

**T.C.
ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY OF
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS**



**INTERNATIONALIZATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND THEIR
CONTRIBUTION IN MAKING FOREIGN POLICY**

MASTER OF ARTS THESIS

**Ümit ASLAN
SUA 08003**

Supervisor: Associate Professor Ramazan KURTOĞLU

ISTANBUL, 2012



T.C.
İSTANBUL AYDIN ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ

Tezli Yüksek Lisans Tez Onay Belgesi

Enstitümüz SİYASET BİLİMİ VE ULUSLAR ARASI İLİŞKİLER Anabilim Dalı, SİYASET BİLİMİ VE ULUSLAR ARASI İLİŞKİLER Yüksek Lisans Programı SUA08003 numaralı öğrencisi ÜMİT ASLAN' nın "INTERNATIONALIZATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION IN MAKING FOREIGN POLICY" adlı tez çalışması Enstitümüz Yönetim Kurulunun 09.11.2012 tarih ve 2012/26 sayılı kararıyla oluşturulan jüri tarafından *Ayhanlı* ile Tezli Yüksek Lisans tez olarak *Kabul* edilmiştir.

Öğretim Üyesi Adı Soyadı

İmzası

Tez Savunma Tarihi: 14.11.2012

1) Tez Danışmanı

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Ramazan
.....

Kurt oğlu

2) Jüri Üyesi

Prof. Dr. Güneri
.....

Akalin.

3) Jüri Üyesi

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Ercüment
.....
İstemi

[Handwritten signatures]
.....
.....

PREFACE

I would like to thank Associate Professor Ramazan KURTOĞLU who is my thesis advisor, for his helpful feedbacks, help and inspiration. Also, I would like to to acknowledge and extend my heartfelt gratitude to him, for his vital encouragement and support, and for his understanding and assistance for her editorial comments.

Ümit ASLAN

September 2012, Istanbul

CONTENTS

| | |
|--|----|
| PREFACE | I |
| CONTENT | II |
| LIST OF TABLES | IV |
| LIST OF FIGURES | V |
| SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS | VI |
| ÖZET | 1 |
| ABSTRACT | 3 |

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

| | |
|------------------------------|---|
| 1. INTRODUCTION | 5 |
|------------------------------|---|

CHAPTER II

THE GLOBALIZATION CONCEPT AND ITS HISTORICAL PROGRESS AND PROGRESS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

| | |
|--|----|
| 2.1. DEFINITION AND CONCEPT OF GLOBALIZATION | 8 |
| 2.1.1. Political Globalization | 10 |
| 2.1.2. Socio-Cultural Globalization..... | 11 |
| 2.1.3. Economic Globalization..... | 13 |
| 2.2. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT AND PROGRESS OF GLOBALIZATION 15 | |
| 2.2.1. Local Governments in Middle Age | 16 |
| 2.2.2. Industrial Revolution and Local Governments | 19 |
| 2.2.3. Local Governments in 20 th Century..... | 21 |
| 2.3. TRADITIONAL AND MODERN APPROACHES RELATED WITH LOCAL GOVERNMENTS | 24 |
| 2.3.1. Classic Liberal Local Government Approach..... | 24 |
| 2.3.2. Marxist Approach | 25 |
| 2.3.3. Local Government Approach of Neo-Liberalism..... | 36 |
| 2.3.4. Local Government in Modern Governance Approach | 28 |
| 2.3.5. New Governance Approach | 28 |
| 2.3.6. Governance and Local Government | 30 |

| | |
|---|-----------|
| 2.4. LOCAL GOVERNMENTS WHILE THE GLOBALIZATION PROCESS.... | 32 |
| 2.4.1. Decentralization..... | 34 |

CHAPTER III

FOREIGN POLICY AND CONTRIBUTION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

| | |
|---|-----------|
| 3.1. INCREASING IMPORTANCE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS | 37 |
| 3.2. FORMATION PROCESS OF FOREIGN POLICY | 40 |
| 3.3. LOCAL GOVERNMENTS IN THE WORLD..... | 42 |
| 3.4. INTERNATIONALIZATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS..... | 44 |
| 3.5. ACTORS IN THE INTERNATIONALIZATION PROCESS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS | 46 |
| 3.6. DECENTRALIZATION OF COOPERATION..... | 47 |
| 3.6.1. Definition of Decentralized Cooperation..... | 47 |
| 3.6.2. Decentralized Cooperation Areas..... | 48 |

CHAPTER IV

DEMOCRACY AS AN AREA FOR COOPERATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS ON THE BASE OF INTERNATIONAL

| | |
|--|-----------|
| 4.1. EXTENTION OF DEMOCRACY TO THE BASE THROUGH CONTRIBUTION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS | 50 |
| 4.1.1. How Local Government Make Contribution To Extention Of Democracy To The Base | 51 |
| 4.1.2. Actors of Local Government for Extention of Deomocracy..... | 54 |
| 4.1.3. International Actors and Areas..... | 56 |
| 4.1.4. Activities of Local Governments in Turkey for This Purpose..... | 58 |
| 4.1.5. EU and Democratization Projects in Turkey..... | 66 |
| 4.1.6. EU Democratization Projects and Local Governments in Turkey | 71 |
| CONCLUSION..... | 79 |
| REFERENCES | 84 |
| VITAE..... | 90 |

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1. Paradigm Shifts from the Cold War to the Age of Globalization

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 3.1. Simultaneous actions: The “Cities of the Millennium” Campaign

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|-------|---|
| AKP | Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (Party of Justice and Development) |
| CBO | Community Based Organizations |
| CNN | Cable News Network (A Private TV Channel) |
| C2C | City-To-City Cooperation |
| CSDP | Civil Society Development Programme |
| EEC | European Economic Committee |
| EIDHR | European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights |
| EU | European Union |
| FDI | Foreign Direct Investments |
| FIRE | Finance, Insurance, Real Estate |
| GDP | Gross Domestic Product |
| GEII | Global Economic Internationalisation Index |
| IKV | Iktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı (Economic Development Foundation) |
| IULA | International Union of Local Authorities |
| LSP | Local Strategic Partnership |
| MDG | Millennium Development Goals |
| NGO | Nongovernmental Organizations |
| PPP | Public/Private Partnership |
| PVO | Private Voluntary Organizations |
| SMSA | Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area |
| UCLG | United Cities and Local Governments |

| | |
|------------|--|
| UK | United Kingdom |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNACLA | United Nations Committee of Local Authorities |
| UNCTAD | United Nations Conference on Trade and Development |
| UN-HABITAT | United Nations Human Settlements Program |
| US | United States |
| UTO | United Tows Organization |
| YÖK | Yükseköğretim Kurulu (The Council of Higher Education) |

YEREL YÖNETİMLERİN ULUSLARARASILAŞMASI VE DIŞ POLİTİKA YAPIMINA KATKISI

ÖZET

Küreselleşme, gelişmiş dünyanın herhangi bir yerinde yaşanan ekonomik, sosyal, kültürel ve siyasal olayların dünyanın başka toplumları üzerinde de etkili olduğu ve toplumlar arasındaki karşılıklı bağımlılığın giderek arttığı bir süreci ifade etmektedir.

Teknolojik devrim ve uygulanan neo liberal politikalar sonucunda kentleşme ve küreselleşme süreçleri, günümüz ulus-devletinin nitelik ve yapısını ve yerleşik dünya düzeninin işleyiş ve biçimlenmesini değiştirmektedir.

Tarihsel süreçte daha çok geleneksel devlet aygıtının bir alt yönetsel kademesi olarak algılanan ve temel işlevi, kamusal hizmetlerin ölçek ekonomisi ve etkin kaynak kullanımı amacıyla halka en yakın yönetim birimlerince yürütülmesini sağlamak olan yerel yönetimler, demokrasinin gelişme sürecinde halkın yönetime katılmasının önem kazanması ile, demokratik yönetimin temel birimleri olarak nitelendirilmeye başlanmıştır. Son dönemlerdeki gelişmeleri ile işlevsel ve niteliksel bir dönüşüm içerisine giren bu kuruluşlar, küreselleşme ile birlikte ekonomik, sosyal ve özellikle siyasal boyutlarıyla farklı bir konumlandırmaya tabi tutulmaktadır.

Kentsel alanların ekonomik, siyasal ve sosyo-kültürel gelişmede sahip oldukları stratejik konumları, uluslararası arenada da giderek artan bir etkinliğe sahip olmalarına yol açmaktadır. Uluslararası gündem maddeleri, giderek artan oranda yerel olguları da kapsamaktadır.

Yerel yönetimlerin kendi aralarındaki uluslararası örgütlenmeleri gün geçtikçe güçlenmekte, uluslararası kuruluşların yerel yönetim ilgisi de aynı şekilde artmakta ve sonuç olarak küreselleşme ile yerel yönetimler ulusal ve uluslar arası ölçekte yeniden konumlandırılmaktadır.

Bu çalışmada yerel yönetimlerin globalizme paralel olarak uluslararasılaşması ve dış politika üzerine etkileri ele alınmış ve Avrupa Birliği bağlamında Türkiye'deki gelişmeler incelenmiştir. Çalışmanın giriş bölümü sonrasındaki ikinci bölümünde yerel yönetimlerin tarihsel gelişimine, globalleşme ve yerel yönetim ilişkisine, işlevsel ve niteliksel dönüşüm sürecine ve bununla ilgili analize yer verilirken, üçüncü bölümde yerel dinamiklerin dış politika yapımına katkıları ve yerel yönetimlerin uluslararası alanda daha fazla yer almaları ve

yerinden yönetim kavramının doęu incelenmektedir. alıřmanın dördüncü bölümünde ise yerel yönetimlerin demokratikleřme sürecine katkıları ile bu bağlamda Türkiye’de yerel yönetim-demokratikleřme iliřkisi ve Avrupa Birlięinin Türkiye’de destekledięi demokratikleřme projelerine yer verilmektedir.

INTERNATIONALIZATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION IN MAKING FOREIGN POLICY

ABSTRACT

The globalization has the meaning of a process, which any economic, social, cultural and political matters occur in anywhere in the developed and globalized world have affects over other communities of the world and it cause to increase at the interrelations between the communities more and more.

As the result of technological revolution and applied neo liberal policies, the urbanization and globalization processes change the operation and shaping of characteristics and structure of today's nation-states and the operation and shaping of the current world order.

The local governments, which were mostly perceived as one of low administrative level of the traditional state apparatus and its main function is to provide conducting the public services by means of the management unit which is closest to the community in order to achieve scale economy and efficient use of resources, has been begun to be assumed and named as the fundamental units of democratic government together with the increasing importance of the participation of the community in government. These foundations, which have entered in a functional and qualitative transformation process with their development lived in recent periods, are being subject to a different positioning regarding their economic, social and political dimensions together with the globalization.

The strategic positions of urbanized areas that have over economic, political and socio cultural developments cause them to have a more and more increasing effectiveness at international arena. The international agenda items increasingly include also local issues.

The organization of the local government among them goes from strength to strength with each passing day and the interest of international organizations in local governments increase accordingly and as the result of this process, the local governments are being positioned again in the national and international scales together with the globalization.

The internationalization of the local governments in parallel to the globalization and their affects over foreign affairs are discussed and the developments in Turkey are analyzed in scope of the European Union membership process. Following the introduction part of the

study, the historical development of local governments, relation between globalization and local governance, functional and qualitative transformation process and the analyses related with this issue are given place in second chapter and contributions of local governments in foreign policy making and local governments' occupying more place at international arena and arising of decentralization are analyzed in third chapter. And in the fourth chapter, the contributions of local governments in the democratization process and relation between the democratization and local government in Turkey within this scope and the democratization projects in Turkey supported by European Union are given place.

CHAPTER I

1. INTRODUCTION

In today's world, it is known that the influence of a city goes far beyond the political and administrative boundaries of its geographic or fiscal territory. That local governments establish relations with other countries is not new. After all, the first states were actually city-states, and town-twinning has existed since the first half of last century.

It is important to remark that the foreign action of a local government has not always been necessarily determined by the international context. The existence of a foreign action in the city depends upon decisions adopted at local level. This means that, unlike states, local governments can deliberately and discretionally decide whether or not to establish international relations.

What is new today is the unprecedented expansion of international relations at the local level and the multiple cooperation modes and mechanisms created. Over the past few years, terms such as "world cities" or "global cities" have gone beyond merely conceptual denominations to become an explicit political objective of those local leaders who wish to place their city "on the world map" (Garesche, 2007: 18).

In the last twenty years, and especially in the last decade, a far-reaching global public policy network has rapidly developed to promote democracy worldwide, especially in those countries that became more democratic during the "Third Wave" of democratization. Between 1974 and 1999, more than forty countries experienced transitions from some form of authoritarian rule to more democratic systems.

The democracy promotion policy network responded to, and helped shape, this unprecedented wave of regime change. In sum, the recent wave of transitions to democracy has been characterized by a symbiotic embrace between internal forces within countries demanding more access to political power and the external international network that has worked to facilitate and improve open elections and multiparty politics. This combination of domestic demand for more democracy and international promotion of participatory governance accounts for the dramatic growth in new democracies around the world despite some setbacks and failures in particular instances.

The network of actors mobilized in support of democracy promotion includes the governments of major states and their aid agencies, international organizations, international financial institutions, multilateral donors, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) with global programs, region and countryspecific NGOs, and philanthropic organizations. In contrast to other networks in this volume, for profit private sector actors have not been directly or extensively involved in this network although in many countries the business community has been a strong advocate of good governance and greater accountability (Sisk, 2000: 2).

Cities and local governments play a fundamental role in the development process. Local level policies influence living conditions in a very important way and in the last decades, cities have contributed to spread the decentralisation process throughout the world. In particular, cities and local governments are taking over more and more responsibility for their own development: in addition to their traditional competencies in the field of public services and utilities, most cities are starting to face the new challenges of local development, strategic planning, employment, environment and promotion of a better quality of living.

Presently, more than one billion people live in slums and inner cities. If the present trend continues, this number could rise by above 2 billion by 2030. The urbanization of poverty and social exclusion is one of the most alarming trends of the 21st century. It is estimated that 72 percent of the urban population in Africa, 37 percent in Asia and 26 percent in Latin America live without adequate shelter, clean water or sanitation. While these figures average about 6 percent in developed countries, inner-city neighborhoods persistently maintain levels of unemployment, school dropout rates and violence significantly above national averages. In both cases the consequences include urban decay, pollution and loss of economic opportunity and productivity (Local Governments And International Development Co-Operation: A European Survey On Strategies And Policies, UN-HABITAT, Best Practices Seville Centre For City-To-City Co-Operation, May 2006).

Contribution of local governments in promotion of democracy and support of development in Turkey is became the main issue especially following the European Union membership process has started. It is also very important regarding the adaptation of our country to the European standards.

In this study following the presentation of brief, but detailed information over the concepts of globalization, progress and internationalization of local governments and decentralization of

cooperation, the subject was tried to be analyzed regarding the conditions of local governments in Turkey. Also adaptation process of Turkey into European Union and democratization projects in the country became other criteria in this study.

CHAPTER II

THE GLOBALIZATION CONCEPT AND ITS HISTORICAL PROGRESS AND PROGRESS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

2.1. DEFINITION AND CONCEPT OF GLOBALIZATION

People around the globe are more connected to each other than ever before. Information and money flow more quickly than ever. Goods and services produced in one part of the world are increasingly available in all parts of the world. International travel is more frequent. International communication is commonplace. This phenomenon has been titled as "globalization" (Globalization: What is it?, about.com.: US Foreign Policy, <http://usforeignpolicy.about.com/od/trade/a/whatisgz.htm>, Accessed on 18 June 2010).

Globalisation is an overarching ‘mega-trend’, which will increasingly shape the world during the next decades. It will sustain world economic growth, raise world living standards, and substantially deepen global interdependence. At the same time, it will generate enormous economic, demographic, environmental, energetic, cultural, security and consequently political convulsions. Although the overall benefits are expected to be positive, the net benefits of globalisation will not necessarily be global.

The term of globalization is defined at wikipedia as below:

“Globalization (or globalisation) describes a process by which regional economies, societies, and cultures have become integrated through a global network of communication, transportation, and trade. The term is sometimes used to refer specifically to economic globalization: the integration of national economies into the international economy through trade, foreign direct investment, capital flows, migration, and the spread of technology. However, globalization is usually recognized as being driven by a combination of economic, technological, socio-cultural, political, and biological factors. The term can also refer to the transnational circulation of ideas, languages, or popular culture through acculturation” (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Globalization>, Accessed on 11 June 2010).

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the word “globalization” was first employed in 1930, to denote a holistic view of human experience in education. An early description of globalization was penned by the American entrepreneur-turned-minister Charles Taze Russell

who coined the term “corporate giants” in 1897, although it was not until the 1960s that the term began to be widely used by economists and other social scientists. The term has since then achieved widespread use in the mainstream press by the later half of the 1980s. Since its inception, the concept of globalization has inspired numerous competing definitions and interpretations, with antecedents dating back to the great movements of trade and empire across Asia and the Indian Ocean from the 15th century onwards (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Globalization>, Accessed on 11 June 2010).

Joseph Stiglitz, an economist and winner of the Nobel Prize defines Globalization as follows:

“Globalization is the closer integration of the countries and peoples of the world ...brought about by the enormous reduction of costs of transportation and communication, and the breaking down of artificial barriers to the flows of goods, services, capital, knowledge, and people across borders”.

Thomas Friedman, political reporter for the New York Times, defines Globalization in terms of PARADIGM SHIFTS. We can compare the contemporary world to the world of the Cold War prior to the fall of Communism (1989). The following is a partial list of contrasts derived from Thomas Friedman's book *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*.

Table 2.1. Paradigm Shifts from the Cold War to the Age of Globalization

| Paradigm Shifts from the Cold War to the Age of Globalization | |
|--|---|
| Cold War | Globalization |
| Division | Integration (of nations, markets and technologies) |
| the Wall | the Web |
| 8% of world's countries have free markets | 28% of world's countries have free markets |
| Different cultures | Global culture |
| Weight (megatons) | Speed (megabits) |
| Power of nations | Power of individuals, markets |

Source: Friedman, Thomas L., (2000), *The Lexus and The Olive Tree; Understanding Globalization*, Anchor Books, A Division of Random House Inc, Newyork.

2.1.1. Political Globalization

The concept of globalization refers to the multidimensional, accelerated and interconnected organization of space and time across national borders. Specifically with respect to political globalization it concerns an approach to the social world that stresses postnational and transnational processes as well as a consciousness of the compressed nature of space and time.

Political globalization has been much discussed in the globalization literature where the emphasis has been on the decline of the nation-state under the impact of global forces, which have created different kinds of politics arising from, on the one hand, the development of transnational networks and flows, and, on the other, processes of de- and re-territorialization. For some, processes of political globalization open up new emancipatory possibilities, while for others globalization leads to a loss of autonomy and the fragmentation of the social world.

The approach to political globalization highlights the multifaced nature of globalization, which is best seen as a relational dynamic rather than a new kind of reality. Political globalization, can be understood as a tension between three processes which interact to produce the complex field of global politics: global geopolitics, global normative culture and polycentric networks.

“Political globalization” is used to mean the creation of a world government which regulates the relationships among governments and guarantees the rights arising from social and economic globalization. Politically, the big countries have enjoyed a position of power among the world powers, in part because of its strong and wealthy economy. With the influence of globalization and with the help of their economy, these states have experienced some tremendous growth within the past century (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Globalization>, Accessed on 11 June 2010).

