

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC MUNICIPALISM IN TURKEY: THE METROPOLITAN MUNICIPAL CASE OF ANKARA

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Abstract

This article is aimed to concentrate on the ‘Social Democratic Municipalism’ (SDM) approach in Turkey which was emerged as a result of the significant tension between social democrat municipalities and central government. At the study, a specific period and a certain geography examined by the help of a case study of Ankara metropolitan municipality social democrat mayor Ali Dinçer’s period social democratic policies and practices, from 1977 to 12 September 1980 for developing proposals concerning the strengths and weaknesses at social municipal initiatives. In the article, it is tried to set up a bridge between the principles of new municipalism approach and Ali Dinçer’s social initiatives to make a detailed evaluation. The findings demonstrate that while the mayor Dinçer implemented the new municipalism principles and contributed lots of benefits to the urban citizens; there had been also drawbacks at the application of those principles. Finally, this article concludes that while SDM approach brings an alternative municipalism approach, the social principles had not been applied and realized as it was desired.

Key Words: Social Democratic Municipalism, New Municipalism, Municipal Socialism, Social Democratic Municipalism Principles

1. Introduction

The ‘SDM’ approach which is also called as ‘New Municipal Movement’ in Turkey was born as a pure initiative of several social democrat mayors during the term covering from 1973 to the 12 September 1980 de-coup in Turkey. The changing ideology and practices of the municipalities during the 1970s created significant tension between the left-wing municipalities and central government. On the one hand, the political center did not respond positively to the demands coming from the municipalities to decentralize the political system in order to strengthen the municipalities. On the other hand, when municipalities attempted to use their existing resources and power to initiate new projects, the central government usually attempted to turn the large cities into battlegrounds between central government and the municipalities (Tekeli, 1982, p. 162). So, it can be stated that that new municipalism approach emerged as a result of the conflicts lived between municipalities and central government. The heavy administrative and financial tutelage of the

central government on local administrations pushed the municipalities to the new searches and led to the development of the 'SDM' (Göymen, 1983, p. 2843).

That approach added new principles to local administrative formation in Turkey aside from collective consumption; such as the principles of collaborative and integrative municipality, resource generative municipality, producer municipality, housing, consumption regulator municipality, democratic and participatory municipality. However, the 'SDM' approach which was shaped by the social democrat mayors' practices had been put forth with different administrative experiences. The 'SDM' understanding in Turkey, particularly with the impact of the 12 September de-coup, is not institutionalized at the Turkey's social democracy and stayed with the identification of the names of certain mayors such as İhsan Alyanak (1973-1980) in Izmir, Ali Dinçer (1977-1980) in Ankara, and Ahmet İsvan (1973-1977) in Istanbul. More concretely, it can be stated that while SDM approach brings an alternative municipalism approach, the social principles of new municipalism approach had not been applied and realized as it was desired.

Within the framework of this article, it is aimed to concentrate on a specific period. In other words, the 'SDM' period in Turkey is examined with a certain geography and a time period to analyse the social municipalism initiatives which had been applied under the newly developed municipal understanding. For this purpose, the metropolitan local administration of Ankara municipality social democrat mayor Ali Dinçer's policies and practices at 'SDM' approach in Turkey are examined from 1977 to 12 September 1980 for developing proposals concerning the strengths and weaknesses at social municipal initiatives. In this respect, the literature review and Turkish journals' review (Ankara metropolitan mayor's 1977 local election declarations and his social municipal initiatives news have been deeply searched) have been made for reaching a detailed information concerning that related period.

This article starts out by discussing the factors that affect the social municipalism notion. The main target of this part of the article is to put forth the main dynamics at the emergence of the 'SDM' approach. The second section of the article presents the principles of this newly developed social municipalism understanding and the emergence of the notion at Turkey's municipal administrative framework. At the third section of the study, Ankara Metropolitan Municipal Case, the mayor Ali Dinçer's period is examined to demonstrate the strengths and weaknesses of Ankara local administration at social municipal applications under 'SDM' approach. Finally, this article concludes that while 'SDM' approach brings new social initiatives to the local administrative formation, the social principles had not been applied and realized that it was desired. However, those social initiatives including positive and innovative constituents that shed light on the future local attempts of municipal administrations' in Turkey concerning the principles of social municipalism and this process led to the formation of the political consciousness at the national level (Tekeli, 1990, p. 47).

