are conducted with a top-down approach, and therefore such projects are rendered short-lived leading to a waste of resources. Therefore, according to the administrators who carry out atypical citizen participation practices investigated in this chapter, there was an urgent need to abandon the prevalent top-down management approach in Turkey.

The findings also showed that the administrators were highly motivated to produce good citizen participation practices and made substantial efforts in this regard. Some administrators especially stressed that, in Turkey, there is a confusion of what true citizen participation represents. According to them, citizen participation is misunderstood not only by citizens but also by administrators. They argued that, in Turkey, participation is generally diminished to consulting citizens regarding inconsequential issues such as the colour of city buses or the name of city parks, and citizens are not consulted on decisions that closely affect their lives. Therefore, according to these administrators, there is a huge

need for citizen participation practices which would set an example for local governments in Turkey. Accordingly, my findings demonstrated that the municipalities studied in this chapter made a great effort to produce good citizen participation practices.

Futhermore, the findings revealed that the administrators were motivated to build public trust in representatives and public institutions. They underlined that citizens' trust in politicians and public institutions was extremely low due to several reasons such as unfulfilled political promises, unjust treatments usually caused by decisions being taken behind closed doors, lack of transparency and accountability in public institutions. In this context, the administrators were aware of the responsibilities and importance of local governments as the closest service units to the citizens. Thus, they were motivated to establish a close relationship with citizens and involve them in administrative processes.

Overall, the administrators of the municipalities evaluated in this chapter endeavoured to shape local policies and priorities through citizen participation. All three municipalities developed their strategic plans shaping the municipal budget and projects with their citizens and other relevant stakeholders. They frequently conducted public meetings, workshops, and surveys with internal and external stakeholders when developing their strategic plans. They also created additional opportunities to involve citizens in administrative processes. However, the efforts of all three municipalities towards citizen participation were deemed inadequate by the municipal councillor interviewees who did not share the same political views as the mayors. These councillors argued that they were not adequately informed by the municipal administrations about municipal activities and financial matters, they were involved in some important processes after the decisions had already been taken. The criticisms of these councillors, of course, should not be ignored for further democratisation of administrative processes. Nevertheless, considering that Turkish administrators are often reluctant to involve citizens in administrative processes and do not usually allow citizens to influence the decisions that affect their lives, the efforts of the municipalities evaluated in this chapter towards citizen participation are remarkable. These municipalities cared about citizen participation and created important opportunities to involve citizens in administrative processes. More importantly, unlike the common situation in Turkey, they had exerted substantial efforts to ensure continuous participation.

CHAPTER 8: Conclusion

This chapter concludes the thesis. In this chapter, I provide a summary of the challenges and limitations, present a summary of empirical findings, highlight the contributions of the thesis to the literature, and then make recommendations for future research.

Since its recognition as an EU candidate in December 1999, Turkey began to pursue an unprecedented reform process challenging the existing centralised and bureaucratic state tradition. In the early 2000s, almost all laws concerning local governments were amended and citizen participation mechanisms were widely introduced in line with the demands of the EU. However, empirical studies to date have demonstrated that these mechanisms have been poorly implemented in local governments, a failure of which has been widely attributed to public officials' reluctance to involve citizens in administrative processes. Considering that, in Turkey, citizen participation projects are often initiated by officials rather than citizens, it is essential to understand public officials' motives on participation. Thus, in this thesis, I sought to answer the following main research question: What motivates Turkish local political elites to involve citizens in administrative processes?

It is well known that politicians tend to exaggerate their achievements, and thus there may be a huge gap between discourse and practice. Therefore, this thesis has the following two sub-questions: 1) To what extent can we identify a gap between stated intentions and actions of Turkish local political elites on citizen participation? 2) To what extent is there a gap between rhetoric and reality of citizen participation in Turkish local governments?

In order to address the research question and sub-questions, I used a multiple case study approach where I identified six citizen participation practices (three typical and three atypical cases) carried out by district municipalities in four metropolitan provinces (Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir and Bursa) located in Western Turkey. In this thesis, I particularly examined the motives of local political elites who established citizen participation mechanisms without a legal duty to do so. Therefore, citizen participation practices that were conducted as legal duties were excluded in this thesis.

I conducted 40 semi-structured, face-to-face, elite interviews, and I enriched interview data using documents, including municipal strategic plans, municipal performance and annual activity reports, municipal bulletins and magazines, minutes of municipal council meetings, and media interviews of political elites.

8.1. Challenges and Limitations of the Thesis

Conducting this research study was challenging due to several reasons. The first major challenge was the case study selection. I spent a significant amount of time for identifying atypical case studies. Since citizen participation is a relatively new concept for Turkey, the number of atypical examples of participation remain scarce. Moreover, it was very challenging to find appropriate resources for identifying especially atypical case studies. This is because, many sources, especially municipal publications and Internet sources, on case studies included subjective, unrealistic or missing information. Therefore, I searched alternative documentary sources to increase the reliability and validity of the research and conducted interviews with politicians from different positions and different political parties as well as municipal officials and some people who were neither politicians nor public officials to triangulate information.

Next major challenge was identifying interview participants. Some municipal websites did not include sufficient or up-to-date information on municipal councillors and other municipal administrators. Moreover, news or reports on case studies did not contain sufficient information about relevant directors, team members, and participants. Therefore, I followed a snowball sampling technique and identified some further potential interviewees during the interviews.

The following major challenge was contacting interview participants. I used several methods to arrange interview appointments. Firstly, I tried to contact potential interviewees via their official email address. However, email contact information was either not available or updated on some official websites of municipalities or citizens' assemblies. Further, many politicians did not reply to my emails. Indeed, during fieldwork, I realised that many politicians did not use their organisational email addresses or check their emails frequently. I tried to contact potential participants by phone in cases where email contact was unsuccessful. I obtained their phone numbers through different channels and arranged most of the appointments via phone calls. There were also politicians for whom neither email address nor telephone number was available. In these cases, I tried to contact them via their social media accounts. However, this method was also not much successful. Lastly, I arranged some appointments by directly visiting municipal or citizens' assembly buildings in cases where all previous methods were unsuccessful.

Another major challenge was accommodating the busy schedules of political elites. It was difficult to make appointments with politicians, especially with mayors, due to their workload. I selected six case studies from six district municipalities to be examined in this study; however, I was able to make appointments with the mayors of only three of these six municipalities. In cases where I could not reach mayors, I conducted interviews with vice-mayors and/or deputy mayors. There were some cases where politicians were keen to participate in interviews; however, they could not do so due to their busy schedules. Moreover, many participants could not provide a fixed appointment time and asked me to see them during an approximate period such as "in the morning", "in the afternoon" or "on Monday". Further, some appointments had to be cancelled due to extreme weather conditions, while some appointments were cancelled upon the request of the politicians due to upcoming constitutional referendum in the first round of my fieldwork and upcoming parliamentary and presidential elections in the second round since they were busier than usual.

8.2. Findings of the Thesis

My findings confirmed that Turkish political elites are usually reluctant to involve citizens in administrative processes. In particular, they are reluctant to involve citizens in processes related to financial issues. Consequently, citizens have a very limited influence on decisions that concern their lives. Local political elites, particularly mayors, have substantial control over public policies and administrative decisions. Indeed, even though some opportunities are created to allow citizens to participate in administrative processes, these are often for minor issues. In other cases, citizens are involved in these processes after the issues have been finalised and decisions have been made. Further, the continuity of participation processes is not ensured. Therefore, citizen participation often remains a window-dressing ritual.

8.2.1. Prominent Motives in Typical Case Studies

Citizen participation practices examined in this thesis were carried out by different district municipalities in Turkey's four largest metropolitan provinces in terms of population. In Turkey, the dramatic decline in agriculture and livestock and increasing industrialisation led to large migration waves from rural areas to cities, particularly in recent decades. Since metropolitan provinces offer more facilities and opportunities than many other provinces (e.g., better education, better job and career, and a better standard of living), those who left

rural areas and small cities usually migrated to metropolitans. In particular, districts in city centres were affected by the migration waves, and thus the populations of district municipalities increased rapidly. Moreover, in Turkey's all 30 metropolitan provinces, thousands of villages were transformed into neighbourhoods during the 2014 local elections and were integrated into the boundaries of the closest district municipalities. Accordingly, many district municipalities' service areas were expanded, and the needs and demands of citizens had changed and increased significantly. Considering that the municipalities examined in this thesis were in financial difficulties as many other local governments in Turkey, it became more difficult for these municipalities to meet their citizens' needs and demands. Further, the rapid population growth or expanding service areas made it difficult for the municipal administrators to establish close relationships with citizens. For these reasons, the administrators focused on improving service delivery and mostly used citizen participation as a public relations exercise.

During the personal interviews with me and/or in public speeches and press interviews, almost all administrators from the municipalities carried out typical participation practices expressed their demand to run again in the upcoming local elections and their intention to serve at least one more term. The findings demonstrated that the administrators sometimes also used citizen participation to legitimize the decisions, particularly related to financial issues, already made to enhance their prospects for re-election.

8.2.2. Prominent Motives in Atypical Case Studies

The prominent motives in atypical examples of local governments were mostly beyond service delivery and public relations. The findings obviously demonstrated that the most prominent motive of the administrators of these local governments was to become a role model for other local governments in Turkey. They believed that the top-down management approach dominating the Turkish administration system was the main source of many significant problems. They argued that, in Turkey, plans and projects were generally prepared without considering the opinions of citizens, and many of them failed to address the needs and expectations of citizens. Moreover, citizens usually did not develop a sense of ownership towards the projects established with a top-down approach, and therefore, such projects failed to survive for long, leading to a waste of resources. Further, such plans and projects weakened citizens' sense of belonging to their locality. For these reasons, there was an urgent need to abolish the top-down management approach.

Another prominent motive was to build public trust in representatives and public institutions. The administrators claimed that, in Turkey, public trust in representatives and representative institutions, including local governments, was too low, and this situation was another result of the prevalent top-down management approach lacking in transparency and accountability. The findings indicated that they made important efforts to establish a close relationship with citizens and involve them in administrative processes to reduce the level of public distrust towards representatives and representative institutions.

The findings also demonstrated that the administrators were also highly motivated to educate citizens and to create good citizen participation practices. This is because the administrators believed that, in Turkey, citizen participation was misunderstood not only by citizens but also by administrators. Accordingly, participation was generally diminished to consulting citizens regarding inconsequential issues. Furthermore, the administrators expressed that citizens, in general, did not adequately know the responsibilities, duties, and powers or authority limits of the municipal administrations. Since citizen participation is a relatively new concept for Turkey, citizens also did not have adequate knowledge of participatory institutions and related mechanisms. Moreover, citizens were not thoroughly aware of their democratic right to audit their representatives and public institutions. Therefore, citizens had to be educated to strengthen democracy and communities.