The globalization of democratic politics has been the basis of the so-called ‘new world order’ that has been associated with the bid for world-wide supremacy by the United States and the legitimation of global wars, from the Gulf War to the invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq. Despite the rise of the United States as a global power, global geopolitics is not, as it is often portrayed to be, a *Pax Americana*, or what Carl Schmitt called a new ‘Nomos of the Earth’, a western world order (Schmitt, 2003). The United States will not be able to establish global

supremacy and will be challenged by many centres of power – centres that are mostly states. Thus, the first dimension of political globalization is the geopolitics of global power.

2.1.2. Socio-Cultural Globalization

Socio-Cultural globalization is the rapid traversing of ideas, attitudes and values across national borders. This sharing of ideas generally leads to an interconnectedness and interaction between peoples of diverse cultures and ways of life. The term “globalization” came to be widely used in the 1980s, but as early as the 1960s, Marshall McLuhan popularized the term “global village” to describe the effect that the ability to connect and exchange ideas instantaneously would bring to the world (<http://www.wisegeek.com/what-is-cultural-globalization.htm> Accessed on 11 June 2010).

It is important to note that, like economic globalization, this “globalization of values” has a long history linked to the aspirations of international civil society. Its most recent manifestation is the formation of a “global civil society” whose capacity for mobilization and the exchange of information has been multiplied by the new information and communications technologies. The history of this society dates back to the liberal internationalism that emerged in the wake of the American and French revolutions in the late eighteenth century, which was spelled out most clearly in the French revolution’s Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. As is well known, these values strongly influenced the independence movements in Latin America and the Caribbean, which began when the Haitian revolution broke out in 1791 as a direct consequence of the French revolution.

Whereas the civil and political rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted within the United Nations are rooted in the liberal movements of the late eighteenth century, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights is a product of the social movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; their chief political manifestation has been the International Socialist Organization in its successive forms. In addition, feminist internationalism had a decisive influence, throughout the twentieth century, on the recognition of women’s equal rights, while environmental internationalism has played a major role since the 1960s in incorporating sustainable development principles into national and international agendas (from Stockholm in 1972 to the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, and the subsequent series of

global environmental conventions). The emergence of ethnic internationalism in recent decades is the latest chapter in this long history of international civil society movements.

Mass media and communication technologies are the primary instruments for cultural globalization. Global news services such as CNN disseminate the same events and issues across the world including some of the most remote locations in the world. This internationalization of news exposes countries to foreign ideas, practices, and lifestyles. The development of computer technology — with its social networking sites, video sharing websites, blogging sites and various other permutations — has served to accelerate cultural globalization as there are no boundaries on the World Wide Web. Advances in transportation have also facilitated physical travel to other countries, which in turn, has encouraged cross-cultural exchanges.

Cultural globalization is perhaps best exemplified by pop culture. The youth in Aruba dance pretty much as the ones in Kyrgyzstan and in Norway. Chinese animé is watched in Chicago, and Mexican soap operas are lapped up by viewers in Manila. The newest release of a musical group is rapidly disseminated worldwide through a variety of video sharing websites. Personalities achieve global pop icon status through the same means.

The proponents of cultural globalization point to the benefits that the exchange of knowledge and information can bring. Foremost among its proponents is big business. The more cultural homogeneity that is attained, the easier it is for businesses to sell their products globally. Certain goods such as Coca Cola® and McDonald's® burgers are sold the world over. Many brand names are just as coveted in Madras as in New York. Economic globalization goes hand in glove with cultural globalization. Thus, it is sometimes pointed out that cultural globalization is more Corporation-driven than country-driven.

The detractors of cultural globalization bewail its deleterious effects on national identities. They note the vanishing of unique cultural entities. Cultural diversity, they lament, is rapidly diminishing; cultural distinction is dissipating and cultural integrity, disintegrating. They bemoan the threat of dominant, industrialized cultures overtaking and supplanting indigenous cultures (<http://www.wisegeek.com/what-is-cultural-globalization.htm> Accessed on 11 June 2010).

In recent years, the long history of social movements has taken on a new dimension: the effort to preserve the identity of peoples and social groups that feel threatened by the tendency

towards cultural homogeneity imposed by globalization. This “right to be different” is interrelated in various ways with human rights in the traditional sense, which highlight the equality of citizens, both among themselves and with the State. Thus at the global level, equality and identity are interrelated in quite complex ways.

Globalization simultaneously undermines and fosters cultural diversity. Indeed, whole segments of the world population feel that their unique histories and the values that govern their communities are under threat. At the same time, however, globalization builds closer relationships among different cultural traditions and ways of life, and promotes a plurality of interpretations of the global order.

2.1.3. Economic Globalization

Economic globalization refers to increasing economic interdependence of national economies across the world through a rapid increase in cross-border movement of goods, service, technology and capital. It is the process of increasing economic integration between countries, leading to the emergence of a global marketplace or a single world market. Depending on the paradigm, globalization can be viewed as both a positive and a negative phenomenon (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Globalization>, Accessed on 11 June 2010).

Economic globalization comprises the globalization of production, markets, competition, technology, and corporations and industries. Whilst economic globalization has been occurring for the last several thousand years (since the emergence of trans-national trade), it has begun to occur at an increased rate over the last 20–30 years. This recent boom has been largely accounted by developed economies integrating with less developed economies, by means of foreign direct investment, the reduction of trade barriers, and the modernization of these developing cultures (Joshi, 2009).

International trade is the cross-border trade in goods and services. On these pages, it is measured by the sum of imports and exports, divided by the GDP of a national economy. The growth of international trade is a straightforward indication of economic globalization. When US residents, for example, read labels on their clothes showing they are made in China, Malaysia or Mexico, or decide to purchase a car made in South Korea, their sense of global connectedness is immediate.

Investment is the conversion of money into some form of property from which an income or profit is expected to be derived. *Foreign direct* investments (FDI) are flows of money into a country that purchase a lasting stake in an enterprise for a foreign investor. These investments are direct in the sense that the investor purchases ownership rights in a specific company, rather than in a portfolio of stocks held by a broker, say. FDI does not include short-term investments, portfolio investments or currency flows.

Foreign Direct Investment is an indication of growing transnational ownership of production assets. It is a leading edge of economic globalization in the sense that increasing foreign ownership of productive may give direct influence over livelihoods and production. The implications of foreign ownership of production may include both positive and negative elements, depending on the perspective of the observer. Foreign investment has often been an important avenue for the transfer of skills and technology. At the same time, foreign investment puts workers under foreign control, and leads to foreign appropriation of profits.

With the rise of a global trading system at the time of European colonial expansion, a 'colonial division of labor' emerged in which developing countries exported primary products, agriculture and minerals, while Europe and North America exported manufactured goods. The structure of world trade has begun to change since World War II and particularly in the last three decades. Important characteristics of current global trade patterns now include:

- 75 % of the world's exports are from developed countries, while only 25% are from developing ones;
- developed countries export mainly manufactured goods: 83% of their total, 62% of all world exports;
- developing countries also export more manufactured goods than primary products: 56% of their total, 14% of world exports;
- more primary products are exported by developed countries than by developing countries: 14% of world exports, compared with 11% (Sutcliffe 2001: 71-75; UNCTAD 1999a).

A country's share in the world export market represents one measure of its participation in the world economy and its purchasing power of imports. Although most developing countries

increased their share of exports during the 1990s, the increase was highly uneven. The following describes major changes in trade patterns:

- from 1950 to 1970: developed countries gained in the share of total world exports, and developing countries lost;
- in the 1980s and 1990s: a group of developing countries in East Asia significantly increased their manufactured exports, and this increased their share of the world trade
- Latin America's share fell substantially from 1950 through 1990, and then began to increase slightly
- Exports from West Asia and North Africa fell since 1980, due to declining petroleum prices.
- There has been a historic decline in the exports of the Sub-Saharan continent. Its share of the world total has dropped from over 3 per cent in 1950 to barely 1 per cent in 1996. This has been largely due to the fact that Africa has not basically changed the products it exports, and that the prices of these products have tended to fall. (Sutcliffe 2001: 76).

2.2. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT AND PROGRESS OF GLOBALIZATION

The contemporary process of internationalization dates back to the emergence of capitalism in Europe in the late Middle Ages, the new scientific and cultural thinking embodied by the Renaissance and the establishment of the great European nations and their empires. The expansion of capitalism is the only historical phenomenon to have been truly global, albeit incomplete, in scope. To a greater extent than other parts of the developing world, the history of Latin America and the Caribbean has been strongly influenced by this phenomenon ever since the late fifteenth century.

Modern historians distinguish a number of stages in the last 130 years of globalization which, with a few adaptations, will be employed here. The first phase, from 1870 to 1913, was marked by great capital and labour mobility, together with a trade boom which was the result of dramatically reduced transport costs rather than of free trade. This phase of globalization

was cut short by the First World War. As a result, in the 1920s it was impossible to resume the trend of previous years, and in the 1930s the globalization process was openly reversed.

The second phase, after the Second World War, a new stage of global integration began. This period consisted of two entirely different phases. The watershed events of the early 1970s that marked the changeover from the first to the second included the disintegration of the macroeconomic regulation regime established in 1944 in Bretton Woods, the first oil crisis, the increasing mobility of private capital - intensified by the first two phenomena— and the end of the “golden age” of growth in the industrialized countries (Marglin and Schor, 1990).

If the early 1970s are taken as the turning point, then an earlier phase of globalization can be identified, which lasted from 1945 to 1973. This period was characterized by a major effort to develop international institutions for financial and trade cooperation and by a significant expansion of trade in manufactures between developed countries.

It was also marked by widely varying models of economic organization and limitations on the mobility of capital and labour. The final quarter of the twentieth century ushered in a third phase of globalization, with the gradual spread of free trade, the growing presence on the international scene of transnational corporations operating as integrated production systems, the expansion and notable mobility of capital and a shift towards the standardization of development models. At the same time, restrictions on the movement of labour persisted.

2.2.1. Local Governments in Middle Age

After the fall of Rome, Europe fell into a period of disorder and chaos due to the lack of law and decrease in trade. The fall of Rome results to;

- Europe had no central government and had not wide spread laws of justice system,
- Decline of trade because of no central government: lack of law, poor roads, no usage of Money
- Decline in formal learning.

Charlemagne has united Italy Spain, France, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Belgium and Holland. He has spreaded Christianity into these countries and was named the First Holy Roman Emperor in 800 A.D. and created a strong central government for the first time since

Rome, spreaded Christianity to conquered lands and attempted to create a united Christian Europe and also spreaded education. After the death of Charlemagne, Europe fell into a period of chaos and disorder.

Because the fall of Rome and death of Charlemagne left Europe with no strong central government, Europe fell into a period of confusion and chaos. Invasions of Europe has been seen and taken place from all directions (Bozlaşan ve Demirkaya, 2008: 122).:

- Vikings – From the north (Scandinavia)
- Magyars – from central Asia
- Muslim pirates – attached costal regions along the Mediterranean Sea.

Additionally the nobility of Europe were constantly attacking each other in an attempt to gain power, wealth and land. The system of justice was gone because the laws of Rome were gone. Often matters were decided by Trial by Ordeal physical tests to prove ones guilt or innocence.

Also, Feudalism – A political/social/economic system in Europe during the Middle Ages which provided local government and prevented social mobility and Manorial System – Self-sufficient economic system in the Middle Ages where land was the main source of wealth instead of Money or trade.

As an example for the development of local governments in Europe while the medieval age, we may analyse the progress of them in England:

The Saxons laid The foundations of English government system. The Saxons divided England into shires. (The Normans called them counties). Each shire was divided into areas called hundreds. (Originally a hundred was one hundred families or one hundred hides, the amount of land needed to support a family). Hundreds were abolished in 1867. Each shire was ruled by a noble called an Ealdorman (elder man). The Saxons also had a council called the Witangemot or Witan made up of great nobles and senior clergymen. The Witan had considerable power.

In the Middle Ages the king ruled by divine right. In other words people believed that God had chosen him to be king and rebellion against him was a sin. Kings had limited power in the

Middle Ages and rebellion was easy. A great deal depended on the personality of the king. If he was a strong character he could control the barons. If he were weak or indecisive the barons would often rebel. Warrior kings who fought successful wars were the most powerful as they were popular with the nobility.

King John (1199-1216) alienated many of his subjects. They claimed that he ruled like a tyrant ignoring feudal law. He was accused to extorting money from people, selling offices, increasing taxes and creating new ones whenever he wished. Matters came to a head after John tried to recapture his lost lands in France in 1214 but failed. The baron's patience was exhausted. Finally in 1215 civil war broke out. In June 1215 John was forced to accept a charter known as Magna Carta at Runnymede. The charter was meant to stop the abuses. It stated that the traditional rights and privileges of the church must be upheld. It also protected the rights and privileges of the aristocracy. Merchants who lived in towns were also mentioned. However ordinary people were overlooked.

However Magna Carta did uphold an important principle. English kings could not rule arbitrarily. They had to obey English laws and English customs the same as other men. Furthermore Magna Carta laid down that no free man could be arrested, imprisoned or dispossessed without the lawful judgment of his peers or without due process of law.

Henry III began to rule in 1227 and he soon alienated the barons by ignoring their traditional rights and privileges. Worse, in 1254 the pope was fighting in Sicily. Henry III offered to fund the pope's wars if the pope agreed to let his son, Edmund, become king of Sicily. The pope agreed but Henry failed to provide the promised money. In 1258 he turned to his barons for help. They were infuriated by his scheming and refused to do anything unless Henry agreed to a new charter known as the provisions of Oxford.

At first Henry reluctantly agreed but in 1260 he renounced the provisions. Civil war resulted and in 1264 rebels led by Simon de Monfort defeated and captured the king at the battle of Lewes. They also captured his eldest son Edward. Simon de Monfort called a parliament made up of representatives from each county and each borough. It was the first English parliament. However Edward escaped and in 1265 he defeated the barons at the battle of Evesham in Worcestershire. Edward I called the model parliament in 1290. As well as lords it contained 2 knights from each shire and 2 representatives of each borough.

In the Middle Ages most towns were given a charter by the king or the lord of the manor. It was a document granting the townspeople certain rights. Usually it made the town independent and gave the people the right to form their own local government.

In the 16th century the parish became the basis of local government. The leading figure was an appointed magistrate called the Justice of the Peace. In the 16th century the power of the monarchy increased. During the Middle Ages the barons held castles, which were very difficult to capture so it was easy for them to rebel. Cannons changed all that. (Guns were invented in the 14th century and they gradually became more efficient)(Bozlağan ve Demirkaya, 2008: 123).

Henry VII also strengthened government by creating the Court of Star Chamber (so called because it met in a room with stars painted on the ceiling). The court dealt with “unlawful maintenance, giving of licences, signs and tokens, great riots, unlawful assemblies”. The Court of Star Chamber was abolished in 1641.

The 17th century was dominated by the struggle between king and parliament. The question was: “Who was the ultimate authority in the land?”. King James I (1603-1625) believed in the divine right of kings. In other words God had chosen him to rule. James was willing to work with parliament but he believed *ultimate* authority rested with him.

2.2.2. Industrial Revolution and Local Governments

The Industrial Revolution was a period from the 18th to the 19th century where major changes in agriculture, manufacturing, mining, and transport had a profound effect on the socioeconomic and cultural conditions starting in the United Kingdom, then subsequently spreading throughout Europe, North America, and eventually the world. The onset of the Industrial Revolution marked a major turning point in human history; almost every aspect of daily life was eventually influenced in some way.

Starting in the later part of the 18th century there began a transition in parts of Great Britain’s previously manual labour and draft-animal-based economy towards machine-based manufacturing. It started with the mechanisation of the textile industries, the development of iron-making techniques and the increased use of refined coal. Trade expansion was enabled by the introduction of canals, improved roads and railways. The introduction of steam power fuelled primarily by coal, wider utilisation of water wheels and powered machinery (mainly in

textile manufacturing) underpinned the dramatic increases in production capacity. The development of all-metal machine tools in the first two decades of the 19th century facilitated the manufacture of more production machines for manufacturing in other industries. The effects spread throughout Western Europe and North America during the 19th century, eventually affecting most of the world, a process that continues as industrialization. The impact of this change on society was enormous ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Industrial Revolution](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Industrial_Revolution), Accessed on 11 June 2010).

Progress in technology and in industrial development has been almost continuous since the Industrial Revolution began. Since 1900, and particularly since World War II, industry and technology have advanced at an ever-increasing rate. In a sense, the revolution that began around 1750 has never ended.

The term industrial revolution was originated by J. A. Blanqui, a 19th-century French economist. The term came into popular use after Arnold Toynbee, a British economist, published the book *The Industrial Revolution* in 1884.

The Industrial Revolution brought masses of people from the country to the city. It led to higher standards of living, as inexpensive manufactured goods came on the market. It increased trade between nations. On the other hand, the revolution, in its early days, brought exploitation of workers; slums; and great suffering as a result of periodic unemployment.

The wonders of modern science are a result of the Industrial Revolution, but so are the horrors of modern war. The Industrial Revolution brought on the rise of capitalism, socialism, and communism. Labor unions, social legislation, government regulation—all are outgrowths of the Industrial Revolution.

With the decline of feudalism and the growth of the cottage system of manufacturing, small-scale farming declined in importance. Enclosure Acts made it possible for the wealthy to buy up scattered strips of land formerly farmed by villagers and to consolidate them into large holdings. Many villagers had to turn to the cities to seek work (Bozlağan ve Demirkaya, 2008: 124).

During the first part of the Industrial Revolution, the government policy was *laissez faire* (noninterference in business and industry). Britain's Parliament was dominated by aristocrats and capitalists, who benefited from cheap labor. Protests about the plight of working people

were so great by the end of the 18th century, however, that Parliament was forced to act. The first two Factory Acts (1802 and 1819) were designed to regulate the employment of children. Since no enforcement procedure was set up, however, the laws were not observed.

From 1811 to 1816 a group of workers called Luddites staged a series of riots protesting unemployment caused by the introduction of machines. The demands for political and social reform, coming from many quarters, became so insistent that Parliament at last took action. In 1832 a Reform Bill was passed that gave increased parliamentary representation to the new industrial cities. This marked the beginning of a reform era in which the principle of government regulation for the welfare of the people was accepted by most British leaders.

2.2.3. Local Governments in 20th Century

Structure in Europe in 20th century is generally multitier. In Federal Germany below the state-level Länder are commonly found two tiers of local government: the upper-tier Kreise and the lower-tier municipalities. Regionalized states such as Italy, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, and France echo such arrangements by having three levels of local government: the region; provinces or counties; and communes as the lower-tier basic authority. By contrast, many Scandinavian countries, Britain, and many of its former colonies eschew three-tier local government for two. In Britain the structure developed after 1888 was based upon lower-tier district authorities and upper-level county (in England and Wales) or regional (in Scotland after 1972) authorities. In the 1990s, debate in Britain reintroduced the idea of having only one tier of local government. In England some cities, and concise county areas with strong senses of community such as Rutland and the Isle of Wight, were given single-tier authorities, whilst other larger county areas retained two tiers. From 1996, the whole of Scotland and Wales was divided into single-tier authorities. Conversely, 2000 two-tier local government for London was restored with the creation of the Greater London Authority to oversee strategic functions, above a lower tier of metropolitan boroughs. In the United States, beneath the state level there is one common tier of local government—the county—but the existence of a second tier of municipalities is piecemeal, entirely dependent upon petitioning by local residents. Often a state will have two-tier local government in some mainly urban areas but only one-tier local government in other mainly rural areas. Furthermore, specific functions such as education, responsibility for which has been concentrated in the tiered local government structure in Europe, have usually been placed under single-purpose elected local bodies in US states.

