FOCUS GROUPS AND ASSEMBLIES IN ANKARA CITY COUNCIL IN THE
SCOPE OF DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY

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ABSTRACT

FOCUS GROUPS AND ASSEMBLIES IN ANKARA CITY COUNCIL IN THE
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Deliberative democracy is one of the new democracy theories put forward as a remedy to the representation crisis in traditional representative democracies. Political decisions are ideally taken by consensus, justified by a culture of discussion in accordance with the discourse ethics within this theory. Mini-publics are also one of the ways in which deliberative democracy is practiced. In this study, the focus group and the assembly meetings of the Ankara City Council were examined within the framework of deliberative democracy. The aim of this study is to measure whether the city council meetings are really an example of deliberative democracy and if they are, to measure the quality of the deliberation in these meetings. In this context, two different city council meeting records were measured with the Discourse Quality Index. In addition, semi-structured interviews were conducted with the participants of city council meetings and the results were compared. The results were analyzed in the context of the principles of discourse ethics which are participation, respect, justification, common-good orientation, and disposition to change.

Keywords: Deliberative Democracy, City Council, Inclusion, Discourse Quality Index, mini-publics

ÖZ

ANKARA KENT KONSEYİ'NDE MÜZAKERECİ DEMOKRASİ KAPSAMINDA
ÇALIŞMA GRUPLARI VE MECLİSLERİN İNCELENMESİ

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Müzakereci demokrasi geleneksel temsili demokrasilerdeki özellikle temsil krizine bir çözüm olarak öne sürülen yeni demokrasi teorilerinden biridir. Bu anlayışta siyasi kararlar, ideal olarak söylem etiğine uygun şekilde tartışma kültürü ile gerekçelendirilerek oydaşma ile alınır. Küçük ölçekli topluluklar da müzakereci demokrasinin pratikte uygulandığı yöntemlerden biridir. Bu çalışmada Ankara Kent Konseyi bünyesinde faaliyet gösteren çalışma grupları ve meclislerin toplantıları müzakereci demokrasi çerçevesinde incelenmiştir. Bu çalışmada kent konseyi toplantılarının gerçekten müzakereci demokrasi örneği olup olmadığı ve eğer öyleyse bu toplantılardaki müzakerenin kalitesinin ölçülmesi amaçlanmıştır. Bu bağlamda, iki farklı kent konseyi toplantı kaydı söylem kalite indeksi ile ölçülmüştür. Ayrıca kent konseyi katılımcıları ile yarı yapılandırılmış mülakatlar gerçekleştirilmiş ve sonuçlar karşılaştırılmıştır. Sonuçlar katılım, saygı, gerekçelendirme, ortak iyiye yönelim ve fikir değiştirme eğilimi ilkeleri bağlamında incelenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Müzakereci Demokrasi, Kent Konseyi, İçerme, Söylem Kalite İndeksi, Mini-Kamu

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The concept of democracy is well-engraved into the mind of modern citizens. Many would return back to the Ancient Athenian city state to find the source of the democracy due to its participatory nature. However Athenian city state was not the first city state to adopt direct democracy. It certainly was not the only city state either. Additionally, even though its citizens had full right to participation to the democracy, very little portion of the resident were in fact citizens. In other words, ancient democracy was far from being ideal. Over time, the concept had lost its value and regained. Democracy has begun to be reshaped later in the history, following the republican and liberal traditions, starting from the 17th century. The concepts such as liberty, individual, rationality has come to light with the liberal thought. Along with such developments, representative democracy which many people are familiar with has begun to reemerge.

As its predecessors, representative democracy was not free from criticisms. Even though liberal tradition promised equality among citizens, the reality appeared to be different. Scholars and citizens were not content with its institutions that were the remedy to the previous issues; therefore, possible solutions came in sight. The remedy that has been tacked in this thesis is deliberative democracy which has been popular since the 1990s and it is still discussed among scholars.

While some researches hold their position on that the deliberative democracy is a normative theory, many empirical research is conducted since the popularity of the theory -1990s. These studies usually focus on two aspects of the deliberative democracy: design of the platforms and quality of the deliberations. Studies on the quality usually focus on the communication process among the participants of the

deliberation. On the other hand, design studies focus on the conditions of the deliberation platform. Strandberg and Grönlünd (2014) claims that research on the quality aspect of deliberative democracy studies is rather scarce.

Deliberative democracy values its procedural structure. Individuals gather together within public sphere (whether in person or online), then communicate in certain ways –which are essentially respectfully and sincere. For deliberative democracy to be practiced as close as to the ideal form, public sphere is required since it would provide the space for communicative action to take place. As a result, they provide their arguments in line with the deliberative understanding and also give ears to arguments provided by other participants. In an ideal deliberative process, the aim is on the process itself rather than reaching a consensus or a solution.

Deliberative democracy first emerged as a remedy to the crises of representative-liberal democracy and gained its popularity during late 20th century. The theory often criticized on the basis of being normative and being away from real-life politics (della Porta, 2013; Steiner, 2012). Therefore, empirical studies on the deliberative democracy were rather scarce. However, with its increasing popularity, empirical studies began to arise as well (Fishkin, 2002; Mendelberg, 2002; Sanders, 1997; Steenbergen, et. al, 2003). The empirical studies usually focus on two main aspects of deliberative democracy: design of the platforms and the quality of deliberations. While studies aim to research on the design focus on the conditions of the platform which deliberations take place, studies aim to research the quality focus on the communication process among the participants of the deliberation. Strandberg and Grönlünd (2014) claims that research on the quality aspect of deliberative democracy studies are rather scarce. There are also a number of publications regarding deliberative democracy in Turkish literature as well. Many of this literature come from law studies and concerned with the normative nature of deliberative democracy. These usually focus on the historical development process of the theory or comparison between other radical democracy theories (Karadeniz, 2020; Karakoç & Özden, 2020; Zabuncuoğlu, 2017). Thus, the aim of this study is to measure the quality of deliberation within the context of Ankara City Council focus group meetings. The essential question lies is how do people communicate with each other during focus group meetings.