2. The Factors Affecting the Emergence of the 'SDM' Approach

2.1. The Paris Commune

The Paris Commune of 1871 in the history is a landmark of socialist movement and a tremendous political upheaval. It was one of the greatest and the most inspiring episodes in the history of the working class. In that tremendous revolutionary movement, the working people of Paris replaced the capitalist state with their own organs of government and held the political power. The Parisian workers strove in extremely difficult circumstances, to put an end to exploitation and oppression, and to reorganize society on an entirely new foundation (Oxley, 2011).

The Paris Commune is a sample of a revolutionary movement of the Paris citizens realized towards the carried out of the public services without any assistance. The Commune Movement began at the French Labor Movement, has an influential place in the world's socialist movement; it can be also evaluated as a

starting point in the way of the 1917 revolution process. The 1917 revolution had not been emerged only with the effect of the Paris Commune, however the Commune movement inspired the revolutionary movements. The Paris Commune revealed the failures of the representative democracy by applying the direct democracy, and it demonstrated that the direct democracy model can also be applicable to the world's largest cities. In that way, urban social movements of the 1960s and the 1970s modeled the Paris Commune at their community participation models at the formation of neighborhood committees (Güler, 2009, p. 127). Paris Commune had not only contributions in related with the participation of citizens but also in other social, economic, and political dimensions.

Consequently, the Paris Commune examined above, left deep traces in the formation of the principles of social municipalism approach which is forming the main theme of this study. Aftermath of that revolutionary movement, urban land and housing development that led and caused urban crisis started to be seen as priorities in the conception of social municipalism. By the same token, the process of politicization of local governments emerged at the Paris Commune movement and it has also been put forward at the social municipalism approach. Finally, it should be pointed out that due to the short-lived Paris Commune, the target of the unity of the communes had not been achieved but it led to the emergence of municipal unions concerning the principle of the collaborative and integrative municipality at the social municipalism approach (Güler, 2009, p. 128).

2.2. The Municipal Socialism

The term of 'municipal socialism' has been used to determine the social reforms led by local government that mainly developed in United Kingdom. The English put forward the idea of municipal socialism with the effect of 'utopian socialists'. In this scope, Joseph Chamberlain, the mayor of Birmingham from 1873 to 1898, had initiated influential reforms within the context of the social reforms under 'municipal socialism'. These reforms mainly comprised of public services related with the gas and the water supplies, the clearing of slums, and the introduction of a city park system; this approach is popularly referred to as 'gas and water socialism' (Betts, 2009, pp. 10-11). Within the framework of these social reforms, the main objective is to enhance the welfare of the people at the local level and at the realization of that target the main idea lies at the thought that local services should be provided by an effective municipal entrepreneurship. In the light of this approach, Chamberlain's reforms also affected Beatrice Webb who is one of the leaders of Fabian movement. Sidney Webb, husband of Beatrice Webb in his book titled 'Socialism in England' clarified that:

"It is not only in matters of sanitation that this 'Municipal Socialism' is progressing. Nearly half the consumers of the Kingdom already consume gas made by themselves as citizens collectively, in 168 different localities; as many as 14 local authorities obtained the power to borrow money to engage in the gas industry in a single year. Water supply is rapidly coming to be universally a matter of public provision, no fewer than 71 separate governing bodies obtaining loans for this purpose in the year 1885-86 alone. The prevailing tendency is for the municipalities to absorb also the tramway industry, 31 localities already owning their own lines, comprising a quarter of the mileage in the Kingdom (Webb, 1889, p. 102)".

Sidney Webb drew attention to the importance of the services provided by local authorities; the scholar made comparisons between the provided services of central and local government. In addition to that, it is well known that the utopian socialists of Sidney and Beatrice Webb saw municipal socialism as a method supporting the public understanding instead of the individual profit (Hill, 1974, p. 29).

At that point, it is beneficial to give a detailed explanation concerning the Fabian flow that has strong ties at the emergence of municipal socialism. 'Fabianism' as an approach affected by Marxism had supported parliamentary mechanism providing the gradual development rather than the revolutions as the means of the

transition from capitalist to socialist society. Fabian socialists defended the social change not too quickly with the revolutions like Marx, but to perform it with balancing the change in sub-structure with the slow functioning of superstructure institutions including political, legal and other dimensions (Cole, 1962). So in the light of these municipal socialism analysis, Webb and Fabian socialists' developed principles under municipal socialism which can be summarized as follows:

Employees have to be united for the settlement of democratic representation and also for the realization of the social changes; however, the ruling class does not want to give that possibility to the employees. Therefore, the best way to accomplish these goals is to establish a municipal socialism syllabus, that syllabus should be based on these following principles:

- A local administration system should be set up that based on the will of the majority not the landowners.
- Municipality should provide variety of public services.
- The system of representative government should be applied at the provision of urban services.