Organization of the elected executive in local government varies primarily between the mayoral system and the committee system. In the former, long found in France and the United States, a mayor is most frequently separately elected as the political leader of a council (in some smaller US cities, the mayor is a figurehead and the city is run by an unelected 'city manager'). In the latter, previously seen in the UK and Sweden, councillors are elected who then make decisions by committee. 2000 the United Kingdom introduced arrangements by which most local authorities could either be run by directly elected mayors, by elected mayors with an unelected city manager, or by a party group nominated mayor leading a cabinet. Other non-executive councillors took on purely scrutiny and representative functions. Only in small authorities with a population of 85,000 or less could the committee system continue. Historically, development of council workforces was based upon the building up of large functionally defined departments of permanent staff. However, since the 1980s, local bureaucracies have begun to be broken up in preference for the public contraction of work privately supplied.

Local government's role in the political system has been considered primarily in terms of its relationship with central government. Observers from a liberal democratic standpoint have stressed two bases upon which such relationships have been formulated since the nineteenth century. First, local government has been considered important to the encouragement of political education and participation, and the basis upon which services could be provided according to local needs. Hence, relationships with the centre have been based on the partnership of free democratic institutions. Secondly, local government has been seen as rational from an administrative point of view as it allows for the efficient provision of public services at the point of service need under the direction of the centre. On this basis local government is seen as the agent of central government. France may be taken to typify the stress on both bases for the development of local government. Political participation has been maintained through the strong community identity underpinning commune local government, and a strong relationship between the operations of local government and the interests of the state has been maintained through the office of departmental prefect. Britain's leaning towards the utilitarian administrative efficiency purpose of local government is reflected in the fact that even its lowest-tier authorities may have bigger populations than some other countries' county/province level authorities (<http://www.answers.com/topic/local-government>, Accessed on 12 June 2010).

Since the 1970s fiscal stress and changes in approaches to government have forced a reconsideration of relationships. Central governments have sought to control local government finance and expenditure, and where the community basis for local government has been weak, as in Great Britain, this has extended to the control of service policies. At the same time, in most countries the role of local government has been increasingly cast as that of the buyer of services on behalf of the public that can be provided best on a competitive basis by the private sector, and as a local governing institution which, having been overburdened, should have its responsibilities slimmed. Local government has also lost many responsibilities to non-elected local quangos, created or encouraged by central government, so much so that the local political arena has increasingly been conceptualized as local governance, in which local government is reduced to the status of one player among many (<http://www.answers.com/topic/local-government>, Accessed on 12 June 2010).

On the European mainland where local government is strongly territorially based, and in North America and Scandinavia where there is a greater concern to reinvent government than to privatize it, continued autonomy for local government will remain, perhaps not in the role of providing services directly, but in defining the local needs which other providers must meet. In contrast, British local government during the 1980s and 1990s followed a model in which it was expected to diminish into a contractor of services within a straitjacket of regulations imposed by central government. The Blair Government after 1997 offered a continental style community leadership role, symbolized in the granting of a general competence power for the first time 'to promote the economic, social and environmental well-being of their area'. It also changed the duty of councils to that of achieving best value in local services, in which private contraction was only one option and not imposed. The practical capability to assert local leadership and discretion nevertheless remained dependent upon improvements in local service delivery and a willingness to work with a range of local partners. Indeed the implications of failure became more serious as central inspection multiplied and a local council that did not meet centrally set standards could see the wholesale removal of such services as local schools to a private contractor (<http://www.answers.com/topic/local-government>, Accessed on 12 June 2010).

2.3. TRADITIONAL AND MODERN APPROACHES RELATED WITH LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

From the early 19th century, two trends have dominated the political participation landscape in western democracies. One of those trends has been the expansion of the franchise to include previously excluded categories of residents. The other trend has been the evolution of institutions that control access to political power such as political parties, interest groups, and entrenched bureaucracies. Further, the expansion of the franchise and the growth in population has reinforced the Federalists arguments for a republican form of government with elected representatives making decisions and citizens relegated to voting or other forms of participation such as public hearings, forums, petitions, protests, and service on volunteer boards, commissions, or similar types of activities. Political parties and other institutions for engaging citizens are very focused upon engineering majorities and minimizing the costs (especially time) associated with too much direct involvement. Government institutions are likewise reluctant to bear the costs associated with widespread engagement activities. Thus, the role of the citizen as an engaged partner in the governing process has been supplanted by governing through positional and organizational leaders who are bound by rules, procedures and traditions that leaves governing to the “experts.” (Lacy and Gibson, 2002). Citizens play a secondary role in setting agendas, developing budgets, implementing programs, or evaluating outcomes. Further, citizens have only minimal information about the details of the public's business except in an episodic manner often caused by some news story that focuses national, state, or local attention on an issue. The result in the minds of many citizens is that a wide gulf exists between the expectations associated with democratic theory and the practice of democracy in community governance.

2.3.1. Classic Liberal Local Government Approach

According to Andrew Heywood, who is the writer of “Politics”, the central theme of classical liberalism is a commitment to an extreme form of individualism. Human beings are seen as egoistical, self-seeking and largely self-reliant creatures. They are taken to be the proprietors of their own persons and capacities, owing nothing to society or to other individuals. This atomist view of society is under-pinned by a belief in “negative” liberty, meaning noninterference, or the absence of external constraints upon the individual. This implies a deeply unsympathetic attitude towards the state and all forms of government intervention (Heywood, 2007: 47).

In accordance with this approach, the state is a “necessary evil”. It is necessary in that, at the very least, it establishes order and security and ensures that the contracts are enforced. However it is evil in that it imposes a collective will upon society, thus limiting the freedom and responsibilities of the individual. The classic liberal ideal is therefore the establishment of a minimal or “nightwatchman” state, with a role that is limited to the protection of citizens from the encroachments of fellow citizens.

The liberal conceptualization of local governments was introduced mainly by John Stuart Mill (Güler, 2006: 48). The liberal tradition have brought considerably different approaches to the local government. Besides the liberal understandings, which assume the local government as in the characteristics of a local business and a part of civil community, but not a part of the state and because of that promote the idea that the local governments are required to be autonomous and self-governing against the state as the individuals and private institutions are, also it is possible to see the point of view, which promote the idea of integrating the local government to the central government and evaluate and assume them as a local extension, foundation or unit of it (Köse, 2004: 21).

2.3.2. Marxist Approach

As a theoretical system, Marxism has constituted the principal alternative to the liberal rationalism that has dominated western culture and intellectual enquiry in the modern period. As a political force, in the form of international communist movement, Marxism has also been seen as the major enemy of western capitalism, at least in the period of 1917-1991. This highlights a central difficulty in dealing with Marxism: the difference between Marxism as a social philosophy derived from the classic writings of Karl Marx and Fredrich Engels (1820-1995), and the phenomenon of the twentieth-century communism, which in many ways departed from and revised classical principles. Thus the collapse of communism at the end of the twentieth century need not betoken the death of Marxism as a political ideology; indeed, it may give Marxism, now divorced from the vestiges of Leninism and Stalinism, a fresh lease of life (Heywood, 2007: 55).

The elements of Marxism are as seen below;

- Historical materialism: The cornerstone of Marxist philosophy is what Engels called “the materialist conception of history”. This highlighted the importance of economic life and the conditions under which people produce and reproduce their

means of subsistence. Marx held that the economic “base”, consisting essentially of the “mode of production”, or economic system, conditions or determines the ideological and political “superstructure”.

- Dialectical change: Following Hegel, Marx believed that the driving force of historical change was the dialectic, a process of interaction between competing forces those results in a higher stage of development.
- Alienation: Alienation was a central principle of Marx’s early writings. It is the process whereby, under capitalism, labour is reduced to being a mere commodity, and work becomes a depersonalized activity.
- Class struggle: The central contradiction within a capitalist society arises from the existence of private property. This creates a division between the bourgeoisie or capitalist class, the owners of the “means of production”, and the proletariat, who do not own property and thus subsist through selling their labour (literally “wage slaves”).
- Surplus value: The relationship between the bourgeoisie and proletariat is one of the irreconcilable conflict, reflecting the fact that the proletariat is necessarily and systematically exploited under capitalism.
- Proletarian revolution: Marx believed that capitalism was doomed, and that the proletariat was its “grave digger”. However, in his later years, he speculated about the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism (Heywood, 2007: 56).

The Marxist local government approach has been assumed mainly as a mean of dissolving the bourgeois institutions through the “dual power” and in the later approaches the local governments have been evaluated as the units enable the proletariat to be established (Yıldırım, 1993: 33). Practically the socialist states couldn’t have reached a distinctive result, which may constitute an alternative for the Western model regarding the local governments (Güler, 1998: 106). Except some approaches such as “uneven development theory” not so many local government theories have been developed (Şengül 2001: 56–58).

2.3.3. Local Government Approach of Neo-Liberalism

Neoliberalism is an updated version of classical political economy that was developed in the writings of free-market economist such as Friedrich Hayek and Milton Freedman and philosophers such as Robert Nozick. The central pillars of neoliberalism are the market and individual. The principal neoliberal goal is to “roll back the frontiers of the state”, in the belief that unregulated market capitalism will delive efficiency, growth and widespread prosperity (Heywood, 2007: 52).

In this view, the “dead hand” of state saps initiative and discourages enterprise; government, however well intentioned, invariably has a damaging effect upon human affairs. This is reflected in the liberal New Right’s concern with the politics of ownership, and its preference for private enterprise over state enterprise or nationalization: in short, “private, good; public, bad”.

The “nanny state” is seen to breed a culture of dependence and to undermine freedom, which is understood as freedom of choice in the marketplace. Instead, faith is placed in self-help, individual responsibility and entrepreneurialism. Such ideas are widely seen to be advanced through the process of globalization (Heywood, 2007: 52).

The collapse of the economic system applied until 1970s has caused to the research for new economic models at international arena (Cooper, 1987). Following this period new liberalization policies have been begun to be stated and applied, beyond classical approach. The economical discourse of new period has showed itself in the political area also and received place in the litterateur: Neo-liberalism.

Beginning with early 1980s, entrepreneurial and competition centered local economic policies have become the main topic of the conversation on a large scale in the urban systems of developped countries (Harvey, 1989: 3–17). Significant increases at the investments performed by multinational companies in the developing and underdeveloped countries during this period draw the attention.

Against the lumbering structure of the central government, the most effective discourse related with the operation of new order forms around the concept of “governance” (Schneider, 1999; Palabiyık, 2004: 63-85). According to this discourse, the effective, participative and transparent local governments are required to be organized as autonomous units, which are independent from the central government and in cooperation with NGOs and private sector.

Together with the European Charter of Local Self Government adopted by European Council and “Universal Declaration of Local Governments” accepted at the annual world congress of IULA-International Union of Local Authorities made in 1985, the governments, which have signed the Charter of Local Self Government are required to accept the local self government principle by means of their legislations and constitutional laws. At both European Charter of Local Self Government and Universal Declaration of Local Governments, it was accepted that the local governments have the right to establish “Unions” in order to use their authorities, protect and support their common benefits and provide specific services to its members (Ünlü, 1994: 4–5). Together with these developments, subsidiarity increases its importance and local self-government is called as including this concept in EU.

2.3.4. Local Government in Modern Governance Approach

For a long period before 1997, the reforms in local government approach all appeared to be focused on reducing the power and central role of local authorities, both in their democratic leadership of their communities and in being the first point of contact between citizens and government. The changes since 1997 have seen more reforms but, 10 years on, these are seen to be leading somewhere, stages on a journey that could take local government back to a point of local leadership, co-ordination, and direction. In their individual ways these reforms are frequently difficult to understand, and each has a life cycle that initially seems to introduce a very demanding target, which, after incorporation, provides the platform for the next state of change (Morphet, 2008: xi).

As a result of their response to this unremitting change, local authorities are now seen to be leaders of cultural transformation and improvement in the public sector. According to modern local governance approach, local authorities still have much to do but are more confident about how to set about change and how to assess its impact on people’s lives.

2.3.5. New Governance Approach

We can see the critical points for the new governance approach in the words of Tony Blair, at his speech made on 24th February 2004, as seen below;

"The principal challenge is to shift focus from policy advice to delivery. Delivery means outcomes. It means project management. It means adapting to new situations and altering rules and practice accordingly. It means working not in traditional

departmental silos. It means working naturally with partners outside of Government. It's not that many individual civil servants aren't capable of this. It is that doing it requires a change of operation and of culture that goes to the core of the Civil Service". (Tony Blair, speech on 24th February 2004).

The programme for the “modernization” of local government began in England in 1997 when Labour government took power, beside the other European countries in the same period. The incoming government had a full change for local government, which was based both on concerns and its potential as the direct deliverer of 80% of all public services. Under previous Conservative administrations, local government had been increasingly directed from central government with ever-larger proportions of their budgets “passported” by central departments, directed towards the achievement of specific targets notably in social services and education. This inevitably produced a tight financial squeeze on other public services, such as roads, parks, planning and environmental protection, which frequently now bracketed together as the “liveability” agenda. The public also increasingly expressed concerns that local authorities were not responsive to local people and that they had a culture that was not adequately focused on performance related to their needs (Morphet, 2008: 5).

In 1997, this wide reform agenda for English local government was pulled together as a programme to modernise local government and, as the local government minister commented in 2004, this has been a 10-year Project of radical change, not incremental tinkering. The government quickly published a series of white papers and other consultation reports, which were soon followed by the Local Government Act 1999 and the Local Government Act 2000. These acts, which covered different elements of the modernisation agenda, were directed to;

- ensure that councils’ political decision-making process are efficient, transparent and accountable;
- continuously improve the efficiency and quality of the services for which they are responsible;
- actively involve and engage the community in local decisions;
- have the powers they need to work with other bodies to ensure that resources are deployed to improve the well-being of their areas.

All of these approaches have had an important underlying influence on the relative relationship between central and local states. The dominant thesis emerging is that the centre is too large and that without devolving responsibility to the local level, democratic engagement will be further reduced while the national economy will fail to grow at the levels required to be competitive. These are very significant changes and are unprecedented in the history of central-local relationships. They have influenced policy making for local government since 1997 and continue to do so.

The range and pace of change in local governance has been extensive since 1997 with further changes in the pipeline on funding, sub-local authority governance structures, joint procurement, and joint public service delivery boards being proposed across local geographies. The reform of local government since 1997 in the United Kingdom and its reflections in other European countries is significant and is understood as such by those in other countries, although in the United Kingdom it is often regarded as a series of piecemeal initiatives. These reforms combine into a significant and strategic framework for the future (Morphet, 2008: 7).

2.3.6. Governance and Local Government

Governance arrangements in the public services are closely scrutinised and sometimes criticised. Significant governance failings attract immense attention and one significant failing can taint a whole sector. Local authorities are big business employing large number of people and accounting for approximately 25% of public spending. They are vitally important to all tax payers and citizens. Local authorities have a key role in leading their communities as well as ensuring the delivery of high quality services to them. Good governance structures enable an authority to pursue its vision effectively as well as underpinning that vision with mechanisms for control and management of risk.

Effective local government relies on public confidence in elected councillors and appointed officers. Good governance strengthens credibility and confidence in public services. The function of governance is to ensure that authorities, other local government organisations or connected partnerships fulfil their purpose and achieve their intended outcomes for citizens and service users and operate in an effective, efficient, economic and ethical manner. This concept should guide all governance activity. Good governance leads to good management, good performance, good stewardship of public money, good public engagement and,

ultimately, good outcomes for citizens and service users. All authorities should aim to meet the standards of the best and governance arrangements should not only be sound but be seen to be sound (www.cipfa.org.uk/pt/consultations.cfm. Accessed on 20 June 2010).

Increasingly, local authorities work with and through a range of organisations and partnerships in order to deliver services and enhance local prosperity. Partnerships are regarded as an essential part of the pattern of public service provision. Working in partnership can bring many benefits that public bodies could not achieve by other means. Local authorities have a key role in the Government's agenda for partnership working, such as through creating shared services (a public-public partnership) or through the creation of public/private partnerships (PPPs). Local authorities are expected to take a lead in developing Local Strategic Partnerships (LSPs) – umbrella partnerships comprising all sectors of society (public, private, community, voluntary) with the objective of working together to improve the quality of life in a particular locality. However, partnership working brings governance challenges. A one-size-fits-all approach to governance is inappropriate. Governance arrangements must be proportionate to the risks involved. In future it is likely that authorities will be less concerned with direct service delivery and more with commissioning and regulation, influencing behaviour and supporting their communities. Community leadership may become the most important feature of local governance.

Good governance means:

- Focussing on the purpose of the authority and on outcomes for the community including citizens and service users and creating and implementing a vision for the local area
- Members and officers working together to achieve a common purpose with clearly defined functions and roles
- Promoting the values of the authority and demonstrating the values of good governance through behaviour
- Taking informed and transparent decisions which are subject to effective scrutiny and managing risk

- Developing the capacity and capability of members to be effective and ensuring that officers – including the statutory officers - also have the capability and capacity to deliver effectively
- Engaging with local people and other stakeholders to ensure robust local public accountability (www.cipfa.org.uk/pt/consultations.cfm. Accessed on 20 June 2010).

2.4. LOCAL GOVERNMENTS WHILE THE GLOBALIZATION PROCESS

Local government around the world has been undergoing a process of change over the last ten or twenty years, in parallel to the globalization process. Much of this process is the result of external changes over which individual local governments have had little influence: increasing economic independence; the process of internationalization; changing Technologies; or the fall of communism in Eastern Europe, for example.

Some external change would be the consequence of changes taking place within the nation-state: the privatization of state services; restructuring the local government system; changing inter-governmental relations. Some changes are political, in the partisan sense, as when political control changes in a municipality, while others might be social: widening social segregation in cities; growth in drug related crime, for example. And some will be generated from within local governments themselves, be they processes of delayering, privatization, and contracting out of services; attempts at improving customer care and citizen relationships; or whatever. The changing nature of the modern state and of the society it serves has had inevitable consequences for elected governments (Andrew and Goldsmith, 1998: 101-117).

While globalization process, especially since 2001 local government has been subject to continued reform intended to improve local accountability and engagement. These are challenging as well as exciting times for local authorities as the change agenda continues. The community local government White Paper, the Lyons Inquiry into local government, the introduction of new electoral systems in Scotland in 2007, the Beecham review of public services in Wales and the restructuring of local government in Northern Ireland will result in a period of significant upheaval for councils across the UK. Also, in England, the drives for higher performance, increased efficiency and the emphasis on the role of political and managerial leadership have remained key but at the same time the Government's agenda for local government and the Lyons Inquiry have contributed to a debate on the very purpose of

modern local government (www.cipfa.org.uk/pt/consultations.cfm. Accessed on 20 June 2010).

All of these are just a few examples of the process of economic globalization and economic interdependence, all having consequences for local governments. There have been winners and losers, and the literature has stressed the idea of the innovative, renewable, sustainable city, perhaps overstressing the idea in terms of the sustained successful adaptation of cities. Cities have come to recognise that they need to be internationally competitive in the world economy, and nobody wants to be second-class in the competition.

In North America and Western Europe, as well as in parts of Third World, there has been a considerable growth in the role played by local governments in terms of local economic development. While one might argue such “economic boosterism” has always played a major role in North American cities, certainly in Western Europe, with its older and stronger development of the welfare state, economic development has become a much more recent concern, even if in some countries it reflects a return to earlier nineteenth-century interests (Andrew and Goldsmith, 1998: 101-117).

But in this context of economic globalization it is important to bear in mind the extent of political change taking place. While there is no world governments which is capable of exerting some degree of regulation over the economic changes, a number of changes are worth nothing. First there is the increasing role of UN as a peacekeeping enforcer in different parts of the world. Second, there are a number of important emerging or established international or regional groupings. The European Union is the most politically formalized of such groupings.