The idea of city councils has been in the agenda of Turkish local governments since 1992, following Turkey's participation to the UN Rio Conference and adopting "Agenda 21". The main idea of Agenda 21 leads to participating Local Agenda 21 of which the essential aim is to develop sustainable development. As explained by Ministry of Foreign Affairs; "the view that the sustainable development goal cannot be achieved without social consensus gains weight"[1]. Thus, this understanding led to put emphasis on local administrations and participatory processes as its main aims.

> Likewise, in the 28th chapter of the Agenda 21 document, where the concept of 'Local Agenda 21' is developed, the vital position of local governments in sustainable development, as the closest administrative level to the public, is underlined. This section sets out 4 main objectives:
>
> - Local governments in each country should initiate a participatory process with their communities and agree on a Local Agenda 21 for their cities;
>
> - Increasing cooperation between the international community and local governments and taking steps to strengthen cooperation between local governments on an international scale;
>
> - Improving the level of coordination and cooperation between local government unions and representatives of other local governments in order to enrich the exchange of experience and knowledge;
>
> - Local governments in each country develop and implement programs that will enable women and youth to participate effectively in decision-making, planning and implementation processes.[2]

In accordance with adoption of the sustainable development as indicated in Local Agenda 21, city councils have gained its legal status with the Law no. 5393, Article 76 in 2005 as a part of Municipalities Law, in the following years. The topic of city councils is popular since 1990s as explained, however their advantage was not taken off until the 2019 local administration elections in Turkey.

Dewey (1991) argues opportunities for citizens to engage in discussions are limited. Due to her centralist nature, there are not many opportunities for inclusion of citizens of Turkey to decision-making mechanisms except for voting during regular elections[3]. Following the victory of opposition party in the three metropoles of Turkey in 2019 local elections; in line with them adopting "open, answerable and accountable" policies, participatory practices gained importance especially in İstanbul and Ankara (Şahin, 2021). The Ankara City Council and its focus groups and assemblies or "*The*

Budget is Yours[4]" in İstanbul as a participatory budgeting experience are exceptions rather than the rule. While *The Budget is Yours* seems to hold more of a participatory method for larger population, Ankara City Council possesses qualities of deliberative process with its supposedly inclusive and argumentative nature. There are a number of studies regarding city councils in Turkey which essentially focused to their participatory qualities either in the historical context or through specific case studies, rather than deliberative qualities (Bektaş, 2019; Uzun & Ersavaş Kavanoz, 2018). Although there are studies focusing on city councils in Turkey, not many focus on the issue from a deliberative democracy perspective. Therefore, this study aims to focus on this understudied subject.

Smith and Rowe (2016) argues that for theory to be embodied in practice "…someone must facilitate action." (p. 3). The practice can take various shapes, such as academics may introduce deliberative processes for research purposes. Smith and Rowe explains that researches may introduce citizen-led processes, they can work with local authorities to initiate deliberative processes, or rather than researchers "…authorities may initiate deliberation in their own right" (2016, p.3). The case of this study which is Ankara City Council focus groups and assemblies are initiated by the local authorities.

The Ankara City Council focus groups and assembly meetings or "*The Budget is Yours*" practice by İstanbul Municipality as participatory budgeting experiences are exceptions rather than the rule. While *The Budget is Yours* seems to hold more of a participatory method for larger population, Ankara City Council possesses qualities of deliberative process with its supposedly inclusive and argumentative nature.

This study aims to understand whether the Ankara City Council is in line with the deliberative democracy procedures at least to some extent and if so measuring the quality of the deliberative process. The mini-publics are another structure that deliberative democracy practices are embodied in the shapes of citizens' councils, assemblies, and juries as Claudia Chwalisz (2019) explains. The aim of these deliberative practices is usually developing an informed advises or recommendations to the local authorities. Although she argues method for choosing the participants should be done through sortition, Ankara City Council follows a different path. The

participants are chosen among volunteers. Usually mini-publics are characterized by two main features which are deliberation and representativeness through sortition. Therefore, the nature of participation will also be touched upon during the discussion on inclusion aspect. Mini-publics are usually chosen as the medium for studies on deliberative democracy as its small structure allows researchers to control the environment better. Chwalisz even argues that mini-publics are similar to laboratories of deliberative democracy scholars due to this. Although it is not possible to shape the structure of the Ankara City Council meetings for this study, it will still provide valuable information. For this very purpose, Ankara City Councils are adopted as examples of mini-publics as practice of the deliberative democracy theory.

The processes of inclusion will also be taken into consideration as this is an essential precedence of the deliberative democracy theories. Semi-structured interviews with the participants of focus groups and assemblies will be conducted. The interviews which will be main source of discussion of this study will be analyzed through a deductive approach by using the five main principles of Habermas's discourse ethics rules. Participants of the interviews are identified by snow-balling technique. Since the participants, except spokespersons of focus groups, are not openly listed, to reach the participants snow-balling method was deemed to be the most useful. The participants of city council meetings already know each other and many are in communication with each other. This fact will accelerate the process. However, there were risks of using snow-balling technique for conducting interviews. The interviewees were people who were in contact with each other. Therefore, there was a risk of participants being part of generally the similar social and ideological circle which could have caused towards a skewed point of view on the issue.