Yet, at the same time, the local government approaches of the people that put forward municipal socialism can be clarified as follows:

“Local governments’ benefiting from a wide range of freedom is one of the basic principles of municipal socialism. Thus, if the education, health, culture, etc. services are expected to be provided through the municipal socialism; local administrations should have their own resources. According to it, municipal socialism should bring the municipalities to the position where they have their own financial resources to provide the education, health, culture, etc. services. If the local assistances have been made in a general context rather than with defined targets to the local administrations by the central government; the autonomy of the municipalities can be better protected (Keleş, 1994, pp. 40-41)”.

In the light of the above analysis, it should be pointed out that the main characteristics’ of the notion of the ‘municipal socialism’ has also been found at the ‘SDM’ which is also discussed at the following section of the article.

2.3. Urban Social Movements

The uneven development of capitalism was abraded partially at the welfare state period, however its created problems revealed itself in a more destructive way in the 1960s. During those years, working groups’ demands were in the direction of urban services, in almost all the cities of the Western states. In this context, urban movements developed in addition to the political parties and trade union movements in the West and those movements played a significant role in the development of the direct democracy (Bumin, 1990, p. 151). In this respect, Castells (1978, p. 68) determined urban radicalization and the emergence of urban social movements with those words:

“Developed societies’ economies linked greatly to consumption and that brings some problems together. The interest towards housing, schools, health care, business, and recreational areas are collected at this point. This is the tension point for urban groups. Urban social movements that emerged as a result of tension, affects the dynamics of change in developed societies. Collective consumption managed by local authorities and city has been politicized at that point; transportation, housing, education are the basic issues of daily life”.

At that point, it is critical to put forth the importance of the local administrations at the urban social movements. The increase at the economic, social, and political roles of the local administrations and their developed relations with the central government affected their influence at the urban social movements. In

this regard, Pickvance and Preteceille (1991, p. 4) examined the political and economic dimensions of the local governments within their changing structure, under four headings:

First of all, the emphasis is giving on the economic significance of the local governments. According to it, the local governments have different political and historical developments and those differences have also been varied as to the issues such as economic enterprise and spending. Secondly, even if the local administrators are elected, it is assumed that those people stayed within the boundary that is set by the central government. However, due to the open structure of local governments to the social forces, particularly after the 1960s, the local governments became critical actors at the urban social movements and at the environmental movements. Thirdly, at the 1970s and the 1980s, it is expressed that the central governments in the face of the economic crisis tried to reject some of their responsibilities. This situation gives the opportunity to the local governments to use the tools in their hands for the economic development. This development in economy resulted with the strengthening of the political power of the local governments. Finally, again, concerning the economic crisis, the cut off the spending during the welfare state applications led to the engagement of the local governments into this cycle. In this scope, it should be pointed out that while the local governments affected from the urban conflicts, those institutions surpassed the urban conflicts with the partial solutions and sustained to their local politics (Daolio, 1976, p. 8).

In Turkey, the period up to the emergence of the ‘SDM’; Paris Commune, municipal socialism and urban social movements have been influential at the formation of the principles of that municipal understanding. In addition to those factors, the socio-economic and the political conditions of Turkey during the 1970s are highly effective at the formation of the concept of ‘SDM’.

3. The Emergence and The Principles of the ‘SDM’ in Turkey

In Turkey, the social municipalism practices partially started to be institutionalized and social democratic flow became widespread in the 1970s (Keskin, 2008, p. 97). This period confronted with the first challenge between the local and central administrations concerning the ideological and the political issues. Central government restricted the financial autonomy of municipalities and used excessively the administrative tutelage on local governments at that related period. Until the period of 1970s, local government system was very centralized. From the mid-1970s onwards, municipalities declared their target as the decentralization of power and opening up participatory platforms at local level.