Such developments, together with the economic changes, raise doubts about the continued importance of the nation-state and its ability to regulate activities within its boundaries. Within Europe, one should also notice the rise of so-called meso or regional level, not only within European Union, where countries such as France, Spain, and Italy have strengthened the intermediate tier; in other countries with nationalist pressures operating at the regional level (Basques and Catalans in Spain; Flemish and Walloons in Belgium; Welsh and Scottish in the United Kingdom); but also in countries outside the EU, such as the former Yugoslavia, where the regions have made themselves felt, often claiming nation-state status if not achieving it (Andrew and Goldsmith, 1998: 101-117).

2.4.1. Decentralization

Before entering into the substance of arguments for and against decentralization, it is important to review the various meanings which the word has been given by both authors and the governments that implement it. Because such a discussion becomes very quickly an exercise in taxonomy, it is useful to proceed as succinctly as is prudent. As alluded to above, the word "decentralization" is more a semantic umbrella beneath which are gathered many and different concepts than it is an analytically precise term.

Perhaps the best general definition of decentralization is by Rondinelli, et. al.:

“The transfer of responsibility for planning, management, and resource-raising and allocation from the central government to;

- field units of central government ministries or agencies;
- subordinate units or levels of government;
- semi-autonomous public authorities or corporations;
- area-wide regional or functional authorities; or
- NGOs/PVOs (Rondinelli, et al., 1981).

Bennet (1990) highlights a useful distinction between two general decentralizing thrusts: *intergovernmental decentralization*, which involves transfers of authority, responsibility, power and resources downward among different levels of government, and *market-based decentralization*, where these are transferred from governments to the market and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). Each category embraces numerous specific strategies for transferring functions. Wolman (in Bennet, 1990) delineates three types of decentralization: *political decentralization*, *administrative decentralization*, and *economic decentralization* (though admitting that there is no clear distinction between the first two).

Decentralization must be understood as the devolution by central (i.e. national) government of specific functions, with all of the administrative, political and economic attributes that these entail, to local (i.e. municipal) governments which are independent of the center and sovereign within a legally delimited geographic and functional domain.

The intellectual case for decentralization originates in the most basic arguments concerning democratic government and the effective representation of citizens' interests, to which economic arguments based on efficiency have been added more recently. Political philosophers from the 17th and 18th centuries, including Rousseau, Mill, de Tocqueville, Montesquieu, and Madison distrusted autocratic central government and held that small, democratic units could like ancient Athens preserve the liberties of free men. In several of the Federalist Papers, Madison theorized about the prevention of tyranny via a balance of powers not only among the branches of central government, but between central and regional and local governments as well (Faguet, 1997:6).

The modern case for decentralized government is well represented by Wolman (in Bennet, 1990). Wolman groups his arguments concerning decentralization under two main headings: Efficiency Values and Governance Values. *Efficiency Values* comprise the public choice justification for decentralization, where efficiency is understood as the maximization of social welfare. Wolman contrasts the provision of public goods with the market for private goods. Within the private economy, individual preferences are expressed through a market mechanism which facilitates continuous signaling between supply and demand via prices. The nature of public goods, however, is such that competitive markets will not provide them (Faguet, 1997:6).

When public goods are provided, tax and service packages should reflect as accurately as possible the aggregated preferences of community members. However, because individual preferences for public goods differ, there will be some divergence between the preferences of individual community members and the tax and service packages reflecting the aggregated community preferences. It is likely that the average divergence of individual preferences from the tax and service package adopted by the community through its government will be less in small communities of relatively like-minded individuals than it will be in larger, more heterogeneous areas. [...Allocative] efficiency and social welfare are thus likely to be maximized under highly decentralized political structures (Bennet, 1990: 27).

One counter argument to this rationale highlighted by Wolman is that decentralization will complement, or even exacerbate, disparities among communities with different economic means. In principle, however, this objection is easily addressed through grants administered centrally, designed to equalize localities' resources. Similarly, decentralization to low levels of government may reduce efficiency by inhibiting the achievement of economies of scale in the

provision of some services, though this too is easily solved via different levels of government providing these services according to their technical characteristics. A more serious objection is posed by the existence of externalities in the provision of local public goods, which reduce overall efficiency for society. These can be solved by reverting to higher levels of government, which internalize the externalities in their taxing and spending decisions.

But the fundamental objection to such efficiency arguments, and one which is generalizable for this literature, is that it simply *assumes* that central government will produce more standardized, less-differentiated outputs less suited to local preferences than local government. Although this is intuitively appealing, the lack of an explanation for how this comes about amounts to assuming away the problem. We can easily draw up a model where central government installs agents in each community to gather information and detect local needs and preferences, which data is then relayed at low cost back to the center. All outputs are produced centrally, and then distributed in the desired amounts and qualities to all localities. If we assume economies of scale in at least some outputs, and transportation costs low enough that these gains are not canceled out (neither unreasonable), then it is easy to see that such a system would dominate the decentralized solution on (productive) efficiency grounds. This could form the basis of an argument for the centralization of government which, in purely logical terms, is every bit the equal of its opposite (Faguet, 1997:6).

CHAPTER III

FOREIGN POLICY AND CONTRIBUTION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

Foreign policy has traditionally been the exclusive remit of the State. However, as international municipalism develops and local governments play an increasingly important part in multilateral negotiations, a change in this respect could be on the cards.

Some people talk about “new international relations” as a result of the splitting of State foreign policy, which, in theory, was rather consistently centralised in the Foreign Affairs Ministries or Offices.

At present, with new actors stepping on stage, it seems the former unit splits while local governments, rather than forging circumstantial relationships abroad, tend to have their own foreign policy and further play a role in the national foreign policy (Garesche, 2007: 25).

3.1. INCREASING IMPORTANCE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

Hence, more than ever before, the dividing line between the foreign affairs competence of the State and local governments is hard to define. Indeed, there are “grey areas” of international law where practice comes from opportunity rather than from pre-existing rules and regulations or an *ad hoc* institutional framework.

The fact is that, all too often, this kind of international activism has been viewed with suspicion, if not outright disapproval, by central governments. To some, such “foreign policy atomisation” should even be banned, curbed or controlled. This undoubtedly hawkish approach to international affairs has little to do with recent experience (Beauregard and Jon, 2000).

One such example is the case of the local governments in Italy that cooperate with municipalities in the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic, while the central Italian government refuses to officially recognise this republic, maintaining its traditional diplomatic relations with Morocco. This example clearly illustrates how foreign policy in local government can also help the State accommodate to politically complex or sensitive diplomatic situations.

There are quite a few examples of cities that have raised their voice on international issues against the official opinion of their national governments, daring to take foreign policy actions that go beyond strictly local interests, with obvious diplomatic consequences.

Yet the schemes of the past are currently undergoing a transformation, and some countries are beginning to implement formal mechanisms for empowering sub-national governments within the framework of the schemes that were traditionally the State's remit. The German government, for instance, has authorised regional governments "by delegation" to act on its behalf before the Council of the European Union, whenever an issue under consideration affects the Länder. Likewise, the local governments in France have a permanent seat at the "High Council for International Cooperation" (Garesche, 2007: 28).

Moreover, since 1992 they have worked closely with the central government in the National Commission for Decentralised Cooperation, chaired by the Prime Minister. In Europe local governments are allowed to have increasing participation in the so-called "Joint Committees", in which the highest authorities of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of one country meet their peers abroad, in order to prepare a bilateral agenda and lay the foundations of future cooperation agreements. Also in Brussels there are currently more than 200 "embassies" of regional governments from various countries in Europe, which have representation powers and exert pressure on the European Commission by forming networks.

Today it is evident that the State can no longer view local governments as enemies or competitors who are trying to deprive it of international protagonism. The coordination and synergy between the different internationally active stakeholders in a country may help generate various action fronts and provide national governments with a broader range of possible ways to react to international issues.

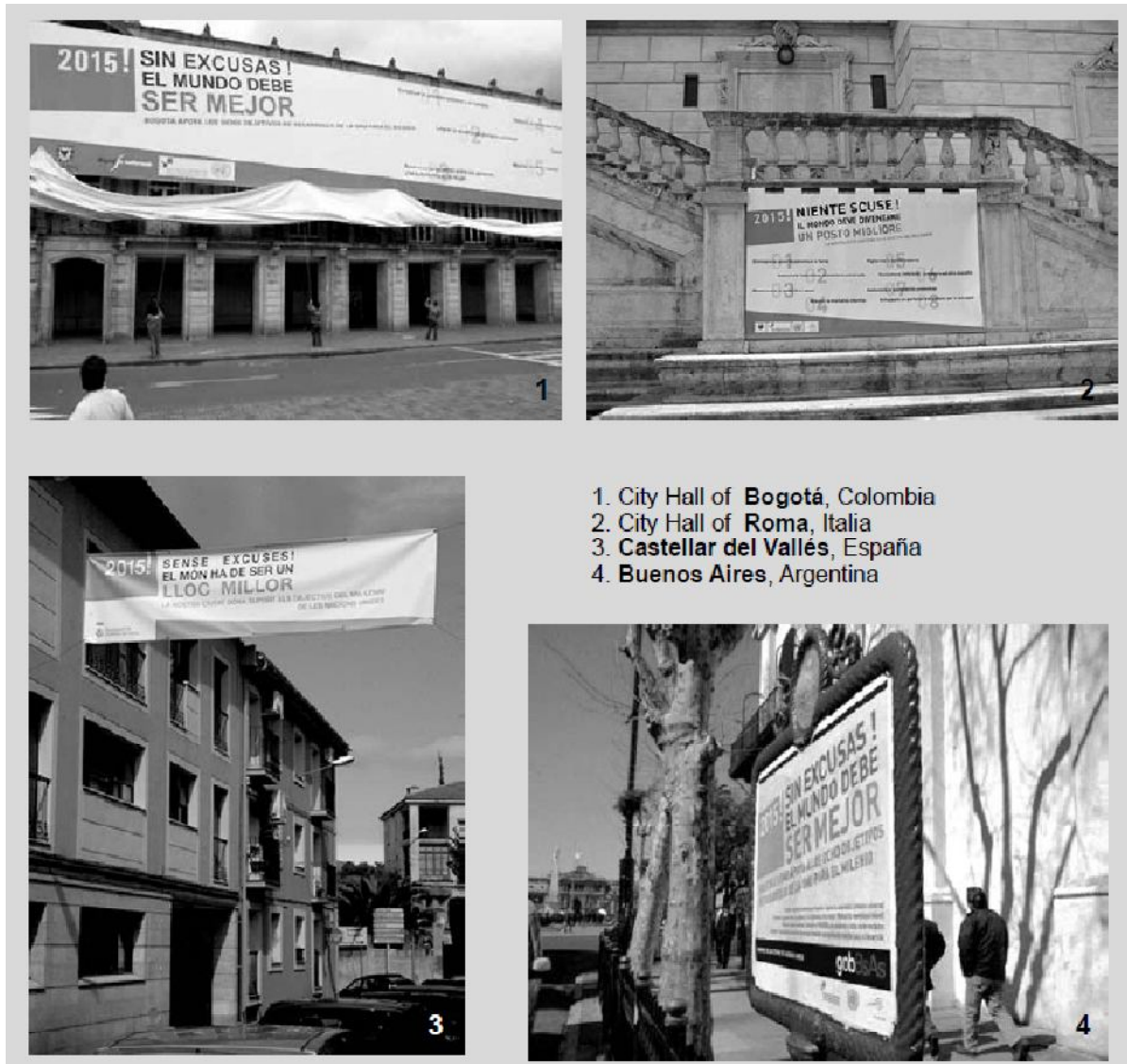


Figure 3.1. Simultaneous actions: The “Cities of the Millennium” Campaign (Source: Garesche, Eugene D.Zapata, 2007, Guidelines for the International Relations of Local Governments and Decentralized Cooperation Between the European Union and Latin America, Practical Manual for the Internationalization of the Cities, Volume 1, Barcelona).

The followings written below are the other examples for the foreign policies implemented by local governments:

- Since 2001 a total of 165 city councils in the US have adopted resolutions opposing the war in Iraq.
- More than 180 local governments, including the New York City Council, have adopted resolutions opposing the application of the “Patriot Act”, a law whereby the federal executive is vested in exceptional powers to combat terrorism.

- The San Francisco and Los Angeles city councils adopted the United Nations *Convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women*, which has not been approved by the National US Government.
- Salt Lake City and Seattle city councils adhered to the Kyoto Protocol on global warming, an initiative that has been strongly opposed by the US central government.
- The Catalan municipalities of Cambrils, Castelldefels, La Fatarella, Molins de Reig, Mollet del Vallès, Reus, Ripollet, Sant Bartomeu del Grau, Santo Boi de Llobregat, Santa Coloma de Gramenet and Sant Pere de Ribes brought forward, at different points in time, official proposals in support of the Sahraui populations affected by the conflict in Western Sahara.
- Other Catalan municipalities have taken an official stance for the Palestinian population, against the blockade of Cuba, in favour of peace in Afghanistan and for Tibetan autonomy.

On the other hand, according to Daoudov, for a local government unit, which wants to play an effective role at international arena, must primarily have an efficient, dynamic and productive “Foreign Relations Policy”. He states that, the three elements seen below are required to come together in order to develop such a policy (Daoudov, 2008: 36):

- Local Position (geographic, strategical...) of the city and its potential (economical, cultural...),
- Foreign policy route of national level,
- Tendencies in the International Arena.

Regarding these factors defined above, İstanbul is assumed by Daoudov as including a great potential with both its historical mission and current position. Also Marmara region, which is the center of the economy of the country and cultural life forms the living laboratory of Turkey on the area of local government and municipalism.

3.2. FORMATION PROCESS OF FOREIGN POLICY

Every local government should plan its international strategy by means of a structured process. The aim is to determine its position in the world and subsequently design a clear

vision of its goals and how to achieve them. Therefore, even though it may often take more effort and time, the local government must first reflect, and only then devise a medium and long-term international strategy.

Local authorities are faced with the challenge to create and implement a globalisation strategy bearing in mind not only their own territory and population, but also the circumstances abroad. The idea is therefore to leave behind the “project culture” and the traditional “red-tapetype” approaches largely centred around individual projects and isolated actions, in pursuit of a more comprehensive approach that entails working on a long-term strategy.

The list below shows the general guidelines to be developed in this Manual to assist local authorities in this important task (Garesche, 2007: 32).

A. To conceive an international strategy it is necessary to;

1. Analyse the external context,
2. Analyse the internal situation,
3. Identify local priorities and
4. Define the vision for the future;

B. To implement the international strategy it is necessary to;

5. Adapt the institution and adjust its procedures,
6. Monitor the legality of the procedures,
7. Allocate resources;

C. To professionalise the strategy it is necessary to;

8. Formalize it and ensure its continuity,
9. Inform and raise awareness among the population,
10. Evaluate and improve the strategy.

If we make a comparison regarding the situation in Turkey, according to Daoudov, the required conditions has occurred for Marmara and Bosphorus Municipalities Association to develop a powerful and effective foreign relations policy in our country (Daoudov, 2008: 37). The foreign relations of Turkish local governments established on three main axes. These are;

- International relations,
- EU policies and corporate collaboration and cooperation,
- Fund supported projects and collaboration.

3.3. LOCAL GOVERNMENTS IN THE WORLD

Drawing on world systems theory, urban sociology and social network analysis, it can be argued that the world system is organized, and always has been, around and through its cities (Clark, 1999: 9). These cities, linked into networks of exchange and flows as "a system of cities", are the backcloth on which the superstructure of empires, states and other polities are based (Modelski, 1999). These city systems provide the "skeleton; the hard substance, still in evidence in so many cases, around which the flesh and blood of social organisation was to be deployed..." (Modelski, 1999: 385). The unit of analysis becomes the system of cities which emerges from the interconnection between a *set of nodes (cities)* and *the sets of ties (exchange flows)* which link them (Wellman and Berkowitz, 1988: 16).

Under this perspective, a city can be defined as a spatial location where networks of networks "come together" over a particular period of time to create a complex, dense and dynamic structural pattern of exchange, communication and meaning. Cities are places or "theatres of articulation", and perhaps "centres of authority", within their networks (Knox and Taylor, 1995: 7).

Beyond the bounded cities we identify, it is crucial to our analysis to conceptualize other network levels (scales) and thus forms or heuristic notations, important for praxis. No city, by definition, exists alone, but is embedded in a range of broader networks which can also be considered:

- cities/hinterlands: cities and their hinterlands which "feed" them and with which they are linked;

- city dyads: cities which are tightly linked, through extra-local networks, to another particular city, in a dyadic relationship of fundamental exchange and meaning through which both are partially defined (Beirut-Damascus; Rabat-Casablanca; Cairo-Alexandria)
- city systems: cities linked together over time into structural patterns to create systems of cities. This "archipelago of cities" can be conceptualized in two ways: in terms of their relational linkages through paths that link them together; or positionally, in terms of their similar structural positions within networks. Both approaches are useful for analysis.
- Relationally, we can focus on: networks of cities connected by the flows along which they play different roles in the evolution of that particular flow in a division of labor (global commodity chains where cities are the nodal points of transformation ie. "textile cities"); cities linked by the flow of commodities along a trade route where cities are nodal points where modes of transport may be altered (Silk Road; Trans-saharan salt trade; sex slaves from Moscow to Cairo); cities which are defined by their functional networks of exchange and their position in that exchange (pilgrimage cities, security cities, sin cities); or cities in geographic proximity such that they create a conceptually useful "Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area" (SMSA) or single urban area because of the adjoining conurbation (Dubai-Sharjah-Ajman; Damman-Manama)
- Positionally, we might compare cities sharing similar positions in a network in a structural sense (colonial cities, port cities; imperial cities; brokerage cities; "central" cities)

Taking this perspective deemphasizes the polity which is the superstructure within which city systems are embedded, and opens up the political space. Combinations of city systems may be temporarily associated together under one rubric of state, empire, kingdom or league, but cities, their networks, and the city systems which emerge remain crucial morphologies for action. City systems are crucial engines for defining identity, accumulating value, and deciding the distribution of value. In fact, we may argue that cities and systems of cities are the core ontological level for the world economy. Cities are the key site for the working out of politics, and through their networks constantly challenge the constructed boundaries of the

current international system. In fact, cities and the city systems in which they are imbedded are crucial heuristics for the world system perspective (Knox and Taylor, 1995: 49), since the city is the spatial point where networks are most dense, where space becomes place, and beyond which all conceptualizations of identity are "created" in an Andersonian sense.

As a result of their interconnections, all cities have some "degree of worldness", a connectedness into and power in the global world system which can be evaluated.

Since certain cities have more connectedness across some sets of exchanges than others, it is possible to identify cities which have so much "connectedness", particularly within the global flows of capital and credit, that we need a special concept for them: "global cities". These global cities are central to the functioning of global capital networks as sites of command and control. In the meta-narrative of capital, such global cities are imperative since they "articulate larger regional, national and international economies." (Knox and Taylor, 1995: 22).

It should be noted here that the local and the global are not locked into dualistic opposition, but are simply heuristic constructs to identify the locus of network action. Thus, we must conceptualize human agency as multileveled, with actors acting locally while thinking globally, or thinking locally and acting globally, or "thinking and acting simultaneously at multiple scales" (Smith, 2001: 158). Actors are goal-oriented, and employ their networks at multiple levels to shape their environment.

3.4. INTERNATIONALIZATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

As the result of recent changes in the world system, there is a general push factor driving the creation of new forms of networking and clustering. In a world system where the spatial narrative is under attack, and new threats/opportunities are arising, actors are moving to enhance the capability of their networks. For example, we can see this dynamic in the "propensity of many types of economic activity-manufacturing and service sectors alike-to gather together in dense regional clusters or agglomerations", what one author termed "collective propinquity". This drive is a "strategic response to heightened (global) economic competition" in an attempt to empower networks in a changing world system. Likewise, cities and city systems cannot afford to be passive in the face of such changes; they must be proactive in their own interests.