The purpose of conducting semi-structured interviews was to gain an in-depth understanding of the participants and the procedures of the meetings. A total of seven participants were interviewed. Out of seven interviewees; one is the vice head of the Ankara City Council, three of them are spokesperson, three of them are participants. One of the three participants used to be spokesperson as well. Three interviewees are or used to be part of more than one focus group. Each interview took between 40-60 minutes. Interviews were voice recorded for note-taking purposes following the approval of the interviewees.

One of the participants who agreed on interview was a colleague of this researcher. She was the contact person for the interview with the vice head of the city council and the spokesperson of the Culture and Art focus group. However, the spokesperson of the Culture and Art group did not agree on interview due to conflicting schedule. The spokesperson of the Neighborhood Culture focus group has been reached through social media and he was the contact person for the other four interviewees all of whom agreed on interview.

Currently there are close to thirty focus groups and five assemblies within Ankara City Council. Although total number of interviewees is rather scarce, it should be noted that the focus groups are much less active compared to its re-animation days following the local municipal elections in 2019. Therefore, interviewees are relatively active members of the focus groups who would be able share insight on the process of discussion which took place in the meetings.

Since this study aims on measuring the quality of the deliberations during the meetings of focus groups, observation of focus group meetings was another planned method to be used. However, as mentioned above, Ankara City Council is not as active as it used to be. There were some activities planned by focus groups and assemblies. However deliberative meetings were not conducted during the data collection period of this study. Therefore, existing video recordings of two different meetings were analyzed. Video recording of the first meetings is named as "Ankara City Council Discussed the Effects of the Pandemic on Youth"[5] and the second one is named "Food and Beverage Industry During the Pandemic and Those who are Affected Meeting"[6]. These two different meeting recordings have been transcribed to be coded according to the Discourse Quality Index. In total, 45 speeches[7] were transcribed and coded. The Discourse Quality Index has been initially developed as a quantitative measure for deliberation. It measures the discourse to understand the quality of deliberation. The measure takes its theoretical roots from essentially Habermas's discourse ethics rules along with other scholars (Steenbergen et al., 2003, p. 25).

Discourse Quality Index by Ugarriza and Nussio (2016) has been used for the analysis of quality of the deliberative processes in this study as they expanded the index that consists of fifteen deliberation indicators. However, the indicators illustration and

abstract principles were not measured. As the focus groups meeting takes place in Ankara City Council which is a formal institution it has been deemed that the two principles will be observed neither during the meetings nor among the answers of interviewees. Therefore, only thirteen of the deliberative principles have been coded and measured. Means of each indicator have been analyzed on the basis of coding scheme.

As mentioned before the aim of conducting semi-structured interviews was to gain a detailed understanding regarding the five main principles of the deliberation. The comparison between the results of the interviews and the DQI showed that there are major discrepancies regarding the quality measure of deliberation. Although the measures of DQI on principles justification and common-good orientation showed a similar outcome with the interviews, all other principles had opposing outcomes. While some of the differences were rooted in the scoring rules of the DQI, the interviews helped to reveal major discrepancies especially regarding the participation principle.

The participation principle was scored perfectly in both indicators –intervention and no interruption- according the index coding rules, as all of the participants (who are shown in the video) spoke and none of them interrupted other participants while speaking. Interviewees also explained that most of the participants spoke freely and without reservations during the meetings. However, they revealed that there were major problems regarding the participation since the participants were usually highly educated, they had relatively high paying jobs, and usually older in age with time to spare for the city council meetings. Also, only one of the seven interviewees were woman. The issue will be discussed below, under the discussion heading in detail. However, it should be noted that city councils are not as participatory as the DQI scores suggests.

The scores of respect and disposition to change principles also differs compared with the interviews. However, the discrepancy is in positive light this time. Except for the "no disrespect" indicator which scored perfectly due to the index scoring rules. Yet the other two indicators of DQI scored rather low (0.33 and 0.24 out of 1), indicating that the participants were not respectful during the meetings. On the contrary,

interviewees adamantly claimed that except very few extreme cases, participants were respectful to each other and the discussions were carried in a respectful tone. Similarly, the DQI scores indicated that participants were not willing to change their opinions when they faced with better arguments. However, the interviews proved the opposite as the interviewees openly stated that participants would usually change their opinions if they were logical and discussions would usually reach to consensus. Overall, the deliberative practice that takes place in the Ankara City Council mini-publics hold a certain deliberative quality even though the city council does not yield formal decision-making power. The deliberation in the city council meetings and their quality will be discussed in detail.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORY OF DEMOCRACY: FROM ANCIENT GREECE TO MODERN WORLD

Democracy as a concept has an initial starting point. It did not come into existence from nothing, thus, it does not suddenly disappear from existence. This is the same for all forms of democracy, including deliberative democracy. In the most basic sense, deliberative democracy aims to mend the issues of the modern political system which is representative-liberal democracy. It aims to amend that modern citizens are pushed out of the political system they reside in, therefore, many scholars find the roots in direct democracy as each and every citizen had the right to participate in politics. To dwell into the so-called root of democracy Ancient Athenian democracies will be discussed. However, those scholars are also aware that direct democracy was not flawless either. It lacked democratic institutions which protect both the individuals and their rights. While direct democracy is deemed the root of democracy, representative-liberal democracy is the bole of the tree; thus, in the next section representative-liberal democracies and their crises will be discussed.

2.1. Direct Democracy

As all other things democracy has its own roots which are usually traced back to the Athenian democracy which is evolved in the Greek city-states. Although Athenian democracy is first to come to minds in reference to modern democracy, Robinson (1997) explains that Athens was neither the first, nor the only city-state which adopted a similar political rule. However, many scholars (Chambers, 2018; Dryzek, 2002; Gutmann & Thompson, 2009) find the roots of deliberative democracy in Athenian direct democracy, as all citizens participate various parts of political rule of the city-state and discussion is a vital point.