At the political scene, the agenda had been fully focused on the political autonomy of the municipalities, the local democracy, and the necessity for administrative decentralization. Social democrat mayors’ reaction towards that centralist repression came with to initiate a national municipal movement of ‘New Municipalism’ or ‘SDM’ (Bayraktar, 2007, p. 12). In that way, left-wing movements have begun to rise in the 1970s throughout the country. Besides, that discourse had been fully advocated by the left-wing parties and particularly materialized at Republican People’s Party (RPP) political program (Şengül, 2001, p. 105). In the 1973 local election, RPP won and grasped the administration of the metropolitan municipalities. For the first time Social Democrats took the chance to manage and to control the largest Turkish cities such as Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir. At that context, Bayraktar (2007, p. 12) clarified the main peculiarities of ‘New Municipal Movement’ as follows:

“The new municipality defined by the movement would be: democratic and participatory; productive; fund-raiser; advisor; organizer; and unionist. The ‘New Municipalism’ based on these six principles was born as a pure initiative of several mayors. The local actors, until then

dependent on the central resources and policies, were henceforth claiming their political autonomy vis-à-vis the central government. Furthermore, the hostility of the latter to this demand led them develop innovative strategies in fund raising and in inter-municipal cooperation. Besides, thanks to a concern of internal democratization of the municipalities, considerable efforts were displayed to associate citizens with the government of their localities”.

At the evaluation of the principles of ‘SDM’ approach, it should be stated that even if these principles have been adopted by the parties programs’ aside from liberal right parties, in some cases municipalities immediately passing them through their programs; however some local administrations waited for the formalization of these principles and their approval by their own party programs (Kazancı, 1983, pp. 40-41). At that point, the basic dynamics of that new approach can be listed as follows (Tekeli and Ortaylı, 1978, pp. 243-255): Democratic and Participatory municipality, producer municipality, consumption regulator municipality, housing, resource generative municipality, unitary, collaborative and integrative municipality. At the article, those principles have been examined in detail with the following sub-headings.

Democratic and Participatory Municipality

By the 1970s onwards in Turkey, local governments started to see their ineffectiveness not as a black destiny but as a result of the political repression and the heavy administrative tutelage authority of the central government on local governments. Especially, when the local governments passed to the hands of the social democrat teams, the conflict between central and local government became more pronounced (Kazancı, 1983, p. 41).

In this respect, liberal approach has depended upon the view that ‘democracy is determining the representatives through the elections’, on the other side at the ‘SDM’, the idea turns towards ‘the demands of the majority of the people is above all things and these requests again met and supervised by majority’. In today’s Turkey, the widely used concept of ‘the peoples’ power’ is a phrase that describing the democracy understanding of social approach (Kazancı, 1977, p. 42).

Furthermore, aside from the democracy principle, the intellectual foundation of ‘SDM’ approach concerning the participation principle lies at the direct democracy, which was applied by the Paris Commune and socialist/ communist municipalities in the west during the 1970s. In this regard, the period from 1973 to 1980 was important for the transformation of local administrative structure in Turkey because social democrat municipality politics came into the agenda. In big cities mayors initiated activities about the participation of citizens to local administration units (Yıldırım, 1990, pp. 26-27). In this context, the participation of the wide mass of the society to the decision-making process affected the success of the municipal administrations in two ways in Turkey. From one side, the new municipality approach gave the possibility to reflect the public demands to the decision-making process; on the other side the municipal administration realized the control of the social applications by the wide public mass (Tekeli, 2009, p. 253).

Collaborative and Integrative Municipality

One of the most important principles of ‘SDM’ is the principle of collaborative and integrative municipality. Any other term, this principle includes the establishment of upper institutions as the form of unions of municipalities. In this context, local government unions have been defined as the organizations that formed by local institutions for bringing their power and possibilities together because of their not fulfillment of the local services at an expected level (Kazancı, 1977, p. 59). One of the main targets of the unions was the technical assistance to the small size municipalities for the local services that they cannot provide by themselves, and the protection of the weak municipalities. At the application of that principle, it is assumed

that municipalities can reach to new and constructive efficiency with the formation of upper organizations in the scope of unions.

In the 1970s, the provision of urban services in high-speed and high-quality way was a prominent issue in the political arena of Turkey. There were major affairs which cannot be overcome by the municipality concerning the provision of urban services. In this respect, it is perceived that the prevention of the disruptions at the service provision is possible with the collaboration of the municipalities. At the establishment of municipal unions, municipalities adopted 'SDM' principles with not making any political discrimination and they also set up unions with the right-wing parties.

Union of Municipalities of the Marmara Region established in 1975 was one of the first sample in the form of unions and after 1978, with the establishment of the Ministry of Local Government, the number of unions raised in a great extent but with the change of government in 1979, those unions had lost their importance and after September 12, 1980 they were launched to be closed (Kazancı, 1977, p. 45). Furthermore, Ministry of Local Government was also abolished after a short term later because of the political and social instability in Turkey (Tekeli, 1990, p. 47).