Overall, the atypical examples of local governments wanted to become a role model for other local governments by abolishing top-down management dominating the Turkish administration system, educating citizens and reducing their levels of distrust in representatives and representative institutions.

8.2.3. The Rhetoric-Reality Gap

Both in typical and atypical examples of local governments, the administrators argued that they did not prefer a top-down management approach. Accordingly, they highlighted their efforts for the establishment of a participatory management approach in their municipalities and pointed out the participation mechanisms they established as examples of their efforts in this regard. However, the findings showed that, in typical examples of local governments, the administrators did not give genuine power to the citizens to influence the decisions that concern their lives.

In fact, the typical examples of local governments formed important citizen participation mechanisms that could enable citizens to shape local public policies and priorities. But the

findings demonstrated that these participation mechanisms became almost non-functional after a short period. The municipal administrators often argued that the most significant reason for this failure was citizens' indifference towards participation mechanisms. However, in many of these cases, I found that the municipalities did not provide sufficient support, including financial, personnel and vehicle support to the participation mechanisms. Moreover, citizen participation is a relatively new concept for Turkey, and thus, citizens do not have adequate knowledge about participation in administrative processes and related mechanisms. In this regard, the administrators also failed to introduce the participation opportunities and mechanisms to the public adequately. Therefore, citizen participation often remained a window-dressing ritual, and the administrators continued to have substantial control over public policies and administrative decisions.

In short, in the typical examples of local governments, there was a significant gap between the rhetoric and reality of citizen participation, and between stated intentions and actions of the administrators. Considering Arnstein's citizen participation ladder (1969), citizen participation practices were, in reality, forms of non-participation or tokenism at best. Thus, citizen participation practices carried out by them achieved little change.

In contrast, the atypical examples of local governments tried to go further, and their reforms did achieve some changes. The findings indicated that they developed their strategic plans shaping the municipal budget and public policies and projects with citizens and other relevant stakeholders. Importantly, they made considerable efforts to ensure the continuity of citizen participation processes by establishing specific units or developed other mechanisms. Nonetheless, their efforts towards citizen participation were deemed inadequate by some municipal councillors were in opposing positions in municipal councils. These councillors argued that they were not adequately informed by the municipal administrations about municipal activities and financial matters. They also claimed that they were involved in some important processes after the decisions had already been taken. However, my findings also demonstrated that some councillors were quite indifferent to municipal activities and participation mechanisms. Overall, the findings showed that despite the criticisms, the extent of the gap between the rhetoric and reality of citizen participation in the atypical examples of local governments was not as wide as in the typical examples of local governments.

8.3. Contributions to the Literature and Recommendations for Future Research

This thesis contributes to the academic literature by analysing the motives of Turkish local political elites to involve citizens in administrative processes. Numerous studies have been conducted on citizen participation, and this phenomenon has been addressed from diverse perspectives, both theoretically and empirically. However, very little has been published on the citizen participation motives of politicians. In particular, there is very limited evidence-based research directly analysing the motives of local political elites in this regard.

Similarly, Turkish literature on citizen participation is quite extensive. However, despite my comprehensive literature review, I have not found a study exploring the motives of Turkish politicians or public officials on citizen participation either at the national level or the local level. Therefore, this thesis also contributes to the academic literature by filling a gap in our knowledge about the motives of Turkish local political elites on participation.

In order to better grasp the motives of Turkish local political elites on citizen participation, further research needs to be conducted. In this thesis, I used qualitative research methods and explored their motives on citizen participation through interviews. However, further research such as surveys and extensive observations could be conducted to enable researchers to perform a thorough analysis of their citizen participation motives.

Moreover, I conducted my fieldwork in Turkey in two rounds in approximately three months in total. However, some unforeseen developments occurred during the fieldworks (e.g., extreme weather conditions, announcement of early parliamentary and presidential elections) and these developments constituted some obstacles to conduct interviews with some key actors. Therefore, further research could be conducted in a longer time frame and a wider research area covering different cities to allow for a more detailed exploration of citizen participation motives of Turkish politicians.

Lastly, for this thesis, I conducted interviews with mayors, vice-mayors, municipal councillors, presidents of citizens' assemblies, public officials, and few people who were neither politicians nor public officials but had important knowledge of Turkish administration understanding and the status of citizen participation in Turkey. Considering that the municipality system implemented in Turkey is based on a strong mayoral system and their views on citizen participation are critical for the development of citizen participation and local democracy, further research could be conducted with more municipal mayors to gain more insight into the topic.

List of Interviewees

Abdulsamet Baskak (30 January 2017) Chairperson of Disabled Assembly within the Karabaglar Municipality (Izmir) Citizens' Assembly and Executive Board Member of the Citizens' Assembly; Chairperson of Disabled Assembly within the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Citizens' Assembly since January 2020.

Abidin Arikok (19 January 2017) Vice-Mayor of the Kahramankazan Municipality (Ankara) between 2014 and 2018; Presumptive Candidate for Mayor Office of the Kahramankazan Municipality for the March 2019 local elections from the JDP; Head of Technical Works within the Kecioren Municipality (Ankara) since April 2019.

Ali Kilic (04 May 2018) Mayor of the Maltepe Municipality (Istanbul) from the RPP since March 2014.

Alper Yaglidere (31 January 2017) Secretary-General of the Konak Municipality (Izmir) Citizens' Assembly.

Atay Tozlu (08 May 2018) President of the Selcuk Municipality (Izmir) Citizens' Assembly since October 2016.

Bahar Yalcin (29 December 2016) Vice-Mayor and Councillor of the Kadikoy Municipality (Istanbul) from the RPP between March 2014 and March 2019.

Batur Secilmis (04 May 2018) Graphic Designer at the Design Atelier Kadikoy.

Cagri Gruscu (25 January 2017) President of the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Citizens' Assembly between December 2015 and March 2018, Chairperson of the RPP District Presidency of Konak (Izmir) since March 2018.

Dahi Zeynel Bakici (24 January 2017) Mayor of the Selcuk Municipality (Izmir) from the JDP between March 2014 and March 2019.

Derya Ozgok (24 April 2018) Head of Strategy Development Directorate within the Nilufer Municipality (Bursa).

Egecan Erdogan (29 December 2016) Researcher at the Kadikoy (Municipality) Academy.

Elvan Atay (16 April 2018) Secretary-General of the Nilufer Municipality Citizens' Assembly.

Ercan Dogan (11 January 2017) Vice-Mayor of the Pursaklar Municipality (Ankara) since August 2014.

Erol Turan (18 December 2016) Professor, Head of the Department of Public Administration and Political Science at the Kastamonu University.

Fahri Aktas (26 December 2016) Councillor of the Kecioren Municipality (Ankara) and Deputy Chairperson of the JDP Group within the Municipality Council between March 2014 and March 2019; Councillor, Vice-Mayor and Deputy Mayor of the Kecioren Municipality between March 2004 and March 2009.

F. Serhat Kaya (18 January 2017) Local Government Expert and Advisor at the Yenimahalle Municipality (Ankara).

Ferhat Erdogan (27 December 2016) Vice-Mayor and Councillor of the Kecioren Municipality between March 2014 and March 2019; Presumptive Candidate for Mayor Office of the Kecioren Municipality for the March 2019 local elections from the JDP; Chairperson of the JDP District Presidency of Kecioren between 2008 and 2012.

Filiz Ceritoglu Sengel (10 May 2018) Councillor of the Selcuk Municipality and Izmir Metropolitan Municipality between March 2014 and March 2019; Mayor of the Selcuk Municipality from the RPP since the March 2019 local elections.

Gokhan Dincer (17 April 2018) Councillor of the Nilufer Municipality from the JDP since March 2014; Ex-Chairperson of the Youth Branch of the JDP District Presidency of Nilufer.

Goksel Oksuz (25 April 2018) Councillor of the Kadikoy Municipality from the JDP between March 2014 and March 2019; Presumptive Candidate for Mayor Office of the Ataşehir Municipality (Istanbul) for the March 2019 local elections from the JDP.

Hamit Mumcu (31 January 2017) Municipal Councillor of the Konak Municipality from the RPP since Marh 2014; President of the Konak Municipality Citizens' Assembly since July 2014.

Haydar Battal (04 May 2018) Vice-Mayor of the Maltepe Municipality between September 2016 and August 2020.

Ikbal Polat (29 December 2016) Secretary-General of the Kadikoy Municipality Citizens' Assembly since 2014; Independent Candidate (a joint candidate of small left-wing parties, left-leaning trade unions, and associations) for the Mayor Office of Bursa Metropolitan Municipality for the March 2014 local elections; Ex-Director of Neighbourhood Committees within the Nilufer Municipality Citizens' Assembly.

Ilhan Sener (16 January 2017) Vice-Mayor and Councillor of the Akyurt Municipality (Ankara) from the JDP and Councillor of the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality between March 2004 and October 2018.

Irfan Yildiz (08 May 2018) Founding and President of the Selcuk Municipality Citizens' Assembly between October 2014 and October 2016.

Ismail Acar (17 January 2017) Chairperson of the Youth Assembly within the Etimesgut Municipality (Ankara) Citizens' Assembly and Executive Board Member of the Citizens' Assembly.

Melih Morsunbul (04 May 2018) Vice-Mayor of the Maltepe Municipality between June 2016 and August 2020.

Mustafa Bozbey (24 April 2018) Mayor of the Nilufer Municipality from the RPP between March 1999 and March 2019; Candidate for the Mayor Office of the Bursa Metropolitan Municipality for the March 2019 local elections from the RPP.

Osman Kayaer (11 January 2017) Vice-Mayor and Councillor of the Pursaklar Municipality between March 2004 and March 2019 from the JDP; Councillor of the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality between March 2004 and March 2009; Presumptive Candidate for Mayor Office of the Pursaklar Municipality for the March 2019 local elections from the JDP.

Omer Sahan (26 April 2018) Councillor of the Kadikoy Municipality and Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality from the JDP between March 2014 and March 2019.

Selman Boyacioglu (27 January 2017) President of the Karsiyaka Municipality (Izmir) Citizens' Assembly since February 2015; Secretary-General of Association of the Izmir Citizens' Assemblies since January 2016.