The word "democracy" itself originates from the Greek as it combines the words *dêmos* (people) and *krátos* (power). Thus the word democracy literally means "people power" yet it is translated as "the rule of people". Athenian polis had three political bodies which are *ekklesia* (the assembly), *boule* (executive function of the assembly), and *dikasteria* (courts). The power of Athenian citizens was manifested within those bodies. The center of the Athenian democracy was the assembly, unlike to modern parliaments members of the assembly were not elected but chosen by sortition since every single citizen of Athens was also a member and taking part in the assembly was also seen as duty (Thorley, 2005).

In the most basic understanding, Athenian citizens were direct participants of the legislative and executive procedures and there were no representatives or mediators. Thus, Athenian democracy is deemed as direct democracy. The assembly –*ekklesia*– had a few functions. It had executive and legislative function, as the members were members of parliament in modern sense; they were responsible with law-making. Decisions such as going into war or granting citizenship to *metics* (foreign residents) were among the duties of the assembly. In the basic sense, members -who are also speakers-, would take the floor and speak in favor of a topic or against a topic. Other members would vote in line with their views. The *boule*, on the other hand, had essentially an executive and administrative function. The members would set up the agenda for the ekklesia. The *boule* consisted of 500 citizens who are chosen by sortition. The court was *dikasteria*. Its members were chosen by draws like *ekklesia* and boule. However not all citizens were eligible members, but only those who are older than 30 were eligible. The difference was that although voting in both *ekklesia* and *boule* were subject to review, decisions of the court were not. In a sense, the jurors were the highest authority (Dover, 1994). However, since the jurors were also not specialized in law there is a possibility of unjust decision due to rhetoric which is "the art of speaking or writing effectively"[8]. Socrates was one of the victims of rhetoric as Plato describes in his *Five Dialogues*.

Robert Dahl explains the requirements of democracy of the Greek view:

1. Citizens must be sufficiently harmonious in their interests so that they can share, and act upon, a strong sense of a general good that is not in marked contradiction to their personal aims or interests.

2. …they must be highly homogeneous with respect to characteristics that would otherwise tend to produce political conflict and sharp disagreements over the public good. …

3. The citizen body must be quite small…

4. … citizens must be able to assemble and directly decide on the laws and decisions of policy…

5. Citizen participation was not limited, however, to the meetings of the Assembly. It also included participating in the administration of the city. …

6. Finally, the city-state must, ideally at least, remain fully autonomous… (Dahl, 1991, pp. 17-18)

Some of these requirements could also be related with requirements of deliberative democracy, in the most basic sense. For example, having a sense of common good or having small number of participants so that they would be able to assemble to deliberate on issues of public concern are also requirements of deliberative democracy. Although Greek democracy is seen as the root of deliberative democracy, it had its own flaws. The Athenian democracy was criticized by Plato even though he was a citizen of it. Plato argued that the state must be ruled by the qualified people instead of citizens who are chosen by lot. Government should be in the hands of virtuous philosopher kings, who are implied to be eligible individuals to rule, in contrast to rule by lot. For the population was susceptible to manipulation when they face with demagogues. Aristotle, on the other hand, is not as against to rhetoric as Plato, arguing that the rhetoric could also be used as a tool for enlightening the crowds.

Thorley (2005) explains that the members of the assembly –a quorum of nearly 6000 citizens- were chosen by sortition. Technically the system of choosing members by lot allows every citizen an equal chance to be a part of the assembly. The understanding still prevails in modern examples of deliberative democracy, claiming sortation would allow each and every citizen equal chance to be chosen. However, Leydet (2016) argues that equality of opportunity by sortition does not guarantee fairness or representation of especially marginal groups. Obviously fair representation was not a problem for Athenian democracy since citizenship was already quite exclusive. Yet this exclusivity of citizenship is criticized by standards of modern democracy.

Democracy requires its members to be the citizens of the related political body. Athenian democracy was no exception. However, the definition of citizen was quite

different from the definition of citizen in a modern state. The nature of Athenian society was stratified. Athenian citizenship was a rather exclusive status as *metics* (non-Athenian born, foreign residents), women, and slaves were excluded from the citizenship rights. In other words, only adult and free males who completed their military duties were citizens of Athens. Thorley (2005) states that "… during the fifth century the number of adult male citizens varied between 30,000 and 50,000 out of a total population of around 250,000 to 300,000" (p. 74). Expressions like *all citizens,* although correct, have a skewed meaning compared to modern states as all citizens are also consists of only 10% to 20% of all population. Although Athenian democracy is referred as the root of democracy, it should be noted that it does not fulfill a very basic requirement which is inclusion.

> Kleisthenes bypassed them when introducing the constitutional reform nowadays known as "Moderate Democracy," and set up the deme as the basis of public life, a rather secular and more egalitarian institution. However, women were excluded from the demes, as they did not participate in war and politics, and certainly non-citizens and slaves were also excluded. The democratic constitution was intended to broaden the basis of participation in public life as much as possible, but of course it would be unthinkable for women or slaves to be included in the ancient world, while the exclusion of resident aliens from politics still remains universal practice. (Kapparis, 2003, p.4)

Therefore, it should be noted that from a participatory perspective, the biggest flow of the Greek democracy is its exclusion. Although "all citizens" are included in the so-called democratic hearings and assembly meetings, the definition of citizen is problematic compared to contemporary point of view. As mentioned before, citizens only consist of adult free males of Athens who are only a small percentage of all population.