Crucially, this shift of perspective privileges the level of the city system when developing policies for change. Cities, systems of cities and the nature of their networks can be developed, enhanced, empowered, or modified. The goal of "development" can, and should be, pursued in such a way as to enhance the efficacy of actors within their networks. Policies might seek to:

- empower local power networks vs. the formal municipal structure;
- modify the position of a particular city or subset of cities within a system of cities;
- enhance a particular commodity chain, transport route or conurbation;
- empower a system of cities within the world system.

Any or all of these actions could be termed "going global" or "wannabe cities". Some authors have proposed the term "entrepreneurial cities" to refer to specific types of cities where a local network of elites, often using the formal municipal structures, seek to shape the networks and opportunities of their city so as to enhance its access to resources within extralocal networks (Short and Kim, 1999: 117). Dubai's aggressiveness in positioning itself within the international system is an excellent example. Likewise, Istanbul was "going global" when it linked itself both into the trans-Balkan and Iranian rail networks.

However, we need a broader concept of "going global", where actors develop and implement a range of policies and actions to enhance the characteristics of their networks in the interest of empowerment. Municipal governments may pursue such policies for themselves, or other actors at other levels, such as community-based organizations, state ministries, business associations, regional organizations or international governmental organizations, may also evolve policies to pursue such goals with or for them. Developmental strategies which ignore this level of analysis are missing a crucial context in which change can be effective, since: "cities are unique in their abilities to shape and reshape the economies of other settlements, including those far removed from them geographically..." (Jacobs, 1984: 32). Ultimately, the argument is that there are new possibilities for multitiered reciprocity, and that cities embedded within city systems are an appropriate new/old political space for policy articulation.

It is accepted that, for the internationalization process of the municipalities in Turkey, our country's EU process provides several positive supports. In other words, the activities

increase the apperency and prestige of us at international arena, also effect the relations of Turkey and its municipalities with EU institutions in a positive manner. So, the positive and effective relations and cooperation with these institutions make a significiant contribution at the areas of EU funds.

3.5. ACTORS IN THE INTERNATIONALIZATION PROCESS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

Since cities are embedded within the world system, the nature of the dynamic between the two is crucial to formulating policies. There is a correlation between the development of city systems and the development of the world system, although the hypotheses vary as to the relationship. Modelski suggests that the development and dynamics of city systems drive the rise and evolution of world systems (Modelski, 1999: 392). Frank (1998) and Abu Lughod (1991) share this view when they suggest that city systems provided the engine within dynamic regions interlinked as a world system from 1250 - 1800 AD. Friedmann, Sassen and others, however, argue that "explanations of urban development lie in the social and economic characteristics of successive forms of capitalism", (Clark, 1999: 9). Taylor makes a similar claim when he suggests that "globalization has de-nationalised cities in important respects: no longer so truncated, they have transmuted into world cities."¹³ Smith offers an intermediate alternative when he says we must "study the effects that global policies and transnational networks have on cities, local power structures and ordinary people's lives, and the effects that particular cities and their people have on these networks of power, meaning and identity", (Smith, 2001: 183).

The Friedmann and Sassen argument privileges the economic structures of global capitalism and the "new phase" which has emerged since the 1970's. This conceptualisation suggests that we must see cities as major new sites/roles in the new world order. The spatial restructuring of the urban results from economic processes within the world system: it is within cities where global capital must be spatially located, resulting in the appearance of global cities (Short and Kim, 1999: 11). Progressive development, as implied by this approach, should aim to "move up the hierarchy", to aim for global city status, but with a human face. The policies required are to facilitate the location of service sector, capital and FIRE (finance, insurance, real estate) corporations within the city, while working for a more equitable distribution of social resources.

An alternative narrative challenges this view, and suggests that an agency-oriented, grassroots perspective termed "transnational urbanism" more completely and correctly conceptualizes what is currently happening in the interaction between the world system and the urban world. The view rejects the emphasis on global economic forces and global capital as deterministic (Smith, 2001: 2). The state is not dying, and global capital is not all-powerful. Instead, the dramatic changes combined under the term "globalization" must be localized on the ground; if we fall into the trap of downplaying the role of the state we will miss the continuing significance of borders, state policies and national identities. Thus we want a world system perspective which holds that global processes are shaping the options of the composite units, and encourages investigate of this; but we must also explain/understand the way actor choices and dynamics may impact the world system. Grounded within networks, globalization is opening up options or political space to world cities and their networks. The job of the analyst is to understand how such networks are both empowered and disempowered by changes in the world system.

In particular, the second view focuses attention on the space for empowerment that networks may offer. It suggests that developing policies to empower grass-roots networks within cities will have important spillover effects into the empowerment of people (democracy), in limiting the negative effects of globalization, and in enhancing social welfare.

3.6. DECENTRALIZATION OF COOPERATION

Several factors are bringing the practice of city-to-city co-operation into the limelight as never before. The increasing importance of development policies based upon decentralisation and partnership. The recognition of cities as key actors in local and national development and an increasing involvement of cities and regional authorities directly into the international development business is now a reality, but it still lacks of substantial reference material and data collection (Local Governments and International Development Co-Operation, <http://www.unhabitat.org/programmes/bestpractices/>, Accessed on 07 August 2010).

3.6.1. Definition of Decentralized Cooperation

City-to-city cooperation (also shortened as C2C) is an umbrella term that covers all possible forms of relationship between local authorities at any level in two or more countries, which are collaboration on matters of mutual interest.

The term city-to-city cooperation is sometimes used synonymously with the term “decentralised cooperation”, although the latter concept (first embodied in the European Union’s Lomé Convention in 1990) embraces a wider range of actions for development carried out by “non-state” actors, locally based institutions, NGOs¹, CBOs and voluntary institutions of all kinds. Decentralised Cooperation policies are based upon the principle of partnership and joint working between public authorities, nongovernmental organisations and community-based organisation, cooperatives, the private sector and the informal sector (Local Governments and International Development Co-Operation, <http://www.unhabitat.org/programmes/bestpractices/>, Accessed on 07 August 2010).

3.6.2. Decentralized Cooperation Areas

Cities and local governments play a fundamental role in the development process. Local level policies influence living conditions in a very important way and in the last decades, cities have contributed to spread the decentralisation process throughout the world.

In particular, cities and local governments are taking over more and more responsibility for their own development: in addition to their traditional competencies in the field of public services and utilities, most cities are starting to face the new challenges of local development, strategic planning, employment, environment and promotion of a better quality of living.

Cities are also on the front line when it comes to facing the challenges of development; the city level suffers the impact of rapid socio-economic changes much more quicker than the national level. In return, this makes the city a permanent laboratory of new policies both in developing and in industrialised countries. But cities do not always succeed in facing these challenges: slums are one of the manifestations of these failures (Local Governments and International Development Co-Operation, <http://www.unhabitat.org/programmes/bestpractices/>, Accessed on 07 August 2010).

Presently, more than one billion people live in slums and inner cities. If the present trend continues, this number could rise by above 2 billion by 2030. The urbanisation of poverty and social exclusion is one of the most alarming trends of the 21st century. It is estimated that 72 percent of the urban population in Africa, 37 percent in Asia and 26 percent in Latin America live without adequate shelter, clean water or sanitation. While these figures average about 6 percent in developed countries, inner-city neighbourhoods persistently maintain levels of unemployment, school dropout rates and violence significantly above national averages. In

both cases the consequences include urban decay, pollution and loss of economic opportunity and productivity.

Local government, by its legitimacy, representativity, flexibility and capacity for adaptation is an efficient institution for solving citizen's problems. The principles of proximity and subsidiary that apply to local authorities action, and the importance that participation has in the local sphere are a fundamental added value for development co-operation.

Another factor has also to be taken into consideration: the common language that links all local authorities in the world. The problems that a local authority has to solve in different part of the world are very similar, even in the most different context. It is always easier to communicate between equals and this is very much the case in city-to-city co-operation.

Most European cities have entered into a process of international cooperation in order to support other cities in developing countries. This phenomenon has increased over time in the number of projects as well as in the volume of funds dedicated by local governments from their own local budgets.

The added value of C2C is essentially that cities have strong technical capacities which states and international aid agencies, traditional players of development co-operation did not have. Another advantage of this particular modality of international co-operation is that it is much easier to find a common language between cities, since city problems and urban issues are sometimes very familiar on both sides of the Equator.

Not only do local municipalities in Europe have something to say about development, but they can strongly contribute to the progress of the MDG, and they must be aware of their potential, which has a threefold dimension:

- to provide funds;
- the transfer of local capacities and know-how;
- the sharing of experiences, best practices and information (Local Governments and International Development Co-Operation, <http://www.unhabitat.org/programmes/bestpractices/>, Accessed on 07 August 2010).

CHAPTER IV

DEMOCRACY AS AN AREA FOR COOPERATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS ON THE BASE OF INTERNATIONAL

4.1. EXTENTION OF DEMOCRACY TO THE BASE THROUGH CONTRIBUTION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

In the last twenty years, and especially in the last decade, a far-reaching global public policy network has rapidly developed to promote democracy worldwide, especially in those countries that became more democratic during the "Third Wave" of democratization (Huntington, 1991).

Between 1974 and 1999, more than forty countries experienced transitions from some form of authoritarian rule to more democratic systems. The democracy promotion policy network responded to, and helped shape, this unprecedented wave of regime change. In sum, the recent wave of transitions to democracy has been characterized by a symbiotic embrace between internal forces within countries demanding more access to political power and the external international network that has worked to facilitate and improve open elections and multiparty politics. This combination of domestic demand for more democracy and international promotion of participatory governance accounts for the dramatic growth in new democracies around the world despite some setbacks and failures in particular instances.

Democracy's spread is a global concern and democracy promotion requires the kind of global system of response embodied in the network. Among the arguments in favor of democracy promotion as a global issue are better adherence to international human rights norms, democracy's potential fostering of good governance to facilitate socioeconomic development, and the argument that over time democracies are inherently more externally pacific (that is, less prone to war) (Russett, 1993). Many states see democracy promotion (especially in their immediate regions) as an interest based in national security and economic opportunity, whereas others see it in terms of lofty internationalist aims.

Whatever the motive, when gross human rights violations occur, or when endemic poverty and deprivation exist, democracy's decline can yield negative externalities for the international community in terms of conflict and war, anarchic social conditions, economic disarray, and state failure. This has led to the emergence of international and regional norms

on a "right to democracy." The democracy promotion network exists in pursuit of the realization of this aim and to implement the new norms in practice.

Within this democracy promotion network, new emphasis is being placed on promoting innovation to improve the quality and depth of *democracy in local governance*. The emphasis on local governance finds its origins in the globalized contexts in which municipal decision-making occurs and the incomplete nature of many "third wave" transitions. Globalization, or interdependencies across national boundaries, has expanded dramatically in recent years. So, too, has urbanization the movement of people from the countryside to towns and cities.

Both new opportunities and unforeseen problems arise from rapid urbanization in this new global environment. The renewed importance of local democracy originates from the belief that improving democratic development at the local level is the best way to deal with some of the difficulties of globalization.

As markets become more international, decisions that have local impact are often made in faraway places. Enhancing democracy locally may offer distinct advantages for retaining local capacities to improve the quality of life in today's metropolitan centers. While globalization has limited the autonomy and capacity of states to manage their affairs independent of external influences, the promotion of local democracy is one way to restore to the people more direct control over their immediate lives.

4.1.1. How Local Government Make Contribution to Extension of Democracy to the Base

The broad-based but loosely structured democracy promotion network has engaged in a wide range of activities. Among the most important of these are creating new international norms on democracy, advocating democratization in specific instances, assisting in the conduct and monitoring of elections in transitional societies, promoting civil society, and directly training political parties and candidates in various countries. The network features a multi-level set of actors - from universally global to highly local - that work in formal and informal partnerships. The partnerships, however, are formed on a rather ad hoc, case-by-case basis.

One of the principal lessons learned from the democracy promotion field is that local actors need to be more fully and systematically included in the global public policy network if external assistance for democracy promotion is to be more successful. A close, cooperative

and equal relationship among local and international actors in this network is critical. Without such relationship, democracy promotion can be perceived as external meddling in a country's politics and power. A functional, effective relationship among local and international actors is key to the legitimacy of the network in action. And without external support, many local NGOs would be at risk of suppression from incumbent authorities without the attention and support emanating from the international community.

Another lesson learned is that democracy - with its common feature of winner-take-all elections - can be conflict-generating, and transitions need to be carefully managed and executed if social breakdown is to be avoided.

In situations such as Algeria or Angola, new conflict has been precipitated when the results of elections were in dispute. Yet another lesson is that democracy promotion can lead to unintended consequences, such as deepening rifts among broad sections of societies along ethnic lines, as has been the case thus far in Bosnia.

Top-down (national level transitions) and bottom up (local democratic development) need to be more carefully integrated if an overall democracy building strategy by the network is to succeed. Although the previous emphasis on national-level democracy has yielded significant gains in recent years in terms of more democratically elected central regimes, more decentralization and local empowerment will be required if the quality of the new found democracies is to be deepened. Moreover, if the potential economic development offered by good (i.e., democratic) governance is to be realized in today's increasingly interdependent world, local democracy promotion will be an essential element.

Thus, the deepening and improvement of democracy depends on developing it more locally and, ideally, making democracy more directly relevant and beneficial to people's daily lives.

The development of transnational networks for the promotion of local democracy are incipient but at the same time evolving quickly. Experiments with local self-government are the consequence of pressures from abroad for decentralization and devolution provide while at the same time, there are new challenges facing local settings that will require participatory policy making and a significant role for NGOs both in terms of policy formation and service delivery.

As in the broader network in which local democracy promotion is a part, there are thus both supply side and demand side dimensions of the increasing importance of local democracy networks.

A critical step in the further evolution of this network is the furtherance of international norms on local democracy. It is useful to note that even in countries where competition in national level democracy is constrained, for example in China and Iran, there have been recent instances of vigorous local level democracy. That is, there are few ideological barriers to the recognition of the importance of local self-governance and the basic tenets of local democracy.

Moreover, there are strong developmental reasons for enhancing local democracy which are widely recognized in the international community. The approval by the General Assembly of the draft World Charter on Local Self-Government would give a significant boost to the further development of the network. The new norm would establish a clear right to democracy and stimulate institutional change in countries around the world.

Other avenues for fruitful development of this network include the further sharing of information and experience on options for enhanced participation at the local level and a better recognition of the inherent dilemmas of participatory practices. If collaborative policy making is to be a hallmark of the future of democracy promotion and high on the agenda of members of the network, more needs to be understood on the conditions in which participatory democracy at the local level is possible, desirable, and appropriate. The importance of skills transfers and learning across experience - for example on difficult issues of governance of cities with significant migrant communities - is a critical challenge for this network in the years to come.

Democracy promotion will require more emphasis on local governance as the forces of change for billions of urban dwellers are increasingly affected by influences beyond the parameters of a single country or region. In the 21st century, rates of urbanization will continue to be very high in the developing world, with the advent of dozens of new megacities in Asia and Africa a virtual demographic certainty. Effective governance of new and old cities alike in an urbanizing world is critical to the project of promoting human rights, international security, and sustainable development. Innovation in urban democracy is a global challenge. It will require further development of the nascent global public policy

network for local democracy promotion, featuring above all the more systematic inclusion of local level NGOs and local elected officials in the multi-layered system of governance that will inevitably be required.

4.1.2. Actors of Local Government for Extension of Democracy

The network of actors mobilized in support of democracy promotion includes the governments of major states and their aid agencies, international organizations, international financial institutions, multilateral donors, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) with global programs, region and countryspecific NGOs, and philanthropic organizations. In contrast to other networks in this volume, for profit private sector actors have not been directly or extensively involved in this network although in many countries the business community has been a strong advocate of good governance and greater accountability.

As a global public policy network, democracy promotion organizations in the international arena are perhaps the most interventionist in terms of the elements of internal sovereignty with which they involve themselves. The construction of a domestic political order, the internal legitimacy of a regime, the means of choosing leaders, and the relative balance of power among domestic social forces are perhaps the most sacred of all aspects of sovereignty when it is defined as freedom from external interference (Deng, et.al., 1996). Yet pressures for democratization have also arisen from within, as mobilized group pressure incumbent regimes for political liberalization. Thus, coalitions have formed among international, regional, and domestic NGOs to cooperate in common goals. Often, this relationship has involved external funding by public (i.e., donor state) and private sector (philanthropic foundations) sources for democracy advocacy groups within countries and for general support of an "open society."

In sum, precisely because external democracy promotion is so inherently interventionist and internal advocates of liberalization are so vulnerable, mutually beneficial global networks allow actors and institutions across borders to cooperate directly and work collaboratively. Networks of actors working in concert from the most global (such as the United Nations) to the most local (citizens' initiatives) are the most effective means of affecting change in this issue area.

The democracy promotion network has also evolved into horizontal and vertical dimensions. The horizontal dimension refers to collaboration and learning among various organizations at

the same level - cooperation, for example, between the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and the European Union in a given case such as Bosnia. The vertical dimension is also apparent, as a global level organization such as the United Nation's Electoral Assistance Division assists a local independent election commission to organize itself and run an election. Thus, the process of governance includes linkages among actors at the same level and cooperation on multiple levels of the policy domain. These organizations often cooperate on the basis of comparative advantage that pool diverse resources (such as knowledge and funding) and that address issues that no single organization can address on its own (like launching a major election monitoring mission). And they lend each other legitimacy by mutually reinforcing the purposes and effectiveness of their actions.

Increasingly, the international democracy promotion network is turning its attention to decentralization and the democratization of local governance as a complement to its ongoing work at national-level democracy promotion. Why have existing and new global policy networks begun to emphasize local democracy? As scholars Caroline Andrew and Michael Goldsmith write (Wolman and Goldsmith, eds., 1992):

“In the evolving modern state, with its variety of institutional forms and practices (governance), and in an ever-interdependent world, the time is right for a reconsideration of the role which local democracy, elected local government, and representatives might play. First, there has been a reconsideration of existing values, and in particular the role of local government in promoting democracy through the enhancement of citizenship and participation by the individual” (Wolman and Goldsmith, eds., 1992).

International organizations, bilateral aid agencies, the international financial institutions, and democracy building NGOs are placing greater emphasis on promoting democratic local governance. The new emphasis is a direct result of the inadequacy of focusing too much on nationallevel governance and an appreciation of the potential role local democracy can play in ameliorating the adverse effects of globalization. In emphasizing local governance, these organizations are also building global public policy networks that significantly rely on bolstering the activities of local organizations working closest to the immediate interests and needs of people.

4.1.3. International Actors and Areas

As the constraints of geographical distance are becoming less important, the specific features of particular locales are becoming more important in the location decision making of businesses and households. Under the dominant logic of current globalisation, there has been a shift in urban government policies from managerialism to entrepreneurialism. This attitude views the city as a product that needs to be marketed (Van Vliet, Willem, 2002).

Internationalisation has become a priority for all territories. Cities find themselves competing against each other for attracting economic activity and quality human resources; development co-operation can help in many ways.

The Global Economic Internationalisation Index (GEII) is composed by the following coefficients, some of them can benefit from a local active involvement in international co-operation:

- Disposition to engage in foreign trade: the involvement of the public or private sectors in investments abroad (and this includes the financing of development projects) can contribute to increase the index;
- Attractiveness of foreign investments: the existence of international trained staff in the public sector can be an asset to communicate with potential foreign investors. A good international public image of the local community can contribute as well;
- International tourism: public image contributes to the increase of international tourism as well;
- Foreign population and;
- Foreign manpower, both can be increased when a local authority is active in international co-operation. It is surprising to observe that frequently foreigners work at the international department of local authorities;
- International education and training, active universities and research institutions, a well-known institute for development studies and specialised courses and training activities in development co-operation contribute to increase the number of human resources prepared to face future economic activities at international level (Local

Governments and International Development Co-Operation, <http://www.unhabitat.org/programmes/bestpractices/>, Accessed on 07 August 2010).