The Producer Municipality

It can be stated that the concept of the producer is a not a foreign notion for the municipal administrations. The municipality provides the urban transport, water, electricity; infrastructure services at the urban scale. In that framework, the SDM approach is based upon the idea that municipalities are not only controller local administrations, they are also responsible for the provision of local services by themselves. At that point, Kazancı (1983, p. 44) also clarified that:

“One of the most influential problems related with that social democratic municipal movement's principle of the producer municipality is concerning with becoming entrepreneurs, possessing, regulating local services and initiatives by the municipal administrations”.

One of the targeted primary roles of municipalities is the redistribution of the rent or surplus value to the society that is formed by the social efforts with the public services. In this case, in order to regain the value increases of housing and land to the society, it has been emphasized that municipal administrations should enter into that process as producers (Tekeli, 1977, p. 34); because that value increase is not sourced from land or house owners' labor but from the urban development and the provision of public services by the municipalities. According to 'SDM' approach, recycling of that gaining to the society is an obligatory and also a necessity because municipalities have an important entry at that value increase. Within the framework of those applications, lots of metropolitan municipalities such as Ankara, Istanbul, and Izmir started to set up bread fabrics for provision of the daily consumption services (Tekeli, 2009, p. 253).

Housing

Housing beyond its residential property in daily life, peoples' settlements are the areas where social interaction and social power relations have been living among individuals, families, and institutions (Erder, 1999, p. 30). The production of housing and the formation of urban spaces, especially under the leadership of the municipalities enable people to set up sustainable relationship in city with the space and other groups (Azaklı and Özgür, 2002, p. 13). In this respect, participation of the local governments in housing production brings the end of land speculation which is the most important tool of urban exploitation and also leads to the cheaper production of housing. Rent is required to turn-back and to redistribute to the society not to the private sector (Tekeli, 1977, p. 2). In that context, local administrations have vital responsibilities at the redistribution of the rent sourced from housing and land. However, until the period of 'SDM', the municipalities remained outside the process of the production of housing.

In this respect, Municipal Law No 1580, the production of housing task was organized as a volunteer responsibility. Furthermore, article 49 of the 1961 Constitution of state, it was highlighted that 'the state

takes the precautions concerning the need of adequate housing provision of the poor and the low-income households in appropriate with their health conditions'. After 1973 with the development of the SDM approach, it can be stated that the only developed local government task against central government is the area of housing (Tekeli, 1983, p. 16). After those years, municipalities defending SDM approach started to apply large public housing projects. Particularly, Izmit municipality experience is one of a good sample to 'public housing project' of 'SDM' approach in Turkey. 'New Settlement Project' of Izmit municipality has oriented towards the low income workers (Aslan, 2004, p. 75). The critical point at that project was the engagement of the target group of low-income households to the development of the project to learn the needs and expectations of the workers. Besides, another public housing project can be pointed out as 'Batikent/ Akkondü' project of Ankara Municipality in the term of Mayor Vedat Dalokay in 1974. According to that project, 80 thousand settlings were constructed and allocated for 20 thousand low-income families, 20 thousand for middle class and 20 thousand for squatter settlers (Ankara Municipality, 1976, p. 140).

Consumption Regulatory Municipality

The municipalities within the framework of the organization of consumption, mostly dwelt upon the submission of agentless, cheap, and qualified collective consumption goods rather than auditing. At the Municipal Law No 1580, the authority of establishing sales arrangement stores is attributed to the responsibilities of municipal administrations. The municipalities opened sales arrangement stores for the redistribution of rent to the society. As a first sample, Istanbul Municipality started to manage the store; however that attempt cannot bring the expected results (Güler, 2009, p. 149). Critically, TÜDEM (Union Center of Consumption Regulation) came to the agenda to regulate consumption under 'SDM' which was founded by Union of the Municipalities of Marmara and Turkish Straits. In this regard, it is intended to set up coordination and cooperation at the arrangement sales activities of member municipalities for the target to provide consumption goods to the urban population in a cheap, healthy, and sustainable way (MBBB, 1979).