Robert Dahl (1998) lists five criteria for process-oriented democracy. These are effective participation, voting equality, enlightened understanding, control of the agenda, and finally inclusion of adults. Dahl claims "All, or at any rate most, adult permanent residents should have the full rights of citizens that are implied by the first four criteria. Before the twentieth century this criterion was unacceptable to most advocates of democracy" (p.38). Since Greek democracy is seen as the root of modern democracy, its fundamental problem of exclusion is rarely mentioned.

The final standard – inclusion of adults – ironically rules out many cases that political philosophers have regularly taken as great historical models for democracy: Greek and Roman polities, Viking crews, village assemblies, and some city-states. All of them built their political deliberations by means of massive exclusion, most notably of women, slaves, and paupers. Inclusion of all (or almost all) adults basically restricts political democracy to the last few centuries. (Tilly, 2007, p.9)

When the history of modern democracies is on the discussion, Athenian democracy is seen as a pillar. As mentioned earlier, some scholars turn back to Athenian democracy as the source of radical democracy models as well. Although participation of all citizens is the norm, its exclusive nature should not be overlooked. Another issue is that antique city-states lack the institutional infrastructures which exist in modern states. As Thorley (2005) states "Modern democracies did not develop out of admiration for Athenian democracy but had their own long, tortuous and difficult histories. So there is no continuity in the development of a democratic ideal, and we have to remember that this ideal is not by any means shared by everybody today" (p. 78). Therefore, to reach the fundamental of deliberative democracy, institutional structure of representational democracies should be investigated.

2.2. Representative Democracy

Even though the word democracy takes its etymological roots from the Ancient Greek, modern representational democracies would come to mind. While Ancient Athenian democracy provides the participatory aspect of the deliberative democracies, representative liberal democracies are the reality of the people who lives in contemporary world. It allowed normal citizens to be free from the burden of executive agency of the government. Citizens of Antique Athenian democracy –although quite exclusive- were the government themselves. There was no distinction between the ruled and the ruling. Even though Antique Athenian democracy was the pinnacle of citizens' participation, modern states are too populated to adopt such approach.

The concept of democracy is often discussed among scholars. There are many answers to the question from various viewpoints. Manin (1997) adopts a historical perspective and he explains the evolution of representative democracy starting from 18th century through American, English and French revolutions. Others (Przeworski et. al, 1996)

present a minimalist view of democracy. However, I will essentially try to explain the concept as an umbrella term for liberal-representative and electoral view of democracy along with its components for legitimacy. This will eventually lead to criticisms of representative democracy and solutions to those crises.

While some argues for process-oriented perspective of the democracy, others (Schumpeter, 1947; Przeworski, 2003) advocate minimalist definitions of democracy. Larry Diamond (2003) names this perspective as electoral democracy. Przeworski (2003) explains that political systems consist of conflicts among various groups. Before the institutionalized democratic systems, conflicts were solved in violent approaches. However, democracy provides an arena where conflicts can be solved without bloodshed –which is through elections. Under other circumstances, changing the incumbents of a state would lead to violence. Therefore, in Schumpeter's words democracy is "for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote" (1947, pp. 269).

The discussion of democracy often refers to concepts such as equality, elections, the relationship between the ruler and the people. Yet the concept of liberalism often refers to liberty and individualism. Although the term liberal democracy is used often, a direct link between those two terms is rather difficult to see. On the one hand, democracy is concerned with people altogether; on the other hand, liberalism is concerned with the individual. However, if we were to deduce that liberal democracies exist to protect the rights and liberties of a group of people –society-, the link will be more obvious.

John Stuart Mill is an advocate of representative democracy. In his book On Liberty (1859), he focuses on individual rights and liberties. He provides possibly the most well-known definition of liberty, which is one's liberty finishes when other's liberty is at stake. It is clear that negative liberties were not sufficient for him as he argued that the liberties can be limited by states under certain conditions. The only condition to limitation was to prevent an individual of harming another individual. If state's power to intervene individual freedoms is not limited, it could cause birth of an interventionist state. Mill argues against the idea of interventionist state. Democracy

is his solution to the problem. Ten (2004) explains the conditions for interference by the state as;

> Persons are seen as related to others, and can cause harm to them either by direct injury, or by passive conduct reflected in forms of social relations which undermine their ability to make independent decisions and plans. … Here, positive interference, rather than noninterference is required in order to promote liberty. But the kind of interference that promotes liberty must not be arbitrary or discretionary, and those who are interfered with must be included in the processes of deliberation and decision-making (Ten, 2004, p. 345)

The concept of voting is critical for him as well. To ensure that interference by state is not arbitrary, Mill suggests a competitive election between the representatives who would be competent individual with capacity for decision-making. Like Schumpeter, Mill also argues that the principles of the classical direct democracy are impossible to implement in the modern societies; therefore, citizens should vote for the people who have the power to represent the citizens. Since Mill bases his theory back to direct democracy, the right to vote, on the other hand, belongs to every single citizen. However, these bureaucrats or politicians should not hold ultimate power over the government.

To put it shortly, Mill explains democracy in the form of representative democracy, so that each citizen could be able to vote for the party or the politician who is more in line with their political views. In a sense, Mill rejects the thought of one general will emerging through representative democracy. Rather he argues for competitive and regular elections to choose a politician who is able to hold a participatory and deliberative decision-making process.

Schumpeter (1954) also argues for representative democracy on the basis of the fact that not all citizens in modern societies will be able to take place in governmental actions. He holds a minimalist perspective on democracy and states that democracy is "that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions which realizes the common good" (Schumpeter, 1954, p.250). The common good here could be interpreted as general interest or welfare of the public. Normally all rational members should have a transparent view on the common good and the ways to achieve it. However, it simply is not possible for all citizens to engage in implementing the

common good themselves nor is all the people capable, in the modern societies. To carry out the common good, people elect representatives in a competitive political structure. Schumpeter calls this competition for power as democracy. Przeworski (1999) explains that endpoint for democracy is to form a government which will lead the society towards the common good. Yet he does not explain how the government will take steps towards the common good, or what will the next step on achieving it.