Several steps have been undertaken to recognise the essential role of local governments in development. Slowly, the international level has grown conscience of the need to take into consideration the local level while talking about international law. Cities start to be independent international actors but still their status is confusing. Some steps have been undertaken in the recognition of cities as international actor players. Here go some examples from international law:

- The 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (Rio de Janeiro) approved the “Agenda 21” which for the first time considered local governments as fundamental actors for implementing environmental protection and sustainability. As Chapter 7 says: “by 1996 most local authorities in each country should have undertaken a consultative process with their population and achieved a consensus on local Agenda 21 for their communities”. It is a first time that a UN Conference explicitly addresses local authorities’ intervention for implementing a state-signed declaration. By 2001, more than 6000 local governments in 113 countries were participating in Local Agenda 21 initiatives.
- The 1996 United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II) in Istanbul. Its final declaration, the “Habitat Agenda” recognises: “local authorities as our closest partners” and declares that “we must promote decentralisation through democratic local authorities and work to strength their financial and institutional capacities”.
- The World Charter of local self-government, promoted by UN HABITAT intends to consolidate an already initiated decentralisation process and to recognise the essential role of autonomous local authorities. Up to now the Charter hasn’t been ratified but its existence is already a sign of the importance that the local governments are getting in the international arena.
- The creation of UNACLA (United Nations Committee of Local Authorities) in 2000. It is the first ever permanent structure inside an UN structure. Even if its status is merely consultative, it is very important that the United Nations have a permanent structure composed and nominated by local governments.

- The creation of United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG). In May 2004 the two main associations of local authorities in the world merged in a common assembly in Paris. The IULA (International Union of Local Authorities) and UTO (United Towns Organisation) that already contained main associations as WACLAC, Eurocities, Citynet (Asia) and Metropolis. The creation of a new united voice of local authorities is essential to raise awareness on the new role of the local power. UCLG has an Assembly, and Executive Council and a Secretariat with headquarters in Barcelona and regional representations in the field.

- The Millennium Development Goals (MDG) were adopted by world leaders at the United Nations Millennium Summit in 2000. They address essential dimensions of poverty and their effects on people's lives taking on pressing issues related to poverty reduction, health, gender equality, education and sustainability. But, most importantly, MDGs are the means by which the international community has made a commitment, establishing quantitative targets to be attained by 2015. A list of 18 targets and 40 indicators has been established, ensuring a common way to monitor and evaluate the status of MDG's at global, national and local level. Although these goals were defined by central governments, cities and local governments have a major role in their implementation and must be taken into consideration for effective progress towards poverty reduction and better living conditions. Local governments are specially considered when it comes to the reduction of urban poverty and the improvement of lives of 100 million slum dwellers. From the development policy point of view, the MDGs establish a clear emphasis on poverty reduction instead of production increase. The main relevance of the Millennium Declaration is that it gives a series of targets and indicators that allow to actually measure and to monitor the progresses (Local Governments and International Development Co-Operation, <http://www.unhabitat.org/programmes/bestpractices/>, Accessed on 07 August 2010).

4.1.4. Activities of Local Governments in Turkey for This Purpose

Within Turkish political science literature, local democracy has been mainly perceived as an administrative issue defined in the narrow framework of administrative and financial autonomy and simplified in a general dichotomy with the central government. Yet, since the eighties, Turkish municipal framework has undergone very significant administrative, financial and functional changes, albeit without bringing about a veritable democratisation of

local politics. As a matter of fact, the popular understanding of local democracy in Turkey does not really deal with infra-local democratic issues such as the problems of power distribution, of political representation and participation. Thus, a different understanding of local democracy beyond dimensions of administrative tutelage, financial resources and functional limits is required.

Enjoying a greater autonomy and enhanced financial resources as well as carrying out very important socio-economic functions, Turkish municipalities are no longer simple subjects of the central government. Nevertheless, this improved status of municipal bodies has not actually resolved the problematic of Turkish local democracy if a different understanding of the concept simply beyond dimensions of administrative tutelage, financial resources and functional limits is adopted. As a matter of fact, the popular understanding of local democracy in Turkey does not quite deal with infra-local democratic issues such as the problems of power distribution, representation and participation. Therefore, a different conceptualisation of local democracy including more political elements is required for understanding the contemporary state of Turkish local politics.

The political content of the municipal law No. 1580, to remain in force for 75 years, was determined by two contradictory forces: the importance of local autonomy and the need for central supervision. The report of the mixed commission responsible for the preparation of the law perfectly demonstrates this contradiction:

“Experience gained over half a century has proven that, be it in Istanbul or other districts, municipal government needs to be strengthened; in order to rescue our communes from their miserable and ruined condition, it is socially and economically essential to upgrade the powers of municipalities to the level that they are found in developed countries. Yet, in acknowledging this requirement, we should not disregard another socio-political obligation, namely that of keeping these governments under the supervision of the state. The possibility of anarchy at state government level can be prevented only if central supervision is enhanced in parallel with the extended powers of municipalities” (quoted by Aytaç 1990: 91).

Evolving under such contradictory concerns, the law brought into being a municipal framework that was perceived mainly as an extension of the central government’s responsibility for carrying out local public services. The ban on deciding political issues in the

municipal council would be the best evidence of the emphasis on the public service delivery function of municipalities (Mumcu and Ünlü 1990: 116). This service-based nature of Turkish municipalism can be better seen by referring to the functions allocated to the municipalities. As a matter of fact, article 15 of the law allocates 76 different duties to the municipalities in areas such as urban infrastructure, basic urban services, town planning and controls, the provision and the control of clean food, health and some religious services, cultural activities, housing and social aid facilities etc.

The depoliticisation of local governments was also related to two of the major political principles of the Kemalist regime, namely populism and statism (Mumcu and Ünlü 1990: 113). The substitution of the initial eulogy of ‘national sovereignty’ by a Jacobinic populism summed up as “For the people, despite the people” required a total control of local society, especially of local power brokers who were mainly excluded from the national scene by the second parliamentary elections. By minimizing the political power of municipalities, the Kemalist regime aimed to prevent the traditional provincial power figures from acquiring public power. In doing so, any deviation from the Kemalist modernisation project would be prevented. Local affairs were thus either supervised directly from the capital or carried out by provincial governments presided by the prefect (Güler 1998: 155).

The second Kemalist principle that led to the depoliticisation of municipalities was the emphasis on statist policies. Local public resources were obliged to be used in large-scale public investments either for industrial development or for building/improving transport and communication infrastructure in the most urbanized parts of the country. Consequently, the financial power of local governments was minimized; local public resources were transferred either to the central government or to other more privileged cities, and the planning, funding and carrying out of local public works schemes were undertaken by central institutions such as the Bank of Municipalities (*Belediyeler Bankası*) or the Board of Municipal Public Works (*Belediyeler İmar Heyeti*) (Güler 1998: 159-160).

In short, the municipal framework was designed as an instrument of the national modernisation process. In order to minimize local elite’s reactionary influence in national politics, local governments were depoliticized. Besides, local public resources and works were placed under the strict control of central government, so that they could be efficiently used for the general socioeconomic development of the country rather than for the specific needs of localities.

In 80s local governments were considered as adequate instruments to reduce central responsibilities. As a result, for the first time, Turkish municipalities started to enjoy a gradual improvement of their financial resources and administrative competencies. As early as in 1981, the junta published two laws (n°2380 and 2464) increasing the financial resources of local governments that were presided by appointed mayors. Yet, the actual progress would be realised between 1983 and 1987 by the Motherland Party (Anavatan Partisi- ANAP).

ANAP obtained more than 45% of the votes despite all the generals' efforts –even direct support- on behalf of the party of an ex-general. Its leader, Turgut Özal claimed to represent liberal values of small-scale entrepreneurs, conservative priorities of religious groups and nationalist sentiments of the average (even radical) citizens. Yet, the main concern of Özal who was in fact the real author of the decisions of January 24th, was certainly the liberalisation of the markets along with the minimisation of the bureaucratic apparatus. Local implications of this neo-liberal orientation were immediate and could be followed through three main trends: decentralisation, de-socialisation and privatisation (Güler 1998: 185-194).

Firstly, *decentralisation* implied changing the power and resource distribution scheme between the central government and municipalities in favour of the latter. With numerous laws passed by post-1980 governments, the financial resources of local governments were considerably improved to such an extent that municipal incomes were doubled between 1980 and 1986 (from 1.02% to 2.87% of their share of the GNP) and tripled between 1980 and 1993 (from 4.65% to 13.84% of their share of national budget resources) (Güler 1990: 186). Yet this apparent increase in wealth did not actually mean real financial independence for local governments, as they did not control the allocated resources. The taxes that basically formed the source of these new resources were still decided on by central government, so dependence on Ankara was maintained.

In addition to financial changes, local governments also experienced a functional evolution with the decentralisation of a number of administrative powers and responsibilities. For instance, the role of the municipalities in deciding and supervising local public investments was reinforced so that the share of the Bank of Departments in local investments fell from 70.2% to 14.9% between 1981 and 1995 (Güler 1998: 186). Municipalities also won the right to prepare and approve urban plans under Law No. 3030 which also introduced the status of metropolitan municipality to the local government system. However, as was the case with the improvement in the financial situation, functional transformation also failed to lead to the

disappearance of centralist pressure. Central government continued to retain the right to intervene in local affairs when it thought necessary, such as when the social-democrats won local power in the major Turkish cities in 1989.

Secondly, the functional transformation of municipalities was also to be seen in the nature of the municipal services provided. In harmony with the neo-liberal trend, social and cultural services in areas such as health, education, housing, nutrition and heating, already very poor, were totally disregarded in order to *de-socialize* municipal duties. The direct intervention (e.g. subsidizing, organizing or facilitating *ad hoc* activities) and indirect intervention (e.g. market regulations or hygiene control) of municipalities in these socio-cultural areas were thus discouraged in order to transfer these resources to more capital-friendly sectors. For this purpose, not only the municipal control of market prices and tariffs of elementary food and goods was abandoned, but also low-cost markets owned by municipalities were discouraged. Moreover, all through the eighties, the health services represented only 2.7% of the overall municipal costs while the proportion of social aid and education-culture-sports expenses were respectively 1.7% and 0.6% (Güler 1998: 188-189).

The most neo-liberal aspect of the municipal transformation was the privatisation of some municipal services. To put it bluntly, the resources withdrawn from social areas and saved from operational costs were channelled to the private sector. So instead of providing the service itself, municipalities started purchasing the services from private companies or leaving the field wholly to private initiatives. Municipal services such as public transportation, urban hygiene, construction of infrastructure, parking, were thus henceforth handled by or in corporation with the private sector. Moreover, the structural incorporation of municipalities into free markets was also pursued by the multiplication of municipal enterprises. Founded as private companies, and hence free from the restrictions of administrative legal control, these municipal enterprises also sidestepped any kind of public control. In fact, even market forces were unable to influence these bodies since they generally enjoyed a monopoly position in their field. New municipal companies with immense capitals on the distribution of water, gas or public transportation (e.g. İSKİ, ASKİ, İGDAŞ, İZULAŞ) were thus founded (Şengül 2001: 111).

The global legal umbrella of this three-fold transformation of Turkish local government was the introduction of metropolitan municipalities in 1984 under Law No. 3030. By this new legislation, certainly the most significant since the municipal law of 1930, the government of

the largest cities was reformed so as to be handled at two different municipal levels. While the old district-based municipalities were maintained, they lost considerable resources and powers; a metropolitan municipality was introduced above these district governments, initially in the three largest cities, Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir. With the metropolitan municipalities in place, local democracy, already fragile, was further weakened, since the provinces started to suffer from the control and pressure of the metropolitan government in addition to that of the central government. Moreover, some aspects of the way it was organised weakened the democratic functioning of municipalities. For example, there were no elected members in the executive committees (*encümen*) of metropolitan governments; they consisted solely of the chairmen of administrative departments (Eliçin and Arıkan 1997).

The municipal law of 1930 that was in force for three-quarters of a century until quite recently was continuously criticized for sidestepping the democratic development of Turkish local government by rendering it dependent on central resources and decisions. Under strict administrative tutelage of the central government, restricted functionally with basic public service delivery and financially constrained, local autonomy of municipalities have been the main item of discussion on Turkish local democracy. Yet, the picture seems to be inversed by the eighties; even the actual intention was not improving the quality of local democracy, all of these three dimensions underwent through very significant changes with the respective reforms of the municipal framework. So, in a theoretical perspective the main problems of Turkish local democracy should have been resolved by these legal and political changes of the 1980s.

It is certainly true that Turkish municipalities were financially and administratively strengthened by all these legal changes in the eighties. But it is not so easy to claim that this enhancement of resources and powers contributed to the democratisation of local politics. On the contrary, the withdrawal of centralist pressures from the local political scene was accompanied with the multiplication of interventions from private interest groups. Since public transparency and accountability were not among the major issues of the legal amendments of the eighties, adequate local checks and balances were not established to replace the abandoned administrative tutelage.

Attracted by the growing rent related to the urban land and/or services controlled by local governments, municipalities started representing very rich resources of rapid and easy enrichment for investors and entrepreneurs. Not capable or willing to resist to such

illegitimate endeavours, mayors found themselves in the heart of private and usually unfair interest relationships. Thus, stories of corruption multiplied throughout the country. So to say, after being long dominated by central government, local politics was henceforth determined by usually illegitimate and even illegal Networks of private interests.

However the weakness of municipal councils vis-à-vis mayors is obviously inconsistent with a democratic structuring of local politics in Turkey. Nevertheless, it is equally difficult to argue that the system would become more representative with a more fair relationship between the mayor and the council simply because the council itself also suffers from problems of representation.

Apart from the over-representation of certain professional groups, the representativity of Turkish municipal councils has been also weakened due to the overwhelming influence of townsmen (*hemşehri*) networks founded upon sentiments of belonging to a specific locality or a culture. Developed informally with the objective of facilitating cooperation and solidarity among the emigrants of the same locality, these networks played a major role during the settlement of the new inhabitants in large cities. Although first appeared as passive communities following the traditional urban political elite, these networks started recruiting their own political elites once they resolved their immediate urban needs such as housing and employment and thus reached to a relative urban welfare. As a matter of fact, 75% of municipal councillors interviewed by Kurtoğlu (2004: 305) acknowledge the importance of the support of their townsmen in their election.

The representational weakness of municipal councils is not only due to the overrepresentation of certain groups, but also because of the electoral system based on d'Hont method with a local threshold of 10% in a single tour. Thus, already with highest thresholds both in local and national politics, relatively smaller parties that can not receive the support of one tenth of voters are totally isolated from the council. Moreover, the d'Hont method is known to render the stronger parties more advantaged in the seat allocation accounts. Last but not least, the contingent seats reserved for the party that obtains the largest percent of votes enhances the power of the largest party in the council. As a result, even if the electoral system of municipal councils is considered to be proportional, these privileges that the stronger parties dispose render the system quite unfair for smaller parties and thus for all voters that they represent. Yet, the situation for the voters of larger parties is not neither exemplary since the candidates are not nominally presented on the ballot preventing preferential voting. Therefore, most of

the voters make their choices without even having any idea on whom they are actually electing as a councillor. The lists prepared most often by the party apparatus behind closed doors respecting the internal power balances instead of representative or professional qualities, aggravates the problem of democratic representation of municipal councils. As a matter of fact, a national survey realised with over 1220 citizens from all over the country, reveals that only 5% of the population believes that municipal councils represent their interests (Adaman, Çarkoğlu, Şenatalar, 2005: 41).

The great absent in this transformation of municipal system and thus local politics is citizens' influence within local public affairs although the 13th article of the Law 1580 on municipalities had clearly mentioned the right of fellow-citizens to participate to local governments. But this right of fellow-citizenship unfortunately remained on paper without leading to any opportunities or instruments of citizens' participation in local politics.

The evolution of the Turkish municipal system since the eighties improved the state of local autonomy without representing an actual impact on local democracy. Central government's overseeing and control of municipal functions and resources seems to be being gradually substituted – though not entirely – by the hegemonic empowerment of local executives in the personality of mayors. Put simply, the “centre-periphery” dichotomy has been replaced by a problematic scenario of “centres in the periphery”.

Meanwhile, after dozens of draft bills, lengthy debates in specific commissions and parliamentary sessions, the AKP (Party of Justice and Development) government reformed the law on local governments in July 2005. The new legislation enhances the local autonomy by delegating more competencies and resources and lightening the administrative tutelage. It is also true that the status of municipal councils has been relatively improved by new legal changes such as monthly meetings, the introduction of the strategic plans providing concrete references for the control of mayors by municipal councils, the equal representation of elected councillors in the executive committee as well as the creation of commissions of expertise and control. Moreover, the new law emphasises also the importance of civic participation by introducing new mechanisms and practices (city councils, strategic plans, growing influence of the *muhtar* and explicit emphasise of the participation of experts to the specific municipal commissions). But the fate of the ‘rights of fellow-citizens in the former legislation makes us sceptical about the actual practice. As a matter of fact, the concern for more a democratic

municipal structure seems to be quite shadowed by efforts for more efficient, effective and economic local governments respecting the neo-liberal priorities and principles.

Debates over the necessity to reform local governments have been continuing in Turkey since the eighties or almost thirty years. Suggestions about reforms related to local governments are mainly based on three arguments: an expectation for democratization which is based on a liberal approach and draws a positive parallel between democracy and local governments; an effective and efficient provision of local services underpinned by a neo-liberal transformation in a manner consistent with market conditions; and finally supporting local entrepreneurship born out of the concepts of globalization and “competing localities”.

4.1.5. EU and Democratization Projects in Turkey

The 26 November 1983 elections which ended the military administration did not ensure the swift return to democracy in Turkey. Those who gained the right to rule the country after 26 November and the following general elections didn't engage in the path of democratization. To them, ruling the country within the legal order of the 12th September Constitution was much easier.

In spite of this situation, the opposition initiated by intellectuals and lawmakers gradually increased the demand for democracy. Civil society intensified its efforts to assemble. During this period the European Union, and European institutions in general(either formal or civilian) no doubt gave their support to the forces struggling for democracy in Turkey. However, it cannot be argued that such support was sufficient. The number of projects implemented using EU funds is very few. On the other hand, the tendency of EU and Member States officials to criticise human rights violations in Turkey on an ethnic basis was an inadequate approach to the democratization and human rights improvements issue. Human rights violations in Turkey do not solely concern the members of a specific ethnic group. And, among the NGOs, it is not only some "known" ones who are fighting to improve human rights in Turkey. This single-dimensioned approach occasionally has led the Turkish public opinion to react. No matter how far behind civil society they stayed, political elites did not remain insensitive to civil requests for democratization and human rights improvement. From 1987 onwards, the 1982 Constitution was gradually amended towards more democratization.

As a result of all these constitutional amendments, the weight of the State in the State-Individual relations has decreased, the individual has gained significance, the scope of politics

has broadened, steps have been taken to meet the requirements of a lawful State and the process of amending the Constitution has been facilitated. Despite all these changes, it still cannot be argued that the 1982 Constitution meets international standards or the principles laid down in the European Human Rights Convention. Further amendments must be adopted.

As well as internal dynamics, Turkey's candidacy to the European Union also constituted a major driving force behind the adoption of the 2001 constitutional amendments. As the publication date of the European Union's progress reports approaches, the Turkish Parliament is intensifying its amending efforts.