Serkan Bahadir (28 April 2018) Councillor of the Maltepe Municipality from the JDP between March 2014 and March 2019.

Seyit Sarp (17 January 2017) President of the Etimesgut Municipality (Ankara) Citizens' Assembly since March 2016; Councillor of the Etimesgut Municipality from the NMP between March 2009 and March 2014.

Tekin Celik (04 January 2017) Councillor of the Polatli Municipality (Ankara) from the NMP between March 2014 and March 2019; President of the Polatli Municipality Citizens' Assembly between May 2016 and June 2019.

Yavuz Kok (11 May 2018) Councillor of the Akyurt Municipality March 2014 and March 2019 (He was elected from the NMP but he joined the Good Party in 2018)

Confidential 1 (20 December 2016) Municipal Councillor and Vice-Mayor, Ankara.

Confidential 2 (09 January 2017) Public Official at the Kecioren Municipality.

Confidential 3 (10 January 2017) Municipal Councillor, Ankara.

Confidential 4 (12 January 2017) Public Official, Ankara.

Confidential 5 (23 January 2017) Vice-Mayor and Ex-Municipal Councillor, Izmir.

Bibliography

Aberbach, J.D. and Rockman, B.A. (2002) Conducting and Coding Elite Interviews, *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 35(4), pp.673–676.

Akdede, S.H. and Acarturk, E. (2005) Türkiye'de İlçe ve Belediyelerin Optimizasyonu [Optimisation of Districts and Municipalities in Turkey], *Çağdaş Yerel Yönetimler [Journal of Contemporary Local Governments]*, 14(3), pp.5–17.

Akdogan, A.A. (2018) 'Boomerang Effect': The Bottleneck of Public Policy Analysis in Turkey. IN: Bakir, C. and Ertan, G. (eds.) *Policy Analysis in Turkey.* Bristol, UK: Policy Press, pp.35–50.

Akinci, M., Onder, O. and Sakaci, B.K. (2013) Is Intra-Party Democracy Possible in Turkey? An Analysis of Political Parties Act and Party By-laws, *European Scientific Journal*, 9(11), pp.33–49.

Akyurt Municipality (2014a) 2015–2019 Stratejik Plan Toplantısı Yapıldı [2015–2019 Strategic Plan Meeting Held]. Available from: http://www.akyurt.bel.tr/2015-2019-stratejik-plan-toplantisi-yapildi/ [Accessed: 19.03.2016].

Akyurt Municipality (2014b) *Akyurt Belediyesi 2015–2019 Stratejik Planı [2015–2019 Strategic Plan of the Akyurt Municipality].* Available from: http://www.akyurt.bel.tr/upload/belgeler/Stratejik_Plan/2015-2019_Stratejik_Plan.pdf [Accessed: 19.03.2016].

Akyurt Municipality (2016) Akyurt Kent Konseyi Olağan Genel Kurulu Toplandı [Akyurt Municipality Citizens' Assembly Ordinary General Assembly Meets]. Available from: http://www.akyurt.bel.tr/akyurt-kent-konseyi-olagan-genel-kurulu-toplandi/ [Accessed: 05.09.2016].

Algun, A.C. (2017) Nilüfer'de 'sivil irade' yükseliyor [Civil volition increasing in Nilufer]. Interviewed by Erdal Aktas. *Sivil Sayfalar*, 28 November. Available from: http://www.sivilsayfalar.org/2017/11/28/niluferde-sivil-irade-yukseliyor/ [Accessed: 02.07.2018].

Alkin, S. (2011) Underrepresentative Democracy: Why Turkey Should Abandon Europe's Highest Electoral Threshold, *Washington University Global Studies Law Review*, 10(2), pp.347–369.

Altintas, H. and Tas, S. (2013) Evaluation of Roadmap of Turkey for Public Management in the Postmodern Era: Challenges and Prospects. *International Conference on Economic and Social Studies (ICESoS'13)*, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, 10–11 May.

Amirkhanyan, A.A. and Lambright, K.T. (2018) *Citizen Participation in the Age of Contracting: When Service Delivery Trumps Democracy.* New York: Routledge.

Amundsen, I. (2016) Democratic Dynasties? Internal Party Democracy in Bangladesh, *Party Politics*, 22(1), pp.49–58.

Ankara Development Agency (2018) *Discover Ankara.* Available from: http://www.ankaraka.org.tr/tr/discover-ankara_3975.html [Accessed: 19.05.2018].

Arguden, Y., Toksoz, F., Goymen, K., Kalaycioglu, E., Arikboga, E., Salihoglu, E., Ogucu Sen, F. and Izci, I. (2018) *From A Citizen's Perspective: Governance Scorecard of Municipalities for Istanbul Districts*. Istanbul: Arguden Governance Academy. Available from: https://municipalityscorecard.argudenacademy.org/docs/Arguden-Academy_Governance-Scorecard-of-Municipalities.pdf [Accessed: 04.08.2018].

Arnstein, S.R. (1969) A Ladder of Citizen Participation, *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 35(4), pp.216–224.

Arslan, A. (2004) Social Anatomy of Turkish Top Political Elites in Contemporary Turkey, *International Journal of Human Sciences,* 1(1), pp.1–14.

Artemis Haber (2015) Selçuk Kent Konseyi Genel Kurul Toplantısı Yapıldı [Selcuk Municipality Citizens' Assembly General Meeting Held]. 5 May. Available from: http://artemishaber.com/haberdetay/SELCUK-KENT-KONSEYI-GENEL-KURUL-TOPLANTISI-YAPILDI/425 [Accessed: 27.04.2016].

Ayan, P. (2009) Considering Party Authoritarianism versus Party Democracy: What Causes the Variances? The Case of Turkey. *ECPR Joint Sessions*, Lisbon, Portugal, 14–19 April. Available from: https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/2c4b/9c5c423666842b52eb94fd093c08febc6b20.pdf [Accessed: 17.04.2018].

Ayan, P. (2010) Authoritarian Party Structures in Turkey: A Comparison of the Republican People's Party and the Justice and Development Party, *Turkish Studies,* 11(2), pp.197–215.

Ayan Musil, P. (2011) *Authoritarian Party Structures and Democratic Political Setting in Turkey*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Azakli, S. and Ozgur, H. (2005) Belediye Organları ve Organlar Arası İlişkiler: Başkan, Meclis ve Encümen [Municipal Organs and the Relations Between the Organs: Mayor, Council and Committee]. IN: Ozgur, H. and Kosecik, M. (eds.) *Yerel Yönetimler Üzerine Güncel Yazılar-1: Reform [Recent Essays on Local Governments-1: Reform]*. Ankara: Nobel Yayin, pp.297–319.

Baker, S.E. and Edwards, R. (2012) How Many Qualitative Interviews Is Enough? Discussion Paper (Unpublished), *UK National Centre for Research Methods (NCRM)*. Available from: http://eprints.ncrm.ac.uk/2273/4/how_many_interviews.pdf [Accessed: 05.03.2017].

Barber, B.R. (1984) *Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Batson, C.D., Ahmad, N. and Tsang, J-A. (2002) Four Motives for Community Involvement, *Journal of Social Issues*, 58(3), pp.429–445.

Baxter, P. and Jack, S. (2008) Qualitative Case Study Methodology: Study Design and Implementation for Novice Researchers, *The Qualitative Report*, 13(4), pp.544–559.

Bayraktar, S.U. (2007) Turkish Municipalities: Reconsidering Local Democracy Beyond Administrative Autonomy, *European Journal of Turkish Studies*. Available from: https://ejts.revues.org/1103 [Accessed: 15.04.2017].

Beetham, D. (1992) Liberal Democracy and the Limits of Democratization, *Political Studies,* 40(1), pp.40–53.

Benaquisto, L. (2008) Codes and Coding. IN: Given, L.M. (ed.) *The SAGE Encyclopaedia of Qualitative Research Methods*. London: SAGE, pp.85–88.

Berleson, B. and Steiner, G.A. (1964) *Human Behaviour: An Inventory of Scientific Findings*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.

Berner, M.M., Amos, J.M. and Morse, R.S. (2011) What Constitutes Effective Citizen Participation in Local Government? Views from City Stakeholders, *Public Administration Quarterly*, 35(1), pp.128–163.

Beyme, K. von (1985) *Political Parties in Western Democracies*. Translated from German by Eileen Martin. Aldershot, UK: Gower Publishing.

Biegelbauer, P. and Hansen, J. (2011) Democratic Theory and Citizen Participation: Democracy Models in the Evaluation of Public Participation in Science and Technology, *Science and Public Policy*, 38(8), pp.589–597.

Blue, G., Rosol, M. and Fast, V. (2019) Justice as Parity of Participation, *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 85(3), pp.363–376.

Bottomore, T. (1993) *Elites and Society*. 2nd ed. London: Routledge.

Bowen, G.A. (2008) Naturalistic Inquiry and The Saturation Concept: A Research Note, *Qualitative Research,* 8(1), pp.137–152.

Bowen, G.A. (2009) Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method, *Qualitative Research Journal*, 9(2), pp.27–40.

Bozbey, M. (2014) Demokrasi Yerelde Başlar [Democracy Starts at the Local]. Interviewed by Sibel Bulay. *EKOIQ*, 21 October. Available from: http://ekoiq.com/demokrasi-yerelde-baslar/ [Accessed: 09.07.2016].

Bozlagan, R. (2013) The Local Elections in Turkey and Their Importance to Turkish Politics. Al Jazeera Centre for Studies, 27 October. Available from: http://studies.aljazeera.net/en/reports/2013/10/2013102483930393904.html [Accessed: 12.08.2018].

Brinkmann, S. and Kvale, S. (2015) *Interviews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing*. 3rd ed. California: SAGE.

Bruno, F.J. (1980) *Behaviour and Life: An Introduction to Psychology*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Bryman, A. (2016) *Social Research Methods*. 5th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bulut, B. (2019) Candidates and Alliances for Local Elections in Turkey on March 31. *Evrensel Daily*, 20 February. Available from: https://www.evrensel.net/daily/374111/candidates-and-alliances-for-local-elections-in-turkey-on-march-31 [Accessed: 05.04.2019].

Burnham, P., Lutz, K.G., Grant, W. and Layton-Henry, Z. (2008) *Research Methods in Politics.* 2nd ed. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Campbell, D.T. and Fiskel, D.W. (1959) Convergent and Discriminant Validation by the Multitrait-Multimethod Matrix, *Psychological Bulletin*, 56(2), pp.81–105.