Capitalism and democracy are closely connected according to Schumpeter (1954) since they have similar mechanisms such as selecting the best for the important positions. Additionally, he resolves another problem in liberalism which is the conflicting values between the individual rights and political responsibilities of the citizens. They choose representatives for the so-called responsibilities through voting. They are able to eliminate the representatives they did not like in the next elections. The citizens enjoy their individual rights in such a democratic system and appoint the willing politicians for their responsibilities. However, in this view the concept of democracy is again melted down to elections, thus leading towards minimalist view of democracy. This is rather simplistic definition of democracy; therefore, it is called minimalist definition of democracy which is -just as Schumpeter's theory- criticized by other scholars such as Robert Dahl.

James Madison –Founding Father of the US- argued for one of the most significant institutions of the modern representative democracies. He argued that the most important threat to the liberty is lack of separation of powers. Although his argument was seen as radical then, it only seems natural in the contemporary political scene. He states "The accumulation of all powers, legislative, executive and judicia[l] in the same hands, whether of one, a few, or many, and whether hereditary, self–appointed, or elective, may justly be pronounced the very definition of tyranny" (James Madison, Federalist No. 51, 1788). Madison proposed a system of check and balances to prevent accumulation of one power by another. He reaches to competitive nature of representative democracy to protect separation of powers. Elections serve to protect the liberty of people, which is the highest value. He states

> The great security against a gradual concentration of the several powers in the same [branch], consists in giving to those who administer each [branch], the necessary constitutional means, and

personal motives, to resist encroachments of the others…Ambition must be made to counteract ambition. The interest of the man must be connected with the constitutional rights of the place. (James Madison, Federalist No. 51, 1788).

Other concepts such as rule of law, free and fair elections, separation of powers are core values of democracy on the contrary to advocates of minimalist democracy. When combined these concepts presents the liberal democracies. However, not all of those concepts exist together at the same time always. There may be waves from the democratic ideal. Therefore, Robert Dahl who is an influencer of democratic theory provides the term of polyarchy as normative pinnacle for democracy. However, I will refer to his thought as democracy since even though the word itself changes; he essentially describes an ideal form of democracy. Larry Diamond (2003) explains Dahl's concept of democracy and states:

> The seminal elaboration is Dahl's conception of polyarchy, which has two overt dimensions: opposition (organized contestation through regular, free, and fair elections) and participation (the right of virtually all adults to vote and contest for office). Yet embedded in these two dimensions is a third, without which the first two cannot be truly meaningful: civil liberty. Polyarchy encompasses not only freedom to vote and contest for office but also freedom to speak and publish dissenting views, freedom to form and join organizations, and alternative sources of information. (Diamond, 2003, p. 32)

In a way Dahl defines the concept of democracy in a "process-oriented" (Tilly, 2007, p.9) way and into a more scientific version by listing requirements for a political system to be defined as "polyarchy". He lists requirements of institutionalization of democracies through concepts such as free and fair elections that are hold periodically, freedom of speech, reaching alternative information sources, rule by elected officials on the basis of rule of law. Those are fundamental requirements of a democratic regime. Russell Hanson (1989) summarizes this progress as "… substantive democracy was to replace the merely formal democracy of *laissez faire*, as industry, society, and government were organized along more equitable lines" (p.81). It is implied that a political body requires such concept would be too crowded for a simple direct democracy therefore, they essentially explain representative democracy.
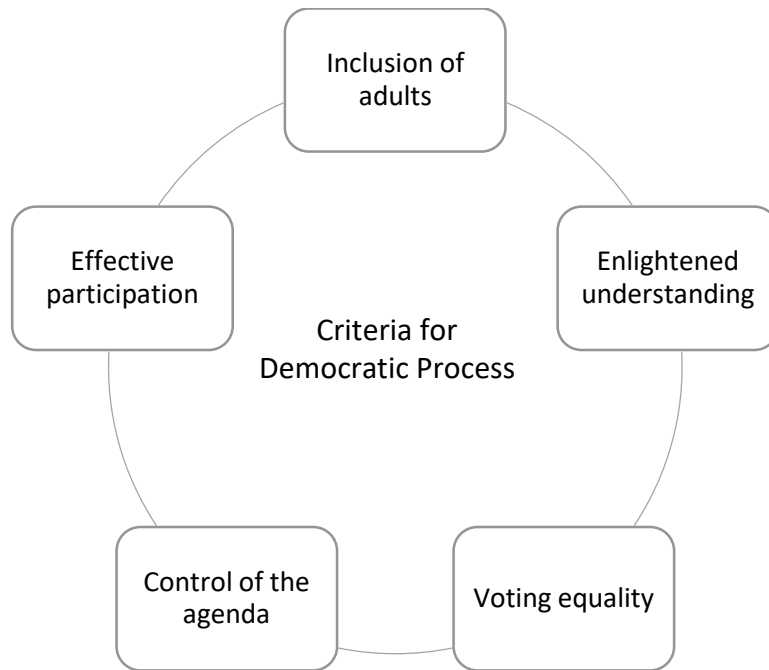
Figure 1: Five criteria of democratic process[9]

Dahl (1989) presents five criteria as shown in Figure 1. To explain in detail, inclusion of adults -as opposed to city-states- refers to most (if not all) residents of a country to be recognized as citizens to enjoy other four criteria. Effective participation refers to everybody to have equal and effective opportunity to explain their point of views. Voting equality refers to every vote to be counted as equal. Enlightened understanding refers to all citizens to have access to knowledge of the consequences of a decision. Finally control of agenda refers to citizens' right to choose on the issues to be discussed.