Resource Generative Municipality

The reason of the emergence of the principle of the resource generative municipal administration lies at Municipal Law No.1580, Article 76 that revealed the attribution concerning the conceptualization of resource-generative municipality. In the 1970s, the central government and local governments were in the hands of the different political parties that it led to financial problems. The Social Democrat Parties' municipalities could not even pay the labor wages, the debts to the Turkish Energy Institute, and also the employee insurance premiums to the Social Security Institution for the solution of that problem. Municipalities were engaged in the effort to gain revenue with establishing large enterprises. In this case, municipalities installed asphalt plants and public bread factories, made paving work in the city for their own needs, participated into big contracts of highway for taking gains from that process. Other resource generative practices of the municipalities can be counted as the augmentation of rental rates of municipality for the beneficiaries of their real property, opening car parkings, meeting rooms at municipal real estate, nurseries, outlet and open it cheaply to the public (Güler, 2009, p. 153).

In this context, one of the biggest problems faced by municipalities in that related period is the delivery of bread which is the basic material need of citizens. For the solution of that problem, municipalities launched 'public bread' application. By the settlement of public bread fabrics, municipalities realized three targets; firstly the provisions of cheap bread in good quality, the making of the price regulation and lastly evaluation the good of the producer (Geray, 1983, p. 1856).

4. Ankara Metropolitan Municipal Case: The Mayor Ali Dinçer Period

At the 1977 local election term in Turkey, Ali Dinçer emphasized his prospective initiatives as follows; removing the atmosphere of the heavy state control on the municipalities, and making the municipality more productive and increasing its revenues, removing the governed and governing relationship and launching an administrative model at the municipality with the public and the local institution (Milliyet Journal, 1977a). As it is seen from the clarification, the mayor Dinçer focused on the principles of the ‘SDM’ approach. In this context, Ali Dinçer declared his opinions about the ‘SDM’ as follows:

“One of the most attractive developments in Turkey at the last 20 years in the field of politics is the democratic-left movement which is strengthening gradually. According to the democratic left movement, a social formation can only be set up by the individual freedoms, civil society formation, and pluralist democracy (Milliyet Journal, 1979). Urban problems that are accumulated by the unstable and unhealthy development model’s remnants can only be solved by the democratic left municipality approach. The application that is brought by that approach contributing to the solution of the urban problems, assisting the wide-spreading and rooting of the democracy, abolishing the economy monopoly rents (Milliyet Journal, 1977b)”.

At the following part of the article; all the ‘SDM’ approach’s principles have been evaluated with considering the social municipal initiatives of the Dinçer’s period. Firstly, the RPP mayor Ali Dinçer clarified those words concerning the link between the democracy and local administrations related with the principle of the democratic and participatory municipality:

“If the democracy tried to be turned from at each four year voting formation to a democracy in the benefit of all employees within their controls, it is not forgotten that the most influential institution at that framework is the local administration and their sub-institutions that they will establish, so the efforts should be given on that dimension (Milliyet Journal, 1979). We cannot make do with only electing representatives for four years term in a rapidly changing political environment with multiplied problems; we should engage more continuously and in a competent manner to the administration, one should see closely what is going on, and participate to the decisions and control the managers (RPP, 1977, p. 15). Municipalities, in order to do this, in the meaning of the dissemination of democracy, are the laboratories for taking the decisions with the public and for demonstrating how the public can take over responsibility at the local issues (RPP, 1977, pp. 11-12)”.

However, it was also mentioned that to give this laboratory an influential meaning was not so easy at the period’s legal and factual situation. In that context, Dinçer clarified that ‘There is no need to wait for the law; the single law is the RPP’s Program and its world view (RPP, 1977, p. 12)’. Furthermore, Ali Dinçer also declared those words concerning the participation principle, as follows:

“Local committees will be created at the neighborhoods and we will make Ankara a successful direct democracy application field. The municipal council gatherings especially concerning with the annual investment programs will be held with the gathering of the public to those meetings as audiences (Milliyet Journal, 1977c)”.

Finally, after many years Ali Dinçer highlighted that public participation at that period was only implemented in an informal way (Güler, 2004, p. 253). Dinçer also expressed his intention from the meaning of informal way at the election brochures, as the efforts to make common cooperations with the public institutions (RPP, 1977, p. 12). One of the most important participatory practices realized at that period was the ‘Ankara First Advisory Forum’ arranged on 22-23 December 1979. At the meeting with the target to gather the organized powers, the municipality staff presented papers at 8 topics, and then the participants gained the right to speak on these issues and the other participants views were taken by the help

of a questionnaire. While this formation does not give the expected result, it has been an important practice of that period (Öktem, 1983, p. 243). The last participatory attempt of Dinçer can be clarified as the face-to-face meetings of the mayor; Dinçer makes home visits in the mornings. At those meetings, the mayor can listen to the local citizens problems, explain their local policies and take the opinions of the people but it is clear that the interaction cannot meet the democratic participation's principles of equality, continuity, and representation; so it can be expressed that the objective of democratic administration cannot be achieved as it was expected at that period (Bayraktar and Penbecioğlu, 2009: 174).