Carkoglu, A., Erdem, T., Kabasakal, M. and Genckaya, O.F. (2000) *Siyasi Partilerde Reform [Reform in Political Parties]*. Istanbul: Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV).

Celik, D. and Omurgonulsen, U. (2017) Yerel Demokrasi Açısından Mahalle Meclislerinin Önemi ve İşlevi: Çanakkale Örneği (The Significance and Function of Neighbourhood Councils in terms of Local Democracy: The Case of Canakkale]. IN: Guler, M. and Turan, A.M. (eds.) *Belediyelerin Geleceği ve Yeni Yaklaşımlar [The Future of Municipalities and New Approaches]*. Istanbul: Marmara Belediyeler Birliği [Marmara Municipalities Union] Kültür Yayınları, pp.171–185.

Celikyay, H. (2014) *Değişen Kent Yönetimi ve 6360 Sayılı Büyükşehir Yasası [Changing City Management and Metropolitan Law No. 6360]*. Istanbul: The Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research (SETA). Vol.101. Available from: http://file.setav.org/Files/Pdf/20140708140310_degisen-kent-yonetimi-ve-6360-sayili-buyuksehir-yasasi-pdf.pdf [Accessed: 09.02.2017].

Centre for Social, Economic and Cultural Studies (SEKAM) (2013) *Türkiye'de Gençlik: Gençliğin Özellikleri, Sorunları, Kimlikleri ve Beklentileri [Youth in Turkey: Characteristics, Problems, Identities and Expectations of Youth]*. Istanbul: SEKAM. Available from: https://serdargunes.files.wordpress.com/2018/04/sekam_turkiyede_genclik_arastir masi.pdf [Accessed: 05.09.2018].

Charmaz, K. (2006) *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis.* London: SAGE.

Ciner, C.U. (2018) Territorial Policy-making and Administrative Reform in Turkey. IN: Bakir, C. and Ertan, G. (eds.) *Policy Analysis in Turkey.* Bristol, UK: Policy Press, pp.87–104.

Coenen, F. (2009) Local Agenda 21: 'Meaningful and Effective' Participation? IN: Coenen, F.H.J.M (ed.) *Public Participation and Better Environmental Decisions: The Promise and Limits of Participatory Processes for the Quality of Environmentally Related Decision-making*. New York: Springer, pp.165–182.

Coleman, S. (2005) Blogs and the New Politics of Listening, *Political Quarterly,* 76(2), pp.273–280.

Collins, K. and Ison, R. (2006) Dare we jump off Arnstein's ladder? Social learning as a new policy paradigm. IN: *Proceedings of PATH (Participatory Approaches in Science & Technology) Conference*, Edinburgh, 4–7 June. Available from: http://oro.open.ac.uk/8589/1/Path_paper_Collins_Ison.pdf [Accessed: 05.02.2020].

Contreas, S. (2019) Using Arnstein's Ladder as an Evaluative Framework for the Assessment of Participatory Work in Postdisaster Haiti, *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 85(3), pp.219–235.

Council of Higher Education (Turkey) (no date) Üniversitelerimiz [Our Universities]. Available from: https://www.yok.gov.tr/universiteler/universitelerimiz [Accessed: 18.05.2019].

Creswell, J.W. (2014) *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. 4th ed. London: SAGE.

Cross, W. and Katz, R.S. (2013) Problematizing Intra-Party Democracy. IN: Cross, W. and Katz, R.S. (eds.) *The Challenges of Intra-Party Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.170–176.

Cukurcayir, M.A. (2016) Development of Citizens' Political Participation in Local Administration System. IN: Pusca, A.C., Negrut, V., Savenco, I., Gheorghe, S., Nuţa, F.M., Nuţa, A.C. and Arsith, M. (eds.) *Proceedings of the 11th Edition of International Conference on European Integration – Realities and Perspectives*, Danubius University, Romania, 20–21 May. Galati, Romania: Danubius University Press, pp.141–148.

Cukurcayir, M.A. and Eroglu, T. (2009) Yerel Yönetimlerin Güncel Sorunları: Küresel, Bölgesel ve Yerel Perspektifler [Current Problems of Local Governments: Global, Regional and Local Perspectives]. IN: Gormez, K. and Okmen, M. (eds.) *Kent Yönetiminde Demokratik Bir Açılım Olarak Kent Konseyleri [Citizens' Assemblies as a Democratic Initiative in City Management]*. Istanbul: BETA Yayınları, pp.225–247.

Cukurcayir, M.A., Eroglu, H.T., Aydinli, H.I. and Colakoglu, E. (2011) Yerel Demokrasinin Güçlendirilmesinde Kent Konseyleri Bir Fırsat Olabilir Mi? [Can Citizens' Assemblies be an Opportunity for Strengthening Local Democracy?] IN: Keskin, E.B. (ed.) *Kent Konseyleri Sempozyumu Bildiri Kitabı [Proceedings of Citizens' Assemblies Symposium]*, Bursa Metropolitan Municipality Citizens' Assembly, 6–7 May. Bursa: Bursa Metropolitan Municipality Citizens' Assembly, pp.291–306.

Daily Sabah (2018) Turkish parliament ratifies election alliance bill. 13 March. Available from: https://www.dailysabah.com/legislation/2018/03/13/turkish-parliament-ratifies-election-alliance-bill [Accessed: 15.08.2018].

Daily Sabah (2020) Turkey's population exceeds 83 million in 2019. 4 February. Available from: https://www.dailysabah.com/turkey/2020/02/04/turkeys-population-exceeds-83-million-in-2019 [Accessed: 19.02.2020].

Demirbas, T. and Eroglu, T. (2016) The Evaluation of Annual Municipal Reports in terms of Discharging Accountability: The Case of Turkey, *Yönetim ve Ekonomi [Journal of Management and Economics]*, 23(2), pp.575–598.

Demirci, M. (2010) Katılımcı Demokrasi Açısından Kent Konseyleri: Eleştirel Bir Değerlendirme [Citizens' Assemblies in terms of Participatory Democracy: A Critical Assessment], *Çağdaş Yerel Yönetimler (Journal of Contemporary Local Governments),* 19(1), pp.21–46.

Demirtas, S. (2019) AKP-MHP alliance to read results of local polls. *Hurriyet Daily News,* 1 April. Available from: http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/akp-mhp-alliance-to-read-results-of-local-polls-142316 [Accessed: 05.05.2019].

Denhardt, J.V. and Denhardt, R.B. (2015) The New Public Service Revisited, *Public Administration Review,* 75(5), pp.664–672.

Denscombe, M. (2017) *Good Research Guide: For Small-Scale Social Research Projects*. 6th ed. London: Open University Press.

Denzin, N. (1970) *The Research Act in Sociology: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods.* London: Butterworths.

Design Atelier Kadikoy (2014) OrTAK Sorunlara OrTAK Çözümler [Common Solutions to Common Problems]. Available from: http://takortak.org/blog/ortak-sorunlara-ortak-cozumler-icin/ [Accessed: 14.08.2018].

Dryzek, J.S. (1990) *Discursive Democracy: Politics, Policy, and Political Science*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dryzek, J.S. (2000) *Deliberative Democracy and Beyond: Liberals, Critics, Contestations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dryzek, J.S. and Torgerson, D. (1993) Democracy and the Policy Sciences: A Progress Report, *Policy Sciences*, 26(3), pp.127–137.

Edelenbos, J. (1999) Design and Management of Participatory Public Policy Making, *Public Management Review*, 1(4), pp.569–578.

Elban, S. (2018) Belediye Ölçeği Perspektifinden Mahalli İdareler Reformu Üzerine Notlar [Notes on the Local Governments Reform From the Municipal Measurement Perspective], *Ataturk University Journal of Graduate School of Social Sciences*, 22(3), pp.1591–1602.

Elcik, G. (2015) *Belediyelerin Stratejik Planlarının Hazırlanması Sürecine Müdahil Olma Deneyimimiz [Our Experience of Involvement in the Preparation Process of Municipalities' Strategic Plans]*. Available from: http://www.keig.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/str.-plan-on-rapor_web-subat2015.pdf [Accessed: 15.12.2016].

Elstub, S. (2018) Deliberative and Participatory Democracy. IN: Bachtiger, A., Dryzek, J.S., Mansbridge, J. and Warren, M. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Deliberative Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.187–202.

Elstub, S. and McLaverty, P. (2014) Introduction: Issues and Cases in Deliberative Democracy. IN: Elstub, S. and McLaverty, P. (eds.) *Deliberative Democracy: Issues and Cases*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp.1–16.

Eren, A. (2008) Türkiye'de Uygulanan %10 Genel Seçim Barajının Serbest Seçim Hakkını İhlal Sorunu [The Question of the 10% Barrage's Violation of Free General Elections in Turkey], *Selcuk Law Review*, 16(2), pp.63–110.

Ergun, C. and Gul, H. (2011) Urban Regeneration and Social Segregation: The Case of Istanbul, *Toplum ve Demokrasi [Journal of Society and Democracy],* 5(11), pp.155–172.

Erkul, H. (2010) *Türkiye'de Yerel Yönetimler [Local Administrations in Turkey]*. Ankara: Detay Yayıncılık.

Escobar, O. (2017) Pluralism and Democratic Participation: What Kind of Citizen Are Citizens Invited to be? *Contemporary Pragmatism*, 14(4), pp.416–438.

Esmer, Y. (2002) Introduction. IN: Sayari, S. and Esmer, Y. (eds.) *Politics, Parties, and Elections in Turkey*. London: Lynne Rienner, pp.1–7.

Ete, H., Akbaba, Y., Dalay, G., Ersay, S.O., Kanat, K.B. and Ustun, K. (2014) Turkey's 2014 Local Elections, *Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research (SETA),* March 2014, No: 4. Available from: http://file.setav.org/Files/Pdf/20140322163202_turkeys-2014-local-elections.pdf [Accessed: 12.03.2017].

Galvan, J.L. (2017) *Writing Literature Reviews: A Guide for Students of the Social and Behavioral Sciences.* 6th ed. New York: Routledge.

Gaynor, N. (2009) Deepening Democracy within Ireland's Social Partnership, *Irish Political Studies*, 24(3), pp.303–319.

Gazete Kadikoy (2013) İçkiye Yasak Değil Düzenleme [Alcohol not prohibited but regulated]. 4 April. Available from: http://www.gazetekadikoy.com.tr/genel/ickiye-yasak-degil-duzenleme-h3919.html [Accessed: 14.08.2017].

Glaser, B.G. and Strauss, A.L. ([1967] 2006) *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. London: Aldine Transaction.