Democracy is an ever-evolving and developing concept. Leaving aside the Ancient Greek democracy, the understanding of democracy evolved continually for two centuries before it gained its present form and content. And it will no doubt continue to develop and change in the future. Turkey itself has a long constitutional history dating back to 1876, as well as an experience of pluralist democracy that it has been implementing since 1908 and especially after 1946. However, in this article, Turkey's democratization process and the influence of the European Union on it will be analysed, taking the 1980 military coup as a starting point.

When assessing problems related to Turkey's democratization, we will take as a reference international, in particular European, documents on human rights and democratic principles, as well as the principles set in the Conclusions of the 29 June 1990 Copenhagen Summit, and also the practices of developed democratic countries.

The military coup of 12th September put an end to the order established by the 1961 Constitution. The democratic order set by the 1961 Constitution was an order which, under the circumstances of the time, to a great extent conformed to the standard of democracy as defined today by the Copenhagen political criteria. Though the concept of democracy has undoubtedly evolved since 1961, nevertheless, the 1961 Constitution, with the modification of a few articles, was a text that could meet the Copenhagen Criteria, even in today's circumstances. The legal order that prevailed in the 1960's and in the 1970's also was a legal order no doubt capable of meeting the Copenhagen Criteria with small changes, since it conformed to the 1961 Constitution. As a consequence of this order being abolished with the 12th September coup, democracy in Turkey regressed.

The 12th September military regime fundamentally changed the basic legal order, limited the political participation required for a pluralist democracy, brought unacceptable restrictions to

basic human rights and freedoms, weakened the independence of the judiciary and judicial certainty, and alienated the concept of the supremacy of law. In other words, " Society was forced to wear very tight clothing."

Wanting to have control over all aspects of society, the regime brought militarism to an extreme. The "State" was put before the "human." A legal order aimed at supervising all spheres of life was created. The military administration passed 378 laws before and 258 laws after the adoption of the 1982 Constitution. These laws are fundamental laws, such as Martial Law, the Law on Higher Education, the Law regarding the Supreme Board of Judges and Prosecutors, the Law on Higher Military Administrative Court, the Law on Military Judges, the Law on the State Council, the Law on Judges and Public Prosecutors, the Law concerning the National Security Council, etc.

These laws introduced prior to the adoption of the Constitution served as the basis for the Constitution, and many of their provisions were drawn as constitutional provisions. The 1982 Constitution, thus, emerged as a "constitution consistent with the laws". Furthermore, this Constitution also forbade control by the Constitutional Court of the laws adopted during the military administration period. The 12th September Constitution was somehow applied as a second Constitution while regulating the martial law procedures. Martial Law procedures were themselves regulated almost as an illegal administrative regime. If we consider that Martial Law procedures had been applied continually since December 1978, the seriousness of the situation might be better understood.

There is no evidence that the European Union effectively opposed these developments as they took place in Turkey and as the concept of a democratic regime regressed. Europe tended to accept these events as "Turkey's internal policy". Opposition remained weak and ineffective. After the 1980 military coup, neither the European Union nor the European Council made any substantial step to ensure the protection of the 1961 Constitution and the legal order set in conformity with it. After the Army took over the administration and defeated the Parliament, the EEC Foreign Ministers Council, granting the Military some time credit, declared on 15 September 1980 that it would continue cooperation with Turkey. Following a request made by the European Parliament to the Council and the Commission to suspend the Turkey- EEC Agreement, it was necessary to wait until 22 January 1982 for relations to be formally frozen. The same day, the European Parliament also took the decision to suspend the duties of the

Joint Parliamentary Committee's European wing until general elections were held in Turkey and a parliament was formed.

Opposing the 12 September Administration was not easy. It would have taken a hero to oppose such an administration in a context where there was no legal certainty, where fear was dominant and where all means of pressure were used. Even handing the administration a petition containing democratic requests was considered as a crime. In this context, it should be remembered that those who signed "The Intellectuals' Petition" were all prosecuted.

The 26 November 1983 elections which ended the military administration did not ensure the swift return to democracy. Those who gained the right to rule the country after 26 November and the following general elections didn't engage in the path of democratization. To them, ruling the country within the legal order of the 12th September Constitution was much easier.

In spite of this situation, the opposition initiated by intellectuals and lawmakers gradually increased the demand for democracy. Civil society intensified its efforts to assemble. The Foundation for Turkish Democracy was established in 1987. The 1990's witnessed the creation of the Helsinki Citizen's Association and the Foundation for Social Democracy. These and similar organizations carried out, and continue to carry out, a very important struggle for democratization in Turkey.

The chairmen of higher judicial bodies, on the occasion of opening ceremonies of new judicial years, or at anniversaries of the Constitutional Court and of the State Council, relentlessly reiterated their requests for the rule of law, the independence of the judiciary and democracy in Turkey.

By the end of the 1980's, "Turkey began to speak up". The "Wednesday Meetings" organized in Ankara by the Political Sciences Faculty Association (Mülkiyeliler Birliği) and meetings that the Istanbul branch of the same Association held every weekend for four years in Istanbul may be forgotten today. These meetings, where Turkey's democratization problems were debated, received high interest. Prior to the 1991 elections, all political party leaders - including the banned ones- attended these meetings. We mention these meetings only as an example, since it is known that throughout Turkey, professional chambers and NGOs arranged similar meetings.

The "Democracy Assembly" headed by Aziz Nesin and Sadun Aren gathered during the same period. The "Democracy Observation Council" created by the Democracy Assembly set up the Constitutional Assembly and, after months of preparations and discussions on Turkey's constitutional problem together with NGOs and political parties, the basic principles for a new constitutional text were finally adopted. Parallel to these works, the Istanbul branch of the Political Sciences Faculty Association organized a "Constitutional Forum" which met for one week and concluded its proceedings by producing a document close to 1000 pages.

One should not forget that in the 1980's and early 1990's, concrete constitutional studies were also undertaken. During this period, trade unions, the press council, TUSIAD, several civil initiatives and single individuals designed and opened to discussion basic constitutional principles or Constitution texts directly.

This context created by Turkey's democratic forces influenced the political parties. Prior to the parliamentary elections held in 1991, all major political parties had acknowledged the importance of drafting a new constitution and had undertaken studies in this direction. One may cite among them the book published by DYP entitled "Working Regime, Working State" and the one edited by SHP titled "Motivated Constitutional Text". All of such studies were later published in 1993 in 3 volumes by Parliament's Presidency.

However, the project of drafting a new constitution was not put into concrete form, and it wasn't until 1995 that comprehensive constitutional amendments were adopted.

However, the NGOs requests for democratization, far from stopping, continued increasingly. Especially after the constitutional amendment of October 2001, public opinion created intense pressures for the adoption of the "harmonization laws" by the Parliament. In the months of June-July 2002, as Parliament was heading towards the decision to call for early elections. Political parties on the eve of early elections didn't remain insensitive to the call made by some 175 NGO's for the passing of harmonization laws before parliamentary recess. The new Law, modifying various laws, limits the death penalty to times of war or imminent threat of war, lifts the prohibitions on teaching and broadcasting in mother tongue and brings some further improvements. It was finally adopted by the Parliament on 3 August 2002, as a result of intense NGO pressures.

A point that attracts attention in Turkey's struggle for democratization is that universities remained completely outside this struggle. One may even argue that academic circles

constituted an impediment to democratization. Although some professors surely contributed on an individual basis to the struggle for democratization, it is widely known that such academicians were seen with a critical eye by the chairmen of the High Education Board (YÖK), and were subject to pressure or were forced to resign from their position.

Following the 1983 general elections, a process to revive EU-Turkey relations was initiated and, on 14 April 1987, Turkey formally applied for full EU membership.

During this period the European Union, and European institutions in general(either formal or civilian) no doubt gave their support to the forces struggling for democracy in Turkey. However, it cannot be argued that such support was sufficient. The number of projects implemented using EU funds is very few. Similarly, without denying the support given by European NGOs to their Turkish counterparts, one cannot say that it was enough either.

On the other hand, the tendency of EU and Member States officials to criticise human rights violations in Turkey on an ethnic basis was an inadequate approach to the democratization and human rights improvements issue. Human rights violations in Turkey do not solely concern the members of a specific ethnic group. And, among the NGOs, it is not only some "known" ones who are fighting to improve human rights in Turkey. This single-dimensioned approach occasionally has led the Turkish public opinion to react. In some cases, it has even had an impeding effect on the improvement of human rights conditions. Moreover, the tolerance shown by many European countries to terrorist organizations has also been also criticised by the Turkish public.

The democratization of Turkey is a fundamental issue concerning everyone living in the country. In this connection, all citizens, including workers, public officials, academicians, women and children, regardless of their ethnic identities, have had problems and some of these problems still exist today.

4.1.6. EU Democratization Projects and Local Governments in Turkey

Since 1999, the EU has carried out a number of major projects in support of Local Self Government. These have significantly contributed to its development, together with the Ministry of Local Self-Government as a direct counterpart and the municipal administrations and the citizens as the main beneficiaries.

The overall objective of the Technical Assistance to Support the Fiscal Decentralisation, a €2 million project initiated in February 2005 and continuing through 2007, is to assist the government to effectively manage and implement the financial aspects of the decentralisation process.

The Training and Capacity Building for Local-Self Government Institutions, a €28 million project completed in 2006, focused on developing management and technical practices for the efficient functioning of municipal urban planning units and strengthening the guiding and monitoring role of the Ministry of Local Self-Government in this area.

From 2000, Technical Assistance for Local Self- Government, totalling € 8.9 million, provided policy advice to the Ministry of Local Self-Government to enhance the dialogue between all stakeholders in the transfer of competences. The municipalities were also supported in enhancing the service delivery to the citizens, while the Association of the Units of Local Government (ZELS) was assisted in the elaboration of a business plan and the establishment of an office for training coordination. EU assistance in the Local Self Government Sector, including the support given to the local infrastructure sector, amounts to €56 million.

After a military coup in 1980, Turkey returned to civilian rule in 1983. The 1982 Constitution, however, was drafted under the aegis of the military regime and in many respects reflected its authoritarian and statist values. It gave the state sizeable discretion to restrict freedom of expression and association and gave the military an institutionalized role in many aspects of policymaking and in the judicial system. Despite some reforms in the 1990s (e.g. changes to the anti-terror law, amendments to expand freedom of association, ratification of UN and European conventions prohibiting torture), Turkey's democratic shortcomings would be consistently noted by the EU and thwarted its aspirations to join the organization (Hale, 2003). In the political science lexicon, the "costs of compliance"—especially on issues such as rights for the Kurdish minority and limiting the military's political role—were deemed intolerably high by the Turkish elite, especially when the EU was not putting the highly valued carrot of membership on the table for Turkey (Smith, 2003).

As noted, in 1999 at its Helsinki Summit, the EU formally declared Turkey a candidate member, but it was clear that Turkey would have to make progress on a number of fronts in order to meet the Copenhagen Criteria, especially with regard to political and civic freedoms,

minority rights, abolishment of the death penalty and torture, and stripping the military of its political prerogatives. If before there had been half-hearted reform efforts and only superficial debate on what EU membership would mean, the 1999 Helsinki decision would provide an “irreversible impetus” to the reform process (Avcı, 2005: 133).

As early as March 2000, the government advanced a National Programme for the Adoption of the Acquis designed to help meet EU criteria. This program proposed 89 new laws and 94 amendments to existing laws. There was, however, opposition to some proposed measures from the nationalist *Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi* (MHP, Nationalist Action Party), which was then a member of the governing coalition, and from certain voices within the military. Devlet Bahçeli, the leader of the MHP, for example, declared that Kurdish language education and broadcasting “are not going to happen” and another MHP deputy, responding to European concern on human rights issues, suggested that “issues that go against the fiber of our country are not matters open to discussion” (Kubicek, 2002: 774).

Turkish civil society has traditionally been portrayed as weak, passive, and controlled or channeled by the state through corporatist structures. Some would attribute this to vestiges of Ottoman political culture; others would point to the bureaucratic-authoritarian nature of the early Turkish republic. In any event, the stereotype was that Turks looked toward a *devlet baba* (“father-state”) rather than to social self-organization to provide leadership and essential services and that there was little genuine grassroots mobilization to underpin Turkey’s unstable democratic institutions.

This stereotype was always a bit of a caricature, as Turkey had thousands of different organizations and *vakıflar* (foundations) and one might even say that some of the more unruly elements in Turkish civil society contributed to the instability that led to a military coup in 1980. By the 1990s, after a period of substantial economic liberalization, Turkish civil society became more visible and vocal, often demanding greater political liberalization. Islamic organizations and business associations took the lead in inserting themselves into the political life of the country, with the latter deeply committed to democratization and the country’s European ambitions (Onis, and Turem, 2002: 439-456). Kurdish, Alevi, environmental, feminist and other groups appeared on the scene, and the Global Habitat II Conference in Istanbul in 1996 provided an opportunity for Turkish civic groups to act in a very visible manner (Gole, 1994). Five labor and employer organizations formed a civil initiative (*Besli Sivil İnsiyatif*) (Simsek, 2004: 46-74). Still, on a number of indicators (e.g. membership,

funding, levels of inter-personal trust), Turkish civil society was “frail,” less developed than that of advanced industrialized states (Kalaycioglu, 1998).

There has been a flurry of activity in Turkey by the EU and other external organizations with a democratization mandate (e.g. the Open Society Institute [Soros Foundation]). Both the Turkish political elite and NGO (non-governmental organization) sector are in close contact with their counterparts in Brussels and in member state capitals. While some noted that EU aid to Turkey in the 1990s was rather meager when compared to aid to countries in post-communist Europe, EU aid has become more substantial since the Helsinki summit (Lundgren, 2005). For 2000-2006, total EU assistance is expected to be almost three billion Euros, a third of which would be pre-accession oriented grants. Moreover, financial assistance is foreseen to double between 2004 and 2006. The EU envisions that its monies will be more or less equally distributed to investment in regulatory infrastructure, regional development, and institution-building. It is in the last category (which includes twinning projects to assist the Turkish bureaucracy) that non-governmental organizations can play a role in “supporting initiatives aimed at the consolidation and further development of democratic practices, the rule of law, human rights, equality for women and men and the protection of minorities”.

Certainly, there is a myriad of civic groups in Turkey that could benefit from EU largesse and political support—as of 2004, there were over 100,000 associations. Many prominent business, academic, and human rights organizations—including TUSIAD, IKV (*Iktisadi Kalkinma Vakfi*, Economic Development Foundation), *Insan Haklari Dernegi* (Human Rights Association), *Turk Tarih Vakfi* (Turkish History Foundation), *Turkiye Ucuncu Sektor Vakfi* (Third Sector Foundation of Turkey), Helsinki Citizens’ Assembly, and ARI Movement have launched many projects with EU partners, lobbied for Turkish accession in Brussels, and put pressure on the Turkish government to adopt various reforms. One hundred and seventy-five NGOs formed a consortium, European Movement (*Avrupa Hareketi*) in 2002, and the IKV took the lead in launching The Turkey Platform, which by 2004 included 269 NGOs that lobbied for Turkish membership in addition to pressuring Ankara to make necessary reforms for EU accession. Universities and academic centers play an important role in this process, with thirteen different European Documentation Centres established in Turkey to provide information and to encourage research and education on the EU. Anecdotally, one could argue that there is more interest in EU Studies in Turkey than anywhere elsewhere else in Europe (Goksel, and Gunes, 2005).

Without question, there has been a real effort by the EU to engage NGOs in the Turkish reform process. While most of the aid monies goes to programs to help with the Turkish government, the NGO sector has also been involved in numerous exchanges, seminars, conferences, and partnerships with Europeans. The EU's Civil Society Development Programme's (CSDP) aims to boost NGO capacity in a number of areas (e.g. project design and implementation, fundraising, communication, employment) and to "develop capacity for citizen's initiatives and dialogue, domestically and abroad, and to help establish a more balanced relationship between citizens and the state, thereby contributing to the maturing of democratic practice." It oversees a program with five components: local civic initiatives, Greek-Turkish civic dialogue, a trade union dialogue, police professionalism, and development of chambers (Rumelili, 2005). All stress cooperation with international partners, and for 2003-2004 were funded with eight million Euros. Funding for civic initiatives has included various projects, some apolitical (e.g. a bird watching program, civic engineering), but many that touched clearly on political themes (e.g. support to the Women Solidarity Foundation, Pir Sultan Abdal Cultural Association [an Alevi group], and the Circassian Cultural Association of Adana [an advocate for an ethnic minority group]). Other EU programs stress human rights development and education, and in June 2003 the European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights launched a competition for funding for micro-projects on issues of torture, anti-discrimination, and good governance. Thirteen projects were given a total of 600,000 Euro. In 2004, the EU launched another project to improve NGO-public sector cooperation, which had been envisioned as a priority in a 2003 reform when the Ministry of Interior formed a department for outreach to civic associations. Other EU-financed programs include a human rights photographic exhibition and a program to provide human rights material to Turkish youth.

These projects are not large in Euro terms, particularly compared to assistance to the Turkish government, but this external support is vital for more local, non-business oriented groups that do not have powerful Turkish patrons. Moreover, as two activists from the ARI Movement note, cooperation with European and other actors have bolstered the legitimacy and credibility of domestic NGOs, as well as providing a benchmark of sorts (e.g. comparing the status of women in Europe with that in Turkey) that also helps activists make a case for reform (Goksel, and Gunes, 2005).

In addition to these democratization projects, Regional Developments Programmes, supported by the European Union, are being implemented in 12 regions throughout Turkey. These

programmes aim to reduce the economic and social disparities among the diverse regions of Turkey. The Regional Development Programme in Samsun, Kastamonu, Erzurum (SKE) NUTS II Regions is one of them and it includes the provinces of Amasya, Çorum, Samsun, Tokat, Çankiri, Sinop, Erzurum, Erzincan and Bayburt.

The strategic aim of the Regional Development Programme in SKE NUTS II Regions is to encourage economic development and ensure its viability. Local development initiatives, SMEs and small scale infrastructure projects constitute the priority issues of the programme.

The objectives of the Local Development Initiatives Grant Scheme are to increase the quality of human resources capacity and services to disadvantaged groups. In line with these objectives, projects addressing the needs of the regions and encouraging cooperation among public institutions, NGOs and universities are supported. The aim of the SME Grant Scheme on the other hand is to address the needs of SMEs in agriculture, manufacturing and service sectors.

Priority has been given to micro and small-sized enterprises. Increasing the competitiveness of the SMEs by supporting innovations and entrepreneurship is also among the objectives of the scheme. Accordingly, enterprises are provided with consulting services in the fields of technology and management.

Also the news published at Turkish newspaper, Hurriyet on the date of Monday, May 31, 2010 includes interesting points regarding the democratization projects of EU in Turkey:

“Thirteen democratization projects worth more than 1.5 million euros have been approved by the European Union within the framework of Turkey’s EU membership bid.

Project themes range from social justice to social inclusion to protection human rights. They are aimed at including nongovernmental actors in raising public awareness and helping initiate the necessary reforms.

The project awarded the most funding is titled “Promotion of Human Rights for Sex Workers and Transgender people” with a grant worth 140,000 euros. The projects have already been launched and will last on average 16 months.

The funding comes with the legislation of the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights, or EIDHR, which is managed by the Section for Institution Building and Civil Society at the Delegation of the European Union to Turkey, or EUD.

By funding projects with major democratic themes, EIDHR aims to support national and international civil society organizations in the promotion of human rights and democracy in candidate countries, such as Turkey, in which absolute respect for such principles is an essential requirement for EU membership.