Dahl (1971) defines certain other requirements of democracy which are guaranteed by constitution. The right to opposition is one of those guarantees and Dahl states those guarantees to be "openly available, publicly employed and fully guaranteed to at least some members of the political system who wish to contest the conduct of the government" (1971, p.4). Another guarantee is inclusion level which is "proportion of the population entitled to participate on a more or less equal plane in controlling and contesting the conduct of the government" (Dahl, 1971, p.4). He defines inclusion or participation as extension of right to opposition to the majority of the society.

During the discussion on Ancient Athenian democracies, list of requirement of city-state democracy by Dahl (1991) has been mentioned. Here I would like to return to the same list, since those six requirements he explained are exact opposites of representative democracies. Initially, a modern state is without a doubt gigantic compared to a city-state. Therefore, as opposed to city-states, population is far from being homogeneous. Dahl states "In many countries, in fact, they are extraordinarily diverse: in religion, education, culture, ethnic group, race, language, and economic position" (1991, p. 19). He continues and explains that the population is far too crowded for assembly. Additionally, the administrative offices are not filled by citizen lot but they are filled with professionals. It should also be noted that citizens are much less involved in decision-making mechanisms. Since citizens are not able to assemble as they could in city-states, they vote for representatives who make careers out of this.

As Heywood (2016) claims, elections are the sole source of legitimation of liberal democracies. In this context, any restriction based on gender, race, religion, economical status or any other reason should not be accepted within a democratic system. The essence of democratic process is the power of the people to hold the officials accountable. From the liberal perspective, the power of the state should always be under control as it tends to oppress individuals. Therefore, to control and limit the power of the state; constitution, checks and balances, judicial independence, and relation among institutions of the state should be regulated. All of those institutions are visited later for justification of deliberative democracy as the practice would requires guarantees that are originates from the political system it resides.

Della Porta (2013), explains that an "institutional evolution" (p.23) is necessary for existing liberal democracies to be legitimate. She suggests three mechanisms for her aim.

> First, liberal democracies needed functioning political parties as actors that could implement the principles of electoral accountability. Second, the majoritarian assumption needed a nation state as defining the border of the demos in whose name (and interest) decisions were made. Third, and more subtly, even though liberal democracy did not call for social justice, it still relied upon the assumption that political equality was to reduce social inequality that otherwise risked undermining the very principle of free access to political rights. (Della Porta, 2013, p. 23).

Della Porta (2013) summarizes the legitimacy aspect of democracy by defining the concept initially. She states that democracy is accumulations of norms and procedures as well as accountable institutions. During the construction of nation-states, the rights and liberties of citizens are recognized through those institutions which eventually led to construction of a collective citizens' identity. Therefore, nation-state was able to demand the loyalty of its citizens. Since due to the constructed identity, they will feel belong to the state and a part of it. Thus, the demand for loyalty by the state is justified.

> In the end, the miracle of democracy is that conflicting political forces obey the results of voting. People who have guns obey those without them. Incumbents risk their control of governmental offices by holding elections. Losers wait for their chance to win office. Conflicts are regulated, processed according to rules, and thus limited. This is not consensus, yet not mayhem either. Just limited conflict; conflict without killing. (Przeworski, 2003, pp. 15-16)

Przeworski clearly states that electoral democracy does not generate consensus, nor is it the ideal form of governance. Yet he deems it as miracle as the results of elections are accepted by all parties involved. However, electoral view of democracy diminishes the citizens to mere voters. Considering elections provide legitimacy of such political systems, declining ballot-returns are concerning. Della Porta (2013) claims that conventional forms of participations –including voting- is in a diminishing fashion, however other forms of participation –such as protests- are becoming more popular.

2.2.1 Criticisms of Representative Democracy

Democracy has been criticized ever since their existence. However, in the late 20th century, scholars began to suggest alternative forms of democracy on the basis of criticisms of liberal-representative democracies. Deliberative democracy is among those alternatives in the light of democratic crisis which is elaborated from the legitimacy perspective.

Della Porta (2013) claims that the conditions for legitimation are no longer sufficient as other developments such as globalization has been happening. She states three main issues which are "A shift of power from parties (and representative institutions) to the executive; A shift of power from the nation state to international governmental organizations (IGOs); A shift of power from the state to the market …" (della Porta, 2013, pp. 24-25). Shift from parties to executive, essentially, undermines the

legitimacy of electoral democracy which is based on competition among power seeking groups. In a modern democracy these groups would be political parties. One of the main mechanisms of parties is to mediate between the political institutions and citizens (della Porta, 2008). They were responsible for electoral accountability since citizens had the opportunity to punish the bad ones and reward the good ones. Habermas (2007) also criticizes representative democracy and claims that the parliamentary has become a venue where party officials register pre-determined mandates.

The decline in the capacity of institutions in the traditional sense, leads to decline in citizens' trust to political parties. As citizens trust in parties decline, their trust towards traditional representative institutions declined as well. Elections are the basic traditional institution of liberal democracy. Therefore, distrust to elections is distrust to representative system itself. Della Porta (2013) supports this by representing declining percentages of electoral turnout. Doğanay (2003) also finds the crisis of legitimacy of the liberal democracies in its representative nature. She claims that representative democracy pushes citizens out of the democratic procedures due to distrust towards political leaders, and basic political institutions. She claims that from the social contract perspective, representative democracies no longer in line with the "general will" concept of Rousseau. Citizens are no longer the sovereign but mere recipients of the law-makers as voters. Therefore, the main cause of the crisis can be explained as reducing the democracy to elections.