Glass, J.J. (1979) Citizen participation in planning: the relationship between objectives and techniques, *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 45(2), pp.180–189.

Goksel, T. and Cinar, Y. (2011) *Mevcut Seçim Sisteminin İyileştirilmesine Yönelik Sayısal Analizler ve Politika Önerileri [Numerical Analyses and Policy Recommendations for Improving the Current Electoral System]*. Ankara: TEPAV (Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey).

Goktolga, O. and Ekici, S. (2016) A Local Governance Experience in Turkey: From "Local Agenda 21"s to the City Councils, *Birey ve Toplum [Individual and Society Journal of Social Science]*, 6(12), pp.107–127.

Grand National Assembly of Turkey (1924) *Village Affairs Act*, Law no 442. Official Gazette, 07.04.1924 – Issue: 68.

Grand National Assembly of Turkey (1949) *Provincial Administration Law,* Law no 5442. Official Gazette, 18.06.1949 – Issue: 7236.

Grand National Assembly of Turkey (1982) *Constitution of the Republic of Turkey* (Including amendments made by Law no 6771 on 16.04.2017), Law no 2709. Official Gazette, 09.11.1982 – Issue: 17863. Available from: https://global.tbmm.gov.tr/docs/constitution_en_2019.pdf [Accessed: 25.08.2019].

Grand National Assembly of Turkey (1983) *Law on Political Parties*, Law no 2820. Official Gazette, 24.04.1983 – Issue: 18027.

Grand National Assembly of Turkey (1984) *The Law for the Elections of Neighbourhood Administrations, Headman and Elders' Council of Villages and Neighbourhood*, Law no 2972. Official Gazette, 18.01.1984 – Issue: 18285.

Grand National Assembly of Turkey (1984) *The Law for the Elections of Neighbourhood Administrations, Headman and Elders' Council of Villages and Neighbourhood*, Law no 2972. Official Gazette, 18.01.1984 – Issue: 18285.

Grand National Assembly of Turkey (2004) *Law on Metropolitan Municipalities*, Law no 5216. Official Gazette, 10.07.2004 – Issue: 25531.

Grand National Assembly of Turkey (2004) *Law on Metropolitan Municipalities*, Law no 5216. Official Gazette, 10.07.2004 – Issue: 25531. Available from: http://projects.sklinternational.se/tuselog/files/2013/07/Law5216_EN.pdf [Accessed: 25.08.2016].

Grand National Assembly of Turkey (2005) *Law on Special Provincial Administration,* Law no 5302, Official Gazette, 04.03.2005 – Issue: 25745.

Grand National Assembly of Turkey (2005) *Municipality Law*, Law no 5393. Official Gazette, 13.07.2005 – Issue: 25874.

Grand National Assembly of Turkey (2005) *Municipality Law*, Law no 5393. Official Gazette, 13.07.2005 – Issue: 25874. Available from: http://projects.sklinternational.se/tuselog/files/2013/07/Law5393_EN.pdf [Accessed: 25.08.2016].

Grand National Assembly of Turkey (2012) *The Establishment of Metropolitan Municipalities and Twenty-Six Districts in Thirteen Provinces and Amendments at Certain Law and Decree Laws*, Law no 6360. Official Gazette, 06.12.2012 – Issue: 28489.

Gronlund, K. and Setala, M. (2004) Low Voter Turnout: An Indication of a Legitimacy Deficit? *ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops,* Uppsala, Sweden, 13–18 April. Available from: https://ecpr.eu/Filestore/PaperProposal/d83ddd59-0a00-4535-a117-55a859e6a630.pdf [Accessed: 02.05.2016].

Guest, G., Bunge, A. and Johnson, L. (2006) How Many Interviews Are Enough? An Experiment with Data Saturation and Variability, *Field Methods*, 18(1), pp.59–82.

Gul, H., Kamalak, I. and Kiris, H.M. (2016) Local and Urban Administration, Politics and Elections in Turkey. IN: Sadioglu, U. and Dede, K. (eds.) *Comparative Studies and Regionally-Focused Cases Examining Local Governments.* Hershey, Pennsylvania: IGI Global Publishing, pp.182–206.

Gungormez, O. (2013) Öneri yap ödülü kap [Make a suggestion, get the prize]. *Sabah*, 5 May. Available from: https://www.sabah.com.tr/marmara/2013/05/05/oneri-yap-odulu-kap [Accessed: 13.03.2016].

Guven, A. and Alan, C. (2019) Türkiye'de Yerel Demokrasiyi Güçlendirme Aracı Olarak Yönetişim ve Yerel Yönetimlerde İşleyişi [Strengthening Democracy as a Tool for Local Governance and Functioning of Local Government in Turkey], *Hukuk ve İktisat Araştırmaları Dergisi [Journal of Law and Economics Research]*, 11(1), pp.47–61.

Haberturk (2017a) Başkan Ak'ın Cuma Buluşmaları Devam Ediyor [Mayor Ak's Friday Meetings Continue]. 1 July. Available from: http://www.haberturk.com/yerel-haberler/haber/54749353-baskan-akin-cuma-bulusmalari-devam-ediyor [Accessed: 05.08.2017].

Haberturk (2017b) Başkan Ak: Karar mekanizmasına vatandaşlarımızı da dahil ederek onlar için hizmet üretiyoruz [Mayor Ak: We produce services for our citizens by involving them in the decision-making mechanism]. 27 July. Available from: http://www.haberturk.com/yerel-haberler/haber/55150333-baskan-ak-karar-mekanizmasina-vatandaslarimizi-da-dahil-ederek-onlar-icin-hizmet-uretiyoruz [Accessed: 09.08.2017].

Haikio, L. (2007) Citizenship in the Context of Local Administrative Reform. *CINEFOGO Conference on Citizen Participation in Policy Making*, Bristol, UK, 14–15 February. Available from: http://cinefogoconference.pbworks.com/f/PN016_Haikio.pdf [Accessed: 02.10.2017].

Halachmi, A. and Holzer, M. (2010) Citizen Participation and Performance Measurement: Operationalizing Democracy Through Better Accountability, *Public Administration Quarterly*, 34(3), pp.378–399.

Hammersley, M. (2013) *What is Qualitative Research?* London: Bloomsbury.

Hancock, D.R. and Algozzine, B. (2006) *Doing Case Study Research: A Practical Guide for Beginning Researchers*. New York and London: Teachers College Press.

Harrison, L. and Callan, T. (2013) *Key Research Concepts in Politics and International Relations*. London: SAGE.

Hartz-Karp, J. and Briand, M.K. (2009) Institutionalizing Deliberative Democracy, *Journal of Public Affairs*, 9(2), pp.125–141.

Hayward, C., Simpson, L. and Wood, L. (2004) Still left out in the cold: Problematising participatory research and development, *Sociologica Ruralis*, 44(1), pp.95–108.

Hazama, Y. (1996) Constitutional Review and the Parliamentary Opposition in Turkey, *The Developing Economies*, 34(3), pp.316–338.

Heper, M. (2002) Conclusion: The Consolidation of Democracy versus Democratization in Turkey. IN: Rubin, B. and Heper, M. (eds.) *Political Parties in Turkey*. London: Frank Cass, pp.138–146.

Heper, M. and Sayari, S. (eds.) (2002) *Political Leaders and Democracy in Turkey*. New York: Lexington Books.

Hesse-Biber, S.N. and Leavy, P. (2006) *The Practice of Qualitative Research*. London: SAGE.

Hurriyet (2015a) Çoğulcu Toplum İçin İlk Adım Atılıyor [First Steps towards Pluralist Society]. 3 October. Available from: http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/cogulcu-toplum-icin-ilk-adim-atiliyor-37163191 [Accessed: 09.02.2016].

Hurriyet (2015b) Sivil Toplum Akademisi, Üniversiteli Gençleri Buluşturdu [Civil Society Academy Brought University Students Together]. 18 October. Available from: http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/sivil-toplum-akademisi-universiteli-gencleri-bulusturdu-37182478 [Accessed: 09.02.2016].

Hurriyet (2015c) Kent Konseyi'nde Beyin Fırtınası Esti [Brainstorming in Citizens' Assembly]. 19 October. Available from: http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/kent-konseyi-nde-beyin-firtinasi-esti-37183047 [Accessed: 25.05.2016].

Hurriyet (2015d) Keçiören Yeni Gönüllülerini Arıyor [Kecioren Looking for New Volunteers]. 4 December. Available from: http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/kecioren-yeni-gonullulerini-ariyor-37206622 [Accessed: 09.02.2016].

Hurriyet (2016) Selçuk Kent Konseyi'nden Başkan Bakıcı'ya ziyaret [Selcuk Municipality Citizens' Assembly visited Mayor Bakici]. 16 November. Available from: http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/selcuk-kent-konseyinden-baskan-bakiciya-ziyar-40279788 [Accessed: 12.03.2017].

Hurriyet Daily News (2016) Turkey population rises by more than one million in a year. 28 January. Available from: http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkey-population-rises-by-more-than-one-million-in-a-year-94467 [Accessed: 01.02.2016].

Hurriyet Daily News (2017) Turkish opposition MHP expels three deputies, one member. 10 March. Available from: http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkish-opposition-mhp-expels-three-deputies-one-member---110668 [Accessed: 22.08.2018].

Hurriyet Daily News (2018) MHP to support AKP's candidates in Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir. 24 November. Available from: http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/mhp-not-to-nominate-candidates-in-istanbul-ankara-izmir-139153 [Accessed: 05.04.2019].

Hurriyet Daily News (2019) CHP, IYI Party reach agreement on alliance in several provinces. 25 January. Available from: http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/chp-iyi-party-reach-agreement-on-alliance-in-several-provinces-140773 [Accessed: 05.04.2019].

Involve (2005) *People and Participation*. London: Involve. Available from: http://www.involve.org.uk/sites/default/files/field/attachemnt/People-and-Participation.pdf [Accessed: 15.02.2016].

Irvin, R.A. and Stansbury, J. (2004) Citizen Participation in Decision Making: Is It Worth the Effort? *Public Administration Review,* 64(1), pp.55–65.

Justice and Development Party (JDP) (2019) *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi Tüzüğü* [*By-Law of the Justice and Development Party]*. Available from: https://www.akparti.org.tr/media/279929/cep-boy.pdf [Accessed: 20.02.2019].

Kabasakal, M. (2014) Factors Influencing Intra-Party Democracy and Membership Rights: The Case of Turkey, *Party Politics*, 20(5), pp.700–711.