Unlike traditional political dialogue, financial cooperation, trade and investment with third country governments, this instrument aims for the inclusion on nongovernmental actors to raise public awareness and help an initiation and implementation of crucial reforms.

Officials of the EUD office in Ankara, told the Hurriyet Daily News & Economic Review in a written statement that after the 2009 calls for proposals, more than 100 project outlines were received, out of which the 30 highest-scoring proposals were invited to send in a full application. The winning projects were selected by an evaluation committee, which was set up under the authority of the EUD.

The projects are focused on various themes including social justice for laid-off people, social inclusion of discriminated groups such as Roma people, homosexuals, sex workers, HIV/AIDS patients, the protection of fundamental human rights and the struggle with violence against women.

A significant rise in EU-project funding has been noticed during recent years as a result of Turkey's accession bid. According to the AB Ilan website, the Central Finance and Contracts Unit, which works independently of the EU and is responsible for the administration of funds from the Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance, has made an announcement that the project selection procedures would last substantially longer than in past years due the increasing number of applications" (Hurriyet Daily News, Turkey, <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/n.php?n=thirteen-projects-approved-to-be-funded-by-the-eu-2010-05-27>, Access Date: 22.07.2010).

But, on the other hand, following the evaluation of these projects, it is easily seen that EU does not have democratization projects directly involved in the democratization of local

governments in Turkey, as it has and realize in other candidate or proposed countries, such as Serbia or Kosovo.

CONCLUSION

Since the eighties, Turkish municipal framework has undergone very significant administrative, financial and functional changes, albeit without bringing about a veritable democratisation of local politics. As a matter of fact, the popular understanding of local democracy in Turkey does not really deal with infralocal democratic issues such as the problems of power distribution, of political representation and participation. Thus, a different understanding of local democracy beyond dimensions of administrative tutelage, financial resources and functional limits is required.

Historically, the Turkish administrative system has had a strong centralist orientation that reflected the relative weakness of local institutions vis-à-vis the state. Burdened with the excessive and financial controls exercised over them by the central resources, municipalities remained weak and dependent on Ankara.

In such an administrative tradition, local democracy has been naturally perceived in direct reference to the central government and thus corresponded roughly to the administrative and financial autonomy of local governments, particularly that of municipalities. Trapped on such a narrow stage, the enhancement of local democracy was reduced to an isolated power struggle between the central and local players in which citizens have no significant role to play. For instance, in one of the few works dealing specifically with local democracy, Görmez discusses the evolution of Turkish municipal framework from a democratic perspective. Even if he defines local democracy as the effective participation of citizens directly or indirectly to the decision-making processes, in the study, the notion appears usually as a quasi synonym of local autonomy. Thus, author's discussion on Turkish local democracy follows mainly the changes about financial resources, legal competencies as well as functions of and administrative tutelage over Turkish local governments. In such an approach, even the law on expropriation by municipalities appears as an issue of local democracy. Consequently, author interprets the rights on urban plans as well as the new financial resources that the municipalities acquired in the 1980s as very significant steps towards local democracy.

Enjoying a greater autonomy and enhanced financial resources as well as carrying out very important socio-economic functions, Turkish municipalities are no longer simple subjects of the central government. Nevertheless, this improved status of municipal bodies has not actually resolved the problematic of Turkish local democracy if a different understanding of

the concept simply beyond dimensions of administrative tutelage, financial resources and functional limits is adopted. As a matter of fact, the popular understanding of local democracy in Turkey does not quite deal with infra-local democratic issues such as the problems of power distribution, representation and participation. Therefore, a different conceptualisation of local democracy including more political elements is required for understanding the contemporary state of Turkish local politics.

In the 1980s and 1990s, the Turkish political life has undergone a problematic path in regard to democracy. The coup d'état in 1980 gave a break to the parliamentary regime and the military took over the government itself. The Constitution of 1961, which has been known as the most liberal and democratic Constitution of the Republic, was replaced by a new and much more conservative one, the Constitution of 1982. The consequent military rule between 1980 and 1983 and the following period under the aegis of this Constitution were marked by a quite restrictive and anti-democratic regime. Despite these regressive developments encompassing the society, there was an almost complete docility on the part of the masses in the 1980s, in contrast with the period before the coup. There had been some oppositions favouring democracy, but they were far from being effective on critical segments of society, let alone forcing a democratisation in the country. Some mass movements of the workers occurred through the end of the 1980s; however, the basic orientation of these movements was the level of wages, rather than an agenda of democratisation.

In December 1999, Turkey's candidacy to EU membership was approved at the Helsinki summit of the European Council. This remarkable event was assumed as one of the most important developments in Turkish history. It marked a certain change in the aura of politics. Meeting the requirements of accession to the EU has become a grand national project. As a result, many important political actors aligned themselves with this project, and they almost univocally started to support Turkey's "harmonisation" with the EU *acquis communautaire*. Within this context, what may be called a "democratisation project" took start in Turkey.

By the late 1990s a "democratisation" project was due in Turkey in relation with Turkey's candidacy and accession to the European Union. One of the most well-known and most effective organisations that support this project is the local governments.

For a country's accession to the European Union, the Union has put some conditions to be fulfilled by the candidate country. This conditionality has its origins in the principles set at the

beginning of the European integration process: the setting of at least political conditions for accession was far from new. The plans for a European Political Community in the early 1950s would have demanded that members of the putative Community were democracies. The Hague summit of 1969 established that it was the duty of any applicant state to adopt the *acquis* and the political aims of the treaties. With a view to possible southern enlargement, the Copenhagen summit of 1978 affirmed that respect for representative democracy and human rights were essential elements of membership

These conditions before membership are embodied in what is called as “accession criteria”, or “Copenhagen criteria” since they have been agreed upon at the Copenhagen European Council in 1993. These criteria are listed as;

- stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities;
- the existence of a functioning market economy as well as the capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union;
- the ability to take on the obligations of membership including adherence to the aims of political, economic and monetary union.
- and additionally, having created] the conditions for its integration through the adjustment of its administrative structures, so that European Community legislation transposed into national legislations implemented effectively through appropriate administrative and judicial structures.

The fulfilment of the political criteria involved in the first item above is a precondition before the Union’s starting the “negotiation phase” with a candidate country, whereas the other conditions are considered in the later stages of accession process.

What is important for the matter of concern in this thesis is how the framework of democracy and democratisation is drawn in the publications of the EU Commission. At this point the progress reports are in the same line with the conception in the accession partnership documents outlined above. What the progress reports show besides is that a gradual move towards a more positive perception of the situation in Turkey by the Commission is evident, as well as a continuing record of inadequacy of the current situation. And in this thesis it is

regarded that, local governments are the main actors to achieve this targets regarding the democratization.

For the establishment and/or consolidation of democracy in the non-Western world, the establishment and/or empowerment of “civil society” against the state and the enhancement of political institutionalisation are of great importance. While civil society is not itself adequate to guarantee the consolidation of democracy it is a requirement for sustainable democratisation, whereas political institutionalisation is strongly required.

In the historical process in which the current democratisation project came into play in Turkey, there have occurred significant transformations related to the form of state in both the “Western” and “non-Western” capitalist countries. In the light of the discussions above, these transformations can be listed as, the strengthening of the Executive and state administration with regard to legislation and judiciary; the publicly elected governments’ being deprived of the tools of intervention into economics, which has been carried out through privatisations and transfer of authority; exclusion of the subordinate classes from the field of policymaking, especially from the fields related to economic management; resolution of competitive party politics, and in general, representational institutions’ losing power; the strengthening of the heads of the major parties – especially of those in the government – against the lower levels, resulting in a lowered representational control on the parties; extended hegemony and dominance of monopoly capital over the other classes and fractions, especially over the working class.

The transformations related to the form of state, which downgraded the representational national government, have gone hand in hand with the transfer of authority from the central government to the bodies of the local state. However, this transfer of authority has not altered the general direction of the changes which have been to the disadvantage of the working classes. The neoliberal transformations have taken place at the level of local state, as well as at the level of central state. The restructuring of the state occurs in a conjuncture in which the city-state relation is characterised primarily by the “reproduction of capital” in contrast with the previous period (1945 - mid 1970s) in which this relation was constructed primarily in the process of reproduction of labour.

According to Şengül, in the last twenty years, market oriented hegemonic projects paved the way for a transformation of the state structures in both the national and local contexts, and in

both the advanced and less developed capitalist countries, alike. Two main characteristics of the transformations about the relation between the central and local state, which have been taking place in Turkey, could be listed as, the presentation of the local as the locus of democracy and participation, and transfer of authority from the central to the local for the sake of democratisation.

However, in effect, the outcomes of the current transformations have been to the disadvantage of the working classes, particularly since they make class based representation impossible.

REFERENCES

BOOKS

- Adaman, F.; Çarkođlu, A.; Őenatalar, B., (2005), Toplumun Kamu Yönetimine, Kamu Hizmetlerine ve Reforma Bakışı, İstanbul, Tesev yay.
- Avcı, G., (2005), Turkey's EU Politics: What Justifies Reforms?, in Helene Sjørnsen (ed), Enlargement in Perspective (Oslo: ARENA Report No: 2).
- Aytaç, F., (1990), Belediye Kanunu'nun oluşumu, uygulanması ve deđişiklikleri [The determination, application and changes of the municipal law] Türk belediyeciliđinde 60 yıl bildiri metinleri [60 years in Turkish municipalism conference proceedings], Ankara, Metropol İmar A.S. and IULAEMME, pp. 86-106.
- Beauregard, R.A. and Pierre J., (2000), Disputing the Global: A Skeptical View of Locality Based International Initiatives, Policy and Politics, Volume 28, No. 4, Pages 465-78.
- Bennet, R.J., (1990), Decentralization: Local Governments and Markets, Clarendon Press, London.
- Bozlađan, R. and Demirkaya, Y., (2008), Türkiye'de Yerel Yönetimler; Tarkan Oktay, Belediye Kurumunun Tarihsel Gelişimi, Nobel Basımevi, Ankara.
- Clark, D., (1999), Urban World/Global City, Routledge, London.
- Cooper R. N., (1987), The International Monetary System, Essays in World Economies, The MIT Press; (Daşdelen 2005); Akdiş M., (2001) Para Teorisi ve Politikası, Beta Yayınları.
- Deng, Francis et.al., (1996), Sovereignty as Responsibility: Conflict Management in Africa.
- Eliçin-Arıkan, Y., (1997), Municipalités Métropolitaines Et Municipalités D'arrondissement en Turquie, CEMOTI, 24, pp. 71-104.
- Friedman, T.L., (2000), The Lexus and The Olive Tree; Understanding Globalization, Anchor Books, A Division of Random House Inc, Newyork.

- Garesche, Eugene D. Zapata, (2007), Guidelines for the International Relations of Local Governments and Decentralized Cooperation Between the European Union and Latin America, Practical Manual for the Internationalization of the Cities, Volume 1, Barcelona.
- Görmez, K., (1997), Yerel Demokrasi ve Türkiye, Ankara, Cadı Yayınları.
- Güler, B.A., (1998), Yerel Yönetimler: Liberal Açıklamalara Eleştirel Yaklaşım [Local Governments: Critical Approach to Liberal Explanations], Ankara, TODAİE.
- Hale, W., (2003), Human Rights, The European Union and the Turkish Accession Process.
- Harvey, D., (1989), From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation in Urban Governance in Late Capitalism, Geografiska Annaler B, Vol. 1, s. 3–17.
- Heywood, Andrew, (2007), Politics, Palgrave Foundations, Third Edition, New York.
- Huntington, S.P., (1991), The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century.
- Gole, N., (1994), Toward an Autonomisation of Politics and Civil Society in Turkey, in Metin Heper and Ahmet Evin, eds. Politics in the Third Turkish Republic (Boulder: Westview, 1994).
- Güler B. A., (1998), Yerel Yönetimler, 2. Baskı, TODAİE Yayınları, Ankara.
- Jacobs, J., (1984), Cities And The Wealth of Nations: Principles of Economic Life, Random House, New York.
- Joshi, R.M., (2009), International Business, Oxford University Press, New Delhi and New York.
- Kalaycioglu, E., (1998), Good Governance and Human Development in Turkey, in Human Development Report: Turkey 1998 (Ankara: UNDP, 1998).
- Knox, P. and P. Taylor (eds.), (1995), World Cities In A World System, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

- Lundgren, A., (2005), Priorisations in the Enlargement Process: Are Some Candidates More 'European' Than Others?, in Helene Sjursen, ed. Enlargement in Perspective (Oslo: ARENA Report no. 2/05, 2005).
- Marglin, S.A. and Schor, J., (1990), The Golden Age Of Capitalism: Reinterpreting The Postwar Experience, Clarendon Pres, Oxford and New York.
- Morphet, J., (2008), Modern Local Government, SAGE Publication Ltd, London.
- Mumcu, C. and Ünlü, H., (1990), İdare hukuku açısından belediye kanunu [Municipal law in the administrative code perspective] in Türk belediyeciliğinde 60 yıl bildiri metinleri [60 years in Turkish municipalism conference proceedings], Ankara, Metropol İmar A.S. and IULA-EMME, pp. 107-118.
- Onis, Z. and Turem, U. (2002), Entrepreneurs, Democracy, and Citizenship in Turkey, Comparative Politics.
- Russett, B., (1993), Grasping the Democratic Peace: Principles for a Post-Cold War World.
- Short, J.R. and Y. Kim, (1999), Globalization And The City, Addison Wesley Longman, Essex.
- Sisk, Timothy D., (2000), Global Networks for Democracy Promotion: Enhancing Local Governance, Case Study for the UN Vision Project on Global Public Policy Networks, Senior Research Associate Graduate School of International Studies University of Denver, Denver, Colorado.
- Smith, M.P., (2001), Transnational Urbanism: Locating Globalization, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford.
- Smith, W.T., (2003), The Politics of Conditionality: The European Union and Human Rights Reform in Turkey.
- Sutcliffe, R., (2001), 100 Ways of Seeing an Unequal World. London: Zed Books.
- Şengül, H.T., (2001), 'Türkiye'de Kentleşmenin İzlediği Yol Üzerine: Bir Dönemleme Girişimi [On The Path That The Urbanisation Has Followed in Turkey: An attempt of

periodisation]' in Kentsel Çelişki ve Siyaset [Urban Contradiction And Politics], İstanbul, Demokrasi Kitaplığı.

Ünlü, Halil, Yerel Yönetimler Arası İşbirliği, Yerel Yönetimin Geliştirilmesi El Kitapları Dizisi, Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı ve IULA-EMME, 2. Baskı, İstanbul 1994.

Wellman, B. and S.D. Berkowitz (eds.), (1998), Social Structures: A Network Approach, Cambridge University Pres, Cambridge.

Wolman and Goldsmith, eds., (1992), Urban Politics and Policy: A Comparative Approach.

Yıldırım S., (1993) Yerel Yönetim ve Demokrasi, Yerel Yönetimin Geliştirilmesi Programı El Kitapları Dizisi, TOKİ ve IULA-EMME, İstanbul.

ARTICLES

Andrew, C. and Goldsmith, M. (1998), From Local Government to Local Governance: And Beyond? International Political Science Review, Vol. 19, No. 2, New Trends in Municipal Government, pp. 101-117.

Bayraktar, S.U., (2007), Turkish Municipalities: Reconsidering Local Democracy Beyond Administrative Autonomy, European Journal of Turkish Studies, revues.org.

Daoudov, Murat, (2008), Yerelden Uluslararası Hedeflere: Yerelden Dünyaya Açılmak, Uluslararası Perspektif, Sayı 2008/1, s.36-39.

Faguet, Jean-Paul (1997) Decentralization and Local Government Performance: Centre for Economic Performance and Development Studies Institute, London School of Economics

Goksel, D.N. and Gunes, R.B., (2005), The Role of NGOs in the European Integration Process—The Turkish Experience, South European Society and Politics 10:1, March 2005.

Kubicek, P., (2002), The Earthquake, Civil Society and Political Change in Turkey: Assessment and Comparison with Eastern Europe, Political Studies, Vol.50, No.4.

- Köse, Ömer (2004), “Yerel Yönetim Olgusu ve Küreselleşme Sürecinde Yükselişi”: Sayıştay Dergisi, Sayı 52, Ocak-Mart, s.3-42.
- Local Governments And International Development Co-Operation: A European Survey on Strategies and Policies, Un-Habitat, Best Practices Seville Centre For City-To-City Co-Operation, May 2006.
- Lacy, D. P., M. J. Dougherty, and P. D. Gibson, (2002), Models of Community Planning, Strengthening Communities, Enhancing Cooperative Extension’s Role, National Community Resources and Economic Development (CRED) Conference, Orlando, Florida, February, 25, 2002.
- Modelski, G. (1999),. Ancient World Cities 4000-1000 BC: Centre/Hinterland in the World System, *Global Society* 13:4, October 1999, pp. 383-392.
- Palabıyık, H., (2004), Yönetimden Yönetişime Geçiş ve Ötesi Üzerine Kavramsal Açıklamalar, *Amme İdaresi Dergisi, TODAİE*, Cilt37, Sayı: 1, Mart, s.63–85.
- Rondinelli, et al., (1981), Government Decentralization in Comparative Perspective: Developing Countries", *International Review of Administrative Science*, 47(2).
- Rumelili, B., (2005), *South European Society and Politics*, 10:1, March 2005.
- Schneider, H. (1999), "Participatory Governance: The Missing Link for Poverty Reduction", OECD Development Centre Policy Briefs, No. 17, OECD Publishing, doi:10.1787/888041015581; UN, International Conference on Governance for Sustainable Growth and Equity, Part 1: Background and Opening of Conference, Draft Interim Report, New York, 28–30 July, 1997.
- Simsek, S., (2004), The Transformation of Civil Society in Turkey: From Quantity to Quality, *Turkish Studies*, Vol.5, No.3 (Autumn 2004).
- Van Vliet, W., (2002), *Cities in a Globalizing World: Growth to Agents of Change*, Environment and Urbanization, Vol 14, No. 1, April 2002.

INTERNET

Globalization: What is it?, about.com.: US Foreign Policy, <http://usforeignpolicy.about.com/od/trade/a/whatisgz.htm> , (Accessed on 18 June 2010).

<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Globalization>, (Accessed on 11 June 2010).

<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/IndustrialRevolution>, (Accessed on 11 June 2010).

What is Cultural Globalization?, <http://www.wisegeek.com/what-is-cultural-globalization.htm> (Accessed on 11 June 2010).

<http://www.answers.com/topic/local-government>, (Accessed on 12 June 2010).

Good Governance in Local Government, www.cipfa.org.uk/pt/consultations.cfm (Accessed on 20 June 2010).

Local Governments and International Development Co-Operation: A European Survey on Strategies and Policies, UN-HABITAT Best Practices Seville Centre for City-To-City Co-Operation, Avda. Carlos III s/n 41092 - Seville – Spain, May 2006, <http://www.unhabitat.org/programmes/bestpractices/> (Accessed on 07 August 2010).

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). (1999). Handbook of Trade and Development Statistics 1996/1997. Geneva: United Nations.

Hurriyet Daily News, Turkey, <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/n.php?n=thirteen-projects-approved-to-be-funded-by-the-eu-2010-05-27>, Access Date: 22.07.2010.

CURRICULUM VITAE OF THE AUTHOR

Ümit ASLAN

Personal Information :

Date of Birth : 1977
Place of Birth : Ömerli/MARDİN
Marital Status : Married

Education :

High School : He has completed his primary and secondary education in Ömerli and Diyarbakir.
Undergraduate : Graduated from Anadolu University, Open Education Faculty, Public Administration Undergraduate Program.

Work Experiences:

: He currently works in Public Sector (Küçükçekmece Municipality), speaks English and Arabic languages.