At the second step in the evaluation of the 'SDM' principles, Ali Dinçer declared those words concerning the collaborative integrative principle of the 'SDM', as follows:

"Some of the goods can be provided with the possibilities of one municipality; but some of them can be realized with the gathering and the collaboration of some metropolitan municipalities' possibilities together. Those collaborations neutralize the capital that monopolized by the source of the municipalities, provide cost savings, and prevent the delays at the service investments and corruption, and bribery at the purchasing affairs (Milliyet Journal, 1977b)".

At that point, public housing project of Batıkent can be given as a sample of that related principle. At the project's implementation resources were not only obtained through expropriation but also through loans from the European Settlement Fund (Bayraktar and Penbecioğlu, 2009, p. 186). In this context, Batıkent project realized those items as follows; transferring of national and international resources to the project, generation of an environment that provides the arena for negotiation of the advisory committees and the representatives of the institutions, innovations at the organization of the urban planning process. It can be pointed out that the housing project paves the way the application of an integrative municipality principle with its participatory dimension. However, aside from that project, there are no municipal union based practices to talk about a successive collaborative practice. At the third step in the evaluation of the social principles, Ali Dinçer declared those words concerning the producer municipality principle, as follows:

"The municipality cannot only provide local services but also they can produce goods in two dimensions: Common and basic consumer goods; bread, fertilizer production from the collected garbage. The goods used at municipal services; water and electricity meters, cable, pipe, battery, transformer, and bus (Milliyet Journal, 1977b)".

In the light of this clarification, the entrance of the municipalities to the bread production and their support of large investments in this field can be evaluated as the deep traces on the side of the reduction of the production costs. Thus, it has been targeted to provide more cheap, qualified, and healthy bread for the local citizens with 'public bread fabric' application. In this respect, some of the bakers started resistances because of the rejection of the bread price increases. At that point, Dinçer stated that:

"There is no need of any hesitation and doubt of the citizens of Ankara, no one will confront with the bread problem; the municipal administration takes the influential precautions to bring bread from neighboring provinces and districts (Milliyet Journal, 1978a)".

Critically, at the new municipality movement of the Dinçer period; the directly provision of the daily consumption goods or the arrangements towards reduction of the prices were not been carried out by considering political rent and the concern of vote. During this period, the main target of the 'SDM' is not converted the poor and the low income groups to the loyal voters with nourishment and the heat assistances but supporting these groups to pursue an honorable life by meeting the basic needs of their lives (Bayraktar and Penbecioğlu, 2009, pp. 189-190). As it is seen from the clarification, the producer municipality principle is tired to be applied by the 'public bread fabric' application, however that bread fabric did not open because of the political upheaval in Turkey at that period (Belde Journal, 2012). So, while that producer principle practice cannot be realized as it was desired; the housing initiatives of the Dinçer's period can also be

evaluated under the producer municipality principle of that period. Fourthly, at the evaluation of the social principle of housing, Ankara mayor Dinçer stated that those words in related with the squatter housing problem:

“The local residents settling at the city center taking the lion’s share from the municipal services, but after the local election and RPP success, the municipality gives the priority to the squatter settlements (Milliyet Journal, 1978b)”.

During 1977-1980 periods, Ankara municipality initiated the application of Batıkent Project. The urban development tried to be implemented to provide a comprehensive and well-qualified solution towards the problem of housing for the low-income groups with the strategy of Batıkent Project (Bayraktar and Penbecioğlu, 2009, pp. 183-184). The mayor Dinçer clarified the target of the Project as follows:

“Healthy living environment and the creation of a part of the city, the integration of the individual interests with the social interests, under the guidance of the low and middle income groups giving the possibility of acquiring these sections the required housing”.