Kadikoy Academy (2016) Participatory Urban Planning Workshops for Kadife Street in Kadikoy, Istanbul. Available from: https://participedia.net/case/4336 [Accessed: 29.04.2019].

Kadikoy Life (2017) Kadıköy'de nüfus, tarihinin en düşük seviyesinde! [The population of Kadikoy has reached its lowest level ever!]. 27 February. Available from: https://www.kadikoylife.com/kadikoyde-nufus-tarihinin-dusuk-seviyesinde/ [Accessed: 24.12.2018].

Kadikoy Municipality (2015) Kadikoy Academy Opened. Available from: http://en.kadikoy.bel.tr/News/Kadikoy-Academy-Opened [Accessed: 11.08.2017].

Kadikoy Municipality (2016) *Kadıköy Belediyesi 2015–2019 Stratejik Planı: 2017–2019 Dönemi İçin Güncellenmiş Plan* [*2015–2019 Strategic Plan of the Kadikoy Municipality: The Updated Strategic Plan for the Period of 2017-2019].* Available from: http://www.kadikoy.bel.tr/Documents/file/dosya/2017-2019%20D%C3%96NEM%C4%B0%20%C4%B0%C3%87%C4%B0N%20G%C3%9CNCELLENM%C4%B0%C5%9E%20PLAN.pdf [Accessed: 15.03.2017].

Kalayci, B. and Toprak Esin, F. (2018) Turkey: Analysis on the Corruption Perception in Turkey. Available from: http://www.mondaq.com/turkey/x/678140/White+Collar+Crime+Fraud/Analysis+On+The+Corruption+Perception+In+Turkey [Accessed: 25.11.2018].

Kapucu, N. and Palabiyik, H. (2008) *Turkish Public Administration: From Tradition to the Modern Age.* Ankara: International Strategic Research Organisation (USAK).

Karaarslan, M. (2013) Nasıl Bir Yerel Yönetim? 6360 Sayılı Kanun Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme [What Kind of a Local Government? Evaluation on the 6360th Law], *Dicle University Journal of Law Faculty*, 17–18(26-27-28-29), pp.123–162.

Karakurt Tosun, E., Keskin, E.B., and Selimoglu, E. (2016) Bursa Kent Konseyi'nin Bilinirliğinin Araştırılması [Investigation of Bursa City Council Awareness], *Yönetim ve Ekonomi [Journal of Management and Economics]*, 23(1), pp.97–112.

Karaman, O. (2012) An Immanentist Approach to the Urban, *Antipode*, 44(4), pp.1287–1306.

Kast, F.E. and Rosenzweig, J.E. (1970) *Organization and Management: A Systems and Contingency Approach*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.

Kavruk, H. (2004) The System of Local Government in Turkey, *Gazi University Journal of Economics and Administrative Sciences*, 6(1), pp.181–205.

Kecioren Municipality (2009) *Keçiören Belediyesi 2010–2014 Stratejik Planı [2010–2014 Strategic Plan of the Kecioren Municipality].* Available from: http://www.kecioren.bel.tr/stratejik_planlar_dosya_eki/a87ff679a2f3e71d9181a67b7542122c_kecioren_belediyesi_4.pdf [Accessed: 03.02.2016].

Kecioren Municipality (2012) Başkan Ak Vatandaşla Buluşmaya Devam Ediyor [Mayor Ak continues to meet public]. Available from: http://www.kecioren.bel.tr/BASKAN_AK__VATANDASLA_BULUSMAYA_DEVAM_EDIYOR-370-haber.html [Accessed: 03.02.2016].

Kecioren Municipality (2013) Keçiören Büyük Bir Aile [Kecioren is a Big Family]. Available from: http://www.kecioren.bel.tr/KECIOREN_BUYUK_BIR_AILE-757-haber.html [Accessed: 03.02.2016].

Kecioren Municipality (2014) *Keçiören Belediyesi 2015–2019 Stratejik Planı [2015–2019 Strategic Plan of the Kecioren Municipality].* Available from: http://www.kecioren.bel.tr/stratejik_planlar_dosya_eki/eccbc87e4b5ce2fe28308fd9f2a7baf3_kecioren_belediyesi_3.pdf [Accessed: 03.02.2016].

Kecioren Municipality (2015) *Kecioren Municipality, Ankara, Turkey.* Ankara: Kecioren Municipality, Foreign Relations Department.

Keles, R. (1993) *Kent ve Siyaset Üzerine Yazılar [Writings on City and Politics]*. Istanbul: IULA-EMME.

Kienzle, M. (2016) 2012 Urban Planning in Kadikoy District of Istanbul, Turkey. Available from: https://participedia.net/case/4378 [Accessed: 28.04.2019].

Klijn, E.H. and Koppenjan, J.F.M. (2000) Politicians and Interactive Decision Making: Institutional Spoilsports or Playmakers, *Public Administration*, 78(2), pp.365–387.

Kocak, S.Y. and Eksi, A. (2010) Katılımcılık ve Demokrasi Perspektifinden Türkiye'de Yerel Yönetimler [From the Perspective of Participation and Democracy Local Governments in Turkey], *Suleyman Demirel University Journal of Social Sciences,* No:21, pp.295–307.

Kuyucu, T. and Unsal, O. (2010) 'Urban transformation' as State-led Property Transfer: An Analysis of Two Cases of Urban Renewal in Istanbul, *Urban Studies*, 47(7), pp. 1479–1499.

Lepeska, D. (2014) Istanbul's gentrification by force leaves locals feeling overwhelmed and angry. *The Guardian*, 2 July. Available from: https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2014/jul/02/istanbul-gentrification-force-locals-angry-luxury-hotels-turkey [Accessed: 13.08.2017].

LeRoux, K. (2009) Paternalistic or Participatory Governance? Examining Opportunities for Client Participation in Nonprofit Social Service Organizations, *Public Administration Review,* 69(3), pp.504–517.

Lilleker, D.G. (2003) Interviewing the Political Elite: Navigating a Potential Minefield, *Politics,* 23(3), pp.207–214.

Lindesmith, A.R., Strauss, A. and Denzin, N.K. (1999) *Social Psychology.* 8th ed. London: SAGE.

Lippmann, W. (1925) *The Phantom Public*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.

Lovering, J. and Turkmen, H. (2011) Bulldozer Neo-liberalism in Istanbul: The State-led Construction of Property Markets, and the Displacement of the Urban Poor, *International Planning Studies,* 16(1), pp.73–96.

Lowndes, W., Pratchett, L. and Stoker, G. (2001) Trends in Public Participation: Part 1 – Local Government Perspectives, *Public Administration*, 79(1), pp.205–222.

Mack, N., Woodsong, C., MacQueen, K.M., Guest, G. and Namey, E. (2005) *Qualitative Research Methods: A Data Collector's Field Guide.* North Carolina, US: Family Health International (FHI).

Maltepe Municipality (2018) Maltepe Urban Regeneration Policy: Model for Inclusive, Participatory, Bottom-up Approach. Available from: https://participate.oidp.net/processes/award2018/f/4/proposals/238?locale=en [Accessed: 24.07.2018].

Manin, B. (1997) *The Principles of Representative Government.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Marissing, E. van (2005) Citizen Participation in the Netherlands: Motives to Involve Citizens in Planning Processes. *ENHR Conference on "Housing: New Challenges and Innovations in Tomorrow's Cities"*, Reykjavik, Iceland, 29 June–3 July.

Mason, J. (2002) *Qualitative Researching*. 2nd ed. London: SAGE.

Mason, J. (2010) Sample Size and Saturation in PhD Studies Using Qualitative Interviews, *Forum: Qualitative Social Research,* 11(3), Art. 8. Available from: http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1428/3027 [Accessed: 13.03.2017].

Mason, J. (2018) Qualitative Researching. 3rd ed. London: SAGE.

May, T. (2011) *Social Research: Issues, Methods and Process*. 4th ed. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

McFarland, D.E. (1974) *Management: Principles and Practice.* 4th ed. New York: Collier Macmillan.

McLaverty, P. (2009) Is Deliberative Democracy the Answer to Representative Democracy's Problems - A Consideration of the UK's Governments Programme of Citizens' Juries, *Representation,* 45(4), pp.379–389.

Michels, A. and Graaf, L. de (2010) Examining Citizen Participation: Local Participatory Policy Making and Democracy, *Local Government Studies,* 36(4), pp.477–491.

Michels, A.M.B. (2006) Citizen Participation and Democracy in the Netherlands, *Democratization*, 13(2), pp.323–339.

Mill, J.S. ([1861] 2009) *Considerations on Representative Government*. Auckland, New Zealand: The Floating Press.

Miller, A. and Listhaug, O. (1999) Political Performance and Institutional Trust. IN: Norris, P. (ed.) *Critical Citizens. Global Support for Democratic Government.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.204–217.

Milliyet (2016) Keçiören'de Halk Günü Vatandaşın Ayağına Gidiyor [Public Meeting Brought to the People in Kecioren]. 13 October. Available from: http://www.milliyet.com.tr/kecioren-de-halk-gunu-vatandasin-ayagina-ankara-yerelhaber-1594231/ [Accessed: 02.05.2016].

Ministry of Interior (2005) *Regulation on the Voluntary Participation in Special Provincial Administration and Municipal Services.* Official Gazette, 09.10.2015 – Issue: 25961.

Ministry of Interior (2006) *Regulation on Citizens' Assembly*. Official Gazette, 08.10.2006 – Issue: 26313.

Mosca, G. ([1896] 1939) *The Ruling Class [Elementi di scienza politica]*. Translated from Italian by Hannah D. Kahn. New York and London: McGraw-Hill.

Moynihan, D.P. (2003) Normative and Instrumental Perspectives on Public Participation Citizen Summits in Washington, D.C., *American Review of Public Administration*, 33(2), pp.164–188.

Mutz, D. (2006) *Hearing The Other Side: Deliberative Versus Participatory Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Nilufer Municipality Citizens' Assembly (no date) Mahalle Komiteleri Nedir? [What are the Neighbourhood Committees?]. Available from: http://www.niluferkentkonseyi.org/komiteler.php [Accessed: 12.012.2018].

Nilufer Municipality (2013) Bozbey katılımcı bütçeyi anlattı [Bozbey on participatory budgeting]. Available from: http://www.nilufer.bel.tr/haber-1248-bozbey_katilimci_butcesi_anlatti [Accessed: 13.03.2016].

Nilufer Municipality (2017a) Başkan Burada karavanı 2017'de de mahallelerde ["Mayor is here caravan" keeps visiting neighbourhoods in 2017]. Available from: http://www.nilufer.bel.tr/haber-4193-baskan_burada_karavani_2017de_de_mahallelerde [Accessed: 24.06.2017].

Nilufer Municipality (2017b) Milletvekilleri Halk Evi'nde halkla buluşuyor [MPs meet public at People's House]. Available from: http://www.nilufer.bel.tr/haber-4839-milletvekilleri_halk_evinde_halkla_bulusuyor [Accessed: 24.08.2017].

Nilufer Municipality (2017c) Milletvekilleri Nilüfer'de halkla buluşuyor [MPs meet public in Nilufer]. Available from: http://www.nilufer.bel.tr/haber-4852-milletvekilleri_niluferde_halkla_bulusuyor [Accessed: 24.08.2017].

Nilufer Municipality (2017d) Başkan Bozbey'den öneri veren personele ödül [Mayor Bozbey rewards personnel for suggestions]. Available from: http://www.nilufer.bel.tr/haber-5109-baskan_bozbeyden_oneri_veren_personele_odul#PopupGoster[popup]/0/ [Accessed: 07.07.2018].

Nuhoglu, A. (2016) Kadıköy Belediyesi Ne Yapıyor? [What is Kadikoy Municipality doing?]. Interviewed for *Gazete Kadıköy*, 18 February. Available from: http://www.gazetekadikoy.com.tr/genel/kadikoy-belediyesi-ne-yapiyor-h8235.html [Accessed: 11.08.2017].

Olsen, W.K. (2004) Triangulation in Social Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Methods Can Really Be Mixed. IN: Haralambos, M. and Holborn, M. (eds.) *Developments in Sociology*. Ormskirk, UK: Causeway Press, pp.1–30.

Onis, Z. and Keyman, E.F. (2003) Turkey at the Polls: A New Path Emerges, *Journal of Democracy*, 14(2), pp.95–107.

Opdenakker, R. (2006) Advantages and Disadvantages of Four Interview Techniques in Qualitative Research, *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 7(4), Art. 11. Available from: http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/175/392 [Accessed: 13.03.2017].

Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) (2018) *Republic of Turkey Early Presidential and Parliamentary Elections 24 June 2018 Final Report*. Warsaw: Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) Election Observation Mission (EOM). Available from: https://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/turkey/397046?download=true [Accessed: 25.09.2018].

Ozaslan, R.K., Akilli, H. and Ozaslan, K. (2014) 6360 Sayılı Kanun Çerçevesinde Gümüşlük Belde Belediyesi'nin Kapatılmasına İlişkin Yöre Halkının Algısı [The Perceptions of the Local Residents About Dissolution of Gumusluk Sub-District Municipality within the Framework of Law no 6360], *Marmara University Journal of Economic and Administrative Sciences,* 36(2), pp.215–235.

Ozbudun, E. (2000) *Contemporary Turkish Politics: Challenges to Democratic Consolidation*. London: Lynne Rienner.

Ozdemir, A.T. (2011) Mahalli İdarelerde Halk Katılımı Bağlamında Kent Konseyleri [City Councils in Local Administrations in the Context of Citizen Participation], *Journal of Turkish Court of Accounts*, Vol.83, pp.31–56.

Ozdemir, E. and Eraydin, A. (2017) Fragmentation in Urban Movements: The Role of Urban Planning Processes, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 41(5), pp.727–748.

Pamuk, H. and Spicer, J. (2019) Turkey's Opposition Strikes Blow to Erdogan with Istanbul Mayoral Win. 24 June. Available from: https://www.reuters.com/article/us-turkey-election/turkeys-opposition-strikes-blow-to-erdogan-with-istanbul-mayoral-win-idUSKCN1TP04C [Accessed: 25.06.2019].

Papadopoulos, Y. (2003) Cooperative Forms of Governance: Problems of Democratic Accountability in Complex Environments, *European Journal of Democracy*, 42(4), pp.473–502.

Pareto, V. ([1916] 1935) *The Mind and Society [Trattato di sociologia generale]*. Translated from Italian by Andrew Bongiorno and Arthur Livingston. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company.

Pateman, C. (1970) *Participation and Democratic Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Patton, M.Q. (2002) *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods.* 3rd ed. London: SAGE.

Pierce, R. (2008) *Research Methods in Politics: A Practical Guide*. London: SAGE.

Polat, R.K. (2009) The 2007 Parliamentary Elections in Turkey: Between Securitisation and Desecuritisation, *Parliamentary Affairs,* 62(1), pp.129–148.

Rahat, G. and Shapira, A. (2017) An Intra-Party Democracy Index: Theory, Design and A Demonstration, *Parliamentary Affairs*, 70(1), pp.84–110.

Republic of Turkey Ministry of Interior (2019) *Civil Administration Divisions*. Available from: https://www.e-icisleri.gov.tr/Anasayfa/MulkiIdariBolumleri.aspx [Accessed: 20.03.2020].

Republican People's Party (RPP) (2018) *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi Tüzüğü [By-Law of the Republican People's Party]*. Available from: http://content.chp.org.tr/file/chp_tuzuk_10_03_2018.pdf [Accessed: 20.08.2018].

Richards, D. (1996) Elite Interviewing: Approaches and Pitfalls, *Politics*, 16(3), pp.199–204.

Riker, W.H. (1982) *Liberalism Against Populism: A Confrontation Between the Theory of Democracy and the Theory of Social Choice*. Long Grove, Illinois, US: Waveland Press.

Rosener, J.B. (1978) Citizen Participation: Can We Measure Its Effectiveness? *Public Administration Review*, 38(5), pp.457–463.

Rowe, G. and Frewer, L.J. (2000) Public Participation Methods: A Framework for Evaluation, *Science, Technology and Human Values*, 25(1), pp.3–29.

Rowe, G. and Frewer, L.J. (2005) A Typology of Public Engagement Mechanisms, *Science, Technology and Human Values*, 30(2), pp.251–290.

Rubin, B. and Heper, M. (2002) *Political Parties in Turkey*. London: Frank Cass.

Rubin, H.J. and Rubin, I.S. (2012) *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data*. 3rd ed. London: SAGE.

Ryan, R.M. and Deci, E.L. (2000) Self-determination Theory and the Facilitation of Intrinsic Motivation, Social Development, and Well-being, *American Psychologist*, 55(1), pp.68–78.

Sabah (2016) Üniversite Gençliği Deneyimlerini Paylaştı [University Youth Shared Their Experiences]. 18 October. Available from: https://www.sabah.com.tr/ankara-baskent/2016/10/18/universite-gencligi-deneyimlerini-paylasti [Accessed: 09.11.2016].

Sahin, S.Z. (2011) Kent Konseylerinin Katılımcı Kent Yönetimine Katkıları Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme: Ankara Örneği [An Evaluation on the Contribution of Citizens' Assemblies to Participatory City Management: The Case of Ankara]. IN: Keskin, E.B. (ed.) *Kent Konseyleri Sempozyumu Bildiri Kitabı [Proceedings of Citizens' Asseblies Symposium]*, Bursa Metropolitan Municipality Citizens' Assembly, 6–7 May 2011. Bursa: Bursa Metropolitan Municipality Citizens' Assembly, pp.173–188.

Sahin, S.Z. (2014) Belediyelerde Stratejik Tehlike! [Strategic Threat in Municipalities]. Available from: https://sehrekustu.blogspot.com/2014/07/belediyelerde-stratejik-tehlike.html [Accessed: 22.11.2017].

Sahin, T. (2018) Political Parties Contesting Turkey's June 24 Elections. *TRT World*, 29 May. Available from: https://www.trtworld.com/turkey/political-parties-contesting-turkey-s-june-24-elections-17795 [Accessed: 15.08.2018].

Sahinoglu, I. and Gorgun, C. (2017) Türkiye'de Yerel Katılımcı Politika Yapımı ve Belediyelerin Rolü [Local Participatory Policymaking and Role of Municipalities in Turkey]. IN: Guler, M. and Turan, A.M. (eds.) *Belediyelerin Geleceği ve Yeni Yaklaşımlar [The Future of Municipalities and New Approaches]*. Istanbul: Marmara Belediyeler Birliği [Marmara Municipalities Union] Kültür Yayınları, pp.113–124.

Savas-Yavuzcehre, P. (2016) The Effects of the Law No. 6360 on Metropolitan Municipality System in Turkey, *European Scientific Journal*, August (special ed.), pp.291–303.

Savut, E. (2011) Yerel Gündem 21 ve Kent Konseyleri ve Uşak Kent Konseyi [Local Agenda 21 Citizens' Assemblies and Usak Citizens' Assemly]. IN: Keskin, E.B. (ed.) *Kent Konseyleri Sempozyumu Bildiri Kitabı [Proceedings of Citizens' Asseblies Symposium]*, Bursa Metropolitan Municipality Citizens' Assembly, 6–7 May. Bursa: Bursa Metropolitan Municipality Citizens' Assembly, pp.343–363.

Sayari, S. (2002) The Changing Party System. IN: Sayari, S. and Esmer, Y. (eds.) *Politics, Parties, and Elections in Turkey*. London: Lynne Rienner, pp.9–21.

Scarrow, S. (2005) *Political Parties and Democracy in Theoretical and Practical Perspectives: Implementing Intra-Party Democracy*. Washington: National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI). Available from: https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/1951_polpart_scarrow_110105_5.pdf [Accessed: 19.01.2019].

Scarrow, S.E. (1999) Parties and the Expansion of Direct Democracy: Who Benefits? *Party Politics*, 5(3), pp.341–362.

Schattschneider, E.E. (1942) *Party Government*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Schumpeter, J.A. (1942) *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy.* London: Routledge.

Schwegmann, M. (2013) *Istanbul and the Grassroots: Civil Society Organisations, Local Politics and Urban Transformation*. PhD thesis, Technical University of Berlin. Available from: https://depositonce.tu-berlin.de/bitstream/11303/3874/1/Dokument_51.pdf [Accessed: 11.04.2018].

Sclove, R. (1995) *Democracy and Technology*. London: Guildford Press.

Scott, W.G. (1977) *Organisation Theory: A Structural Behavioral Analysis*. Homewood, Illinois, US: Richard D. Irwin Publishing.

Selcuk Dergi (2015) Demokratik yönetim anlayışının örneklerinin sergilendiği Kent Konseyi'nde beyin fırtınası esiyor [Brainstorming in the Citizens' Assembly exhibiting democratic understanding]. October. Available from: http://www.selcuk.bel.tr/Files/selcuk_dergi/Sel%C3%A7uk%20Dergi%20Ekim%202015.pdf [Accessed: 27.04.2016].