However, the wrong applications and failures in planning and design processes negatively affected the formation of a qualified urban environment that can develop the common culture of life in Batıkent (Keskinok, 2005, p. 152). In the light of these clarifications, it can be stated that while the project can be evaluated as the strength of the Dinçer’s municipality period at the producer municipality principle of ‘SDM’, there have been lots of drawbacks to hinder the success of the implemented project. Finally, at the evaluation of the principles of the consumption regulatory and resource generative principles, Ankara municipality within the hands of Dinçer management used its entire power in order to cheapen the lives of the urban citizens. The efforts of the provision of healthy and qualified consumer goods at affordable prices to the people in Ankara can be evaluated in this context. In this respect, bread factories tried to be opened for not raising the prices of bread and ‘Neighborhood Markets Project’ had been realized in order to ensure fruits and vegetables in affordable price and quality (Ariak, 1983). Behind these applications, there is the resource-generative and consumption regulator municipal understanding. The municipalities that support ‘SDM’ directly provided urban services with this understanding by themselves and tried to turn the rents to consumers’ favor which was before formed against them (Tekeli, 1992). Also, in Dinçer’s period, ‘TANSA’ Sales Arrangement Store Project was realized and the commercial relation between the producer and the consumer, and the interests of the low income groups had been regulated by public possibilities (Ariak, 1983). TANSA sold goods with the discounts up to %20 to %40 to the public. Furthermore, while this application made vital developments, it became the target of criticisms by tradesmen as the motto of ‘the municipality is doing the grocery’ and it cannot reach to the desired results (Bayraktar and Penbecioğlu, 2009, p. 190; Keleş and Duru, 2008, p. 38; Güler, 2009, pp. 149-150).

5. Conclusion and Discussion

The years of the 1970s had been the years where influential developments were lived within the aspect of the Turkish political life. The RPP at the social democratic line grasped the success at the 1973 local election at three metropolitan urban areas (Güler, 2009, p. 153). At that point, ‘SDM’ approach, in other words, a developed municipalism understanding came out as a result of the conflicts lived between the central government and local administrations. In this study, it is mostly concentrated on ‘SDM’ approach and its principles; and an integration is tried to be set up to with the term’s social democratic mayor Dinçer’s initiatives and those related principles to evaluate the strengths and the weaknesses of those social municipal initiatives.

The case study findings of the study demonstrate that the mayor Dinçer concerning the principle of the democratic and the participatory principle, during his local management period public participation was

implemented in an informal way only with a limited number of public gatherings and home visits which cannot realize to meet the democratic participation's principles of equality, continuity, and representation. At the evaluation of the second principle of collaborative and integrative municipality, it can be stated that the 'Batıkent Project' paves the way the application of an integrative municipality principle with its participatory dimension with the gathering of the low-income households and the public administrations together. However, aside from that project, there are no municipal union based practices to talk about a successive collaborative practice. Besides, the producer municipality approach tried to be applied by the 'public bread fabric' application; however that bread fabric did not open because of the political upheaval in Turkey at that period. So that, the producer principle practice cannot be realized as it was desired. At the next step, at the housing principle, the wrong applications and failures in planning and design processes negatively affected the formation of a qualified urban environment that can develop the common culture of life in Batıkent. Lastly, by the help of the consumption regulator and resource generative municipality principles, Ankara metropolitan municipality tried to turn the rents to consumers' favor which was before formed against them via the TANSAP Project and Neighborhood Markets Project. However, that practice had also target to criticisms such as the motto of 'the municipality is doing the grocery'.

Although there had been drawbacks at the application of the 'SDM' approach in Turkey, the study provides evidence that those new municipalism principles have also positive effects at Turkey's local administrative structure. By the help of the new participatory platforms, even if their limited number, the local administrative system took the chance to put the local citizens ideas and desires to the formulation of the urban policies. Secondly, Batıkent Project can also be counted as an indicator at the transition trend of the social controller municipal approach to a producer municipal approach. Besides, while the 'public bread fabric' application cannot be realized, the municipality entered to the support of large investments in this field, and it can be evaluated as the deep traces on the side of the reduction of the production costs. In this context, the other positive side can be clarified as the social municipal applications of Dinçer shaped around citizenship understanding and these local services distributed with no discrimination to the all political sections of the society; it can be evaluated as a keystone of the notion of the social justice.

Furthermore, after those evaluations, it should be stated that the social movement failed to the social polarization and the violence events and it was interrupted with the 1980 de-coup and a large accumulation and experience of that social movement could not be benefited in a great sense (Yayman, 2012). However, lots of social affairs first samples have been taken at that period; where their applications have been developed at the next periods. Despite the flaws at 'SDM', the principles of the social municipalism comply with the system and the importance of the local administration has been better grasped after the 1973 and 1977 local election periods, many political parties started to give the required consideration to the local administrations in their programs.

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