Selcuk Municipality (2014) Selcuk Kent Konseyi İlk Genel Kurulu Yapıldı [First General Meeting of Selcuk Municipality Citizens' Assembly Held]. Available from: http://www.selcuk.bel.tr/icerik/102/2535/selcuk-kent-konseyi-ilk-genel-kurulu-yapildi.aspx [Accessed: 27.04.2016].

Selcuk Municipality (2015) Selçuk Kent Konseyi 5. Genel Kurulu Yapıldı [5th General Meeting of Selcuk Municipality Citizens' Assembly Held]. Available from: http://www.selcuk.bel.tr/icerik/102/3781/selcuk-kent-konseyi-5-genel-kurulu-yapildi.aspx [Accessed: 27.04.2016].

Shaheen, K. (2018) Turkey Elections 2018: Everything You Need to Know. *The Guardian*, 18 June. Available from: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jun/18/turkey-elections-2018-everything-you-need-to-know [Accessed: 15.08.2018].

Smyth, R. (2008) NVivo (Software). IN: Given, L.M. (ed.) *The SAGE Encyclopaedia of Qualitative Research Methods*. London: SAGE, pp.563–565.

Stake, R.E. (2005) Qualitative Case Studies. IN: Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. (eds.) *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE, pp.443–466.

Stake, R.E. (2006) *Multiple Case Study Analysis*. London: Guildford Press.

Supreme Election Council of Turkey (2002a) 22nd Term Parliamentary General Elections Finalised Results: Number of Parliamentarians Won by Political Parties and Independents. Available from: http://www.ysk.gov.tr/doc/dosyalar/Ingilizce/ElectionResults/2002MV-milletvekilisayisi_en.pdf [Accessed: 15.08.2018].

Supreme Election Council of Turkey (2002b) 22nd Term Parliamentary General Elections Finalised Results Including Custom Votes, Distribution of Valid Votes to Political Parties and Independent Candidates and Ratios of this Distribution. Available from: http://www.ysk.gov.tr/doc/dosyalar/Ingilizce/ElectionResults/2002MV-gumrukdahil_en.pdf [Accessed: 15.08.2018].

Supreme Election Council of Turkey (2018a) Results of Presidency and 27th Parliamentary Elections: Number of Political Parties' Parliamentarians and Independents. Available from: http://www.ysk.gov.tr/doc/dosyalar/Ingilizce/ElectionResults/2018MV-96D_en.pdf [Accessed: 15.08.2018].

Supreme Election Council of Turkey (2018b) Regarding to Presidency and 27th Period
  Parliamentary Elections Held in 24th June 2018 Sunday: Parliamentarian Election
  Results Including Domestic, Overseas, and Customs Gates. Available from:
  http://www.ysk.gov.tr/doc/dosyalar/Ingilizce/ElectionResults/2018MV-96C_en.pdf
  [Accessed: 15.08.2018].

Svensson, P. (2007) Direct and Representative Democracy - Supplementing, not Excluding
  Each Other. *ECPR Joint Sessions*, Helsinki, Finland, 7–12 May. Available from:
  https://ecpr.eu/Filestore/PaperProposal/3cfd4868-3887-4fd0-94bf-
  267becd23995.pdf [Accessed: 12.11.2017].

Tansey, O. (2007) Process Tracing and Elite Interviewing: A Case for Non-Probability
  Sampling, *Political Science and Politics*, 40(4), pp.765–772.

Torcal, M. (2014) The Decline of Political Trust in Spain and Portugal: Economic
  Performance or Political Responsiveness, *American Behavioral Scientist,* 58(12),
  pp.1542–1567.

Trading Economics (2020a) Turkey Corruption Rank. Available from:
  https://tradingeconomics.com/turkey/corruption-rank [Accessed: 10.06.2020].

Trading Economics (2020b) Turkey Corruption Index. Available from:
  https://tradingeconomics.com/turkey/corruption-index [Accessed: 10.06.2020].

Transparency International Turkey (2015) *Corruption in Turkey: Why? How? Where? (The
  Result of Public Opinion Survey)*. Available from: http://www.seffaflik.org/wp-
  content/uploads/2015/03/Corruption-in-Turkey_Public-Opinion-Survey-Results.pdf
  [Accessed: 29.11.2018].

Transparency International Turkey (2016) *Corruption in Turkey: Why? How? Where? (The
  Result of Public Opinion Survey)*. Available from: http://www.seffaflik.org/wp-
  content/uploads/2016/03/ENG_Uluslararas%C4%B1-%C5%9Eeffafl%C4%B1k-
  Derne%C4%9Fi-Yolsuzluk-Ara%C5%9Ft%C4%B1rmas%C4%B1-ENG.pdf
  [Accessed: 29.11.2018].

Transparency International Turkey (2017) *Türkiye'de Yolsuzluk: Yasalar, Uygulamalar ve Riskli Alanlar [Corruption in Turkey: Legislation, Enforcement and Areas of Risk]*. Available from: http://www.seffaflik.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/T%C3%BCrkiyede-Yolsuzluk.pdf [Accessed: 29.11.2018].

Tritter, J.Q. and McCallum, A. (2006) The snakes and ladders of user involvement: Moving beyond Arnstein, *Health Policy*, 76(2), pp.156–168.

TRT World (2018a) Turkish political parties set up electoral alliances. 3 May. Available from: https://www.trtworld.com/turkey/turkish-political-parties-set-up-coalitions-17166 [Accessed: 15.08.2018].

TRT World (2018b) Turkey elections 2018: Understanding the political parties. 23 June. Available from: https://www.trtworld.com/turkey/turkey-elections-2018-understanding-political-parties-18224 [Accessed: 15.08.2018].

Turan, M., Guler, S. and Guler, M. (2013) Belediye Yönetimine Katılım Bakımından Stratejik Planların Değerlendirilmesi [Evaluation of Strategic Plans in Terms of Participation to Municipality Administration], *Suleyman Demirel University the Journal of Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences*, 18(2), pp.241–267.

Turkish Statistical Institute (TurkStat) (2019) Population of Provinces by Years (2000-2019). Available from: http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=temelist [Accessed: 10.02.2020].

Turkmen, A. (2016) *The Institutional Design of Intra-Party Democracy Through Legal Instruments: Turkish Case.* PhD Thesis, University of Westminster. Available from: https://westminsterresearch.westminster.ac.uk/download/38c6663473a63d77bfa3c7115a8404f3807e290772468f94daeb8dd5929f39b2/2351813/Turkmen_Ali_thesis.pdf [Accessed: 17.04.2018].

Ulusoy, A. and Tekdere, M. (2015) Kent Konseylerinin Mali Kısıtları [Financial Constraints of the City Councils], *Erzincan University Journal of the Institute of Social Sciences*, 8(2), pp.175–190.

Uras, U. and Chughtai, A. (2018) Turkey election: All you need to know about the June 24 polls. *Al Jazeera*, 24 June. Available from: https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/interactive/2018/06/turkey-elections-june-24-polls-180611104841735.html [Accessed: 15.08.2018].

VanderMey, R., Meyer, V., Van Rys, J. and Sebranek, P. (2011) *The College Writer: A Guide to Thinking, Writing, and Researching.* 4th ed. Boston: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning.

Vanderstoep, S.W. and Johnston, D.D. (2009) *Research Methods for Everyday Life: Blending Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Varol, O. (2014) *Public Management Reform Experience of Turkey: Effective Factors on the Administrative Reform Process of Turkey in the Period of 1980–2010.* PhD Thesis, University of Southampton. Available from: https://eprints.soton.ac.uk/377154/1/Corrected_PhD%2520Thesis_OsmanVAROL_10March2015.pdf [Accessed: 02.12.2017].

Webb, E.J., Campbell, D.T., Schwartz, R.D. and Sechrest, L. (1966) *Unobtrusive Measures: Non-reactive Research in the Social Sciences*. Chicago: Rand McNally.

Wouters, M., Hardie-Boys, N. and Wilson, C. (2011) *Evaluating Public Input in National Park Management Plan Reviews: Facilitators and Barriers to Meaningful Participation in Statutory Processes*. Wellington, New Zealand: Department of Conservation. Available from: https://www.doc.govt.nz/Documents/science-and-technical/sfc308entire.pdf [Accessed: 12.12.2018].

Yalcintan, M.C. and Erbas, A.E. (2003) Impacts of "Gecekondu" on the Electoral Geography of Istanbul, *International Labor and Working-Class History*, Vol.64, pp.91–111.

Yang, K. and Callahan, K. (2007) Citizen Involvement Efforts and Bureaucratic Responsiveness: Participatory Values, Stakeholder Pressures, and Administrative Practicality, *Public Administration Review,* 67(2), pp.249–264.

Yanik, M. (2007) Parti İçi Demokrasi Açısından Aday Belirleme Yöntemleri [Candidate Selection Methods in terms of Intra-Party Democracy], *Erzincan University Faculty of Law Journal*, XI (3–4), pp.185–206.

Yavuz, S. and Aktasci, G. (2018) *Kent Konseyleri El Kitabı [Handbook of Citizens' Assemblies]*. Available from: http://kentkonseyleribirligi.org.tr/raporlar/kent-konseyleri-ve-pratikleri/ [Accessed: 22.04.2019].

Yeasmin, S. and Rahman, K.F. (2012) 'Triangulation' Research Method as the Tool of Social Science Research, *BUP Journal*, 1(1), pp.154–163.

Yeni Asir (2014) Selçuk'ta Kent Konseyi kuruluyor [Citizens' Assembly will be established in Selcuk]. 8 September. Available from: http://www.yeniasir.com.tr/kenthaberleri/2014/09/09/selcukta-kent-konseyi-kuruluyor [Accessed: 27.04.2016].

Yeni Asya (2015) Uluslararası yapılan araştırmaya göre "en az" kime güveniyoruz? [International research: Who do we trust the least?]. 28 September. Available from: http://www.yeniasya.com.tr/dunya/uluslararasi-yapilan-arastirmaya-gore-en-az-kime-guveniyoruz_359895 [Accessed: 22.12.2016].

Yin, R.K. (2003) *Case Study Research, Design and Methods*. 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE.

Yin, R.K. (2014) *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. 5th ed. London: SAGE.

Zengin, O. (2014) Büyükşehir Belediyesi Sisteminin Dönüşümü: Son On Yılın Değerlendirmesi [The Transformation of the Metropolitan Municipality System: An Assessment of the Last Decade], *Ankara Bar Association Journal*, 72(2), pp.91–116.