Following della Porta's (2013) three main criticisms, the effect of globalization on the democracies of nation-state is another factor. Traditionally, as the people of the state transferred their power, the state is considered as the sole sovereign. However, she explains that the increase in the norms and regulations which are initiated by international organizations have begun to take place of nation-states. International organizations such as United Nations have the so-called power of sanctions, thus, nations-states tend to follow the recommended rule and regulations. On the other hand, the European Union has a legitimate authority over its member states as a supranational organization. All these examples show that the nation-states are no longer the sole sovereign. Therefore, the legitimacy of nation-states which is based on

the electoral nature of the representative systems is in question –as "legitimation of liberal democracies as representing the will of their citizens" (della Porta, 2013, p. 29).

Globalization criticisms look into the issue from the perspective of multiculturalism. The liberal-representative democracy fails to respond the requirements and needs of its citizens in an egalitarian fashion. Minority groups in a society and therefore their problems are usually underrepresented (Taylor, 1994). Structural change in the political system is presented as a solution to minority issues. Representation quotas for several minorities (such as indigenous people, women, ethnic minorities etc.) are implemented in certain countries as a solution (Devlin & Elgie, 2008; Bird, 2014). However, even such measures may not be remedy. Even people with less fortunate financial or educational backgrounds could also be forgotten by policymakers, as they would not have the power to influence the political agenda. Even if certain minority groups could find a position for themselves in the representative arena, others will not. The problem ties back to the first criticism. Political parties lose their role as mediator between the state and the people.

Final point of della Porta's (2013) criticism is "shift of power from the state to the market" (p. 25). She explains that a high quality democracy would aim equality along with respecting individual rights and liberties. Equality is often provided by welfare policies which also act as a source of legitimation element. However, she explains that nation-states, party-states, and welfare-states are weakening. The power that is lost has now shifted towards global neo-liberal markets; therefore, the concept of liberal democracy is also weakening. Brown (2003) also argues that neoliberalism causes erosion of democratic institutions as it has political connotations as opposed to being a set of economic values. She argues that political decision-making is influenced by neoliberal market values however market values are not compatible with the values of liberal democracies. Habermas (1988) makes criticisms from a similar point. He claims that state institutions are designed to serve for the capitalist neoliberal political economy for the success when the people's requirements and will should have been the core as he states:

"The arrangement of formal democratic institutions and procedures permits administrative decisions to be made largely independently of specific motives of the

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citizens. This takes place through a legitimation process that elicits generalized motives— that is, diffuse mass loyalty—but avoids participation" (Habermas, 1992, p. 36)"

The disconnection between the state institutions and the citizens is significant problem. Since it concerns the legitimacy of the representative system in which we reside. As discussed above, public good is a core value; however, it is also rather difficult to reach at since the citizens have to put their trust into the institutions and politicians whom they elect regularly (Habermas, 1992). Yet the citizens are excluded from the decision-making mechanisms in an electoral system. They cannot interfere with the decisions taken in a fully representative nature. Therefore, main legitimacy problem according to Habermas is simply lack of citizen participation.

To put radical criticisms shortly, there are two main problems: crisis of representation and estrangement of citizens from political processes. Although those two issues are related to each other, they are still separate. While the former refers to issues during implementation in the institutions of representative democracy, the latter refers to the belief that representatives do not –in fact- represent the citizens themselves. However, those crises are voiced for the purpose of suggesting other forms of democracy. While della Porta (2013) explains the diminishing popularity of electoral democracy (in some countries), she acknowledges other forms of democracy –participatory democracy-gains popularity instead. Habermas along with many other scholars face towards deliberative democracy instead. Benhabib (1999) –in line with Habermas- argues that the legitimacy crises of the liberal democracies can only be solved through a free and unrestrained public deliberation which everyone participates. Therefore, this study will continue with explaining the remedy –deliberative democracy- that many scholars sought.

CHAPTER 3

DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY

Following the criticisms of the representative-liberal democracies, a number of remedies have been discussed by many scholars. Deliberative democracy is one the remedies (Habermas, 1996; Benhabib, 1994). As della Porta (2013) explains, liberal democracy has been criticized on its claim of free and equal citizens being unrealistic, by advocates of participatory democracy. Moreover, it encompasses "power asymmetries that a purely political equality failed to neutralize" (della Porta, 2013, p. 38). On the other hand, participatory democracy allows citizens to be involved in politics. However, the way to involve citizens differs from deliberative counterparts, as deliberative theory argues that citizens are involved in public space following certain discourse ethics. While discussing over the deliberative democracy theory, one almost always refers to Habermas. Although he is not the first scholar to suggest deliberation, he is without doubt one of the most popular. This study, therefore, will focus on deliberative democracy from Habermasian perspective. The discourse ethics rules Habermas describes will be basis of the analysis of the research materials.

The rights we renounced to representatives were useful for the citizens, thus we seek other forms of involvement to the governmental process. Involvement could be done through exercising the right to know, scrutiny of politicians, or direct involvement through certain other elements. In this case, citizens are involved through participating to mini-publics of Ankara City Council's focus groups and assemblies. In a way, deliberative democracy process is a synthesis of Ancient Athenian Democracy and representative liberal democracy. In its minimalist understanding, while the citizens of Athens enjoyed every right to participate in policy making process of their home-state, they lacked the institutions to guarantee and the rule of law that could protect their right. On the other hand, citizens of representative democracies had the

institutionalization and the rule of law, at least to some extent, yet they lacked the active participation to decision-making process beyond voting. However, deliberative democracy, being the synthesis of these two *flawed* models, aims to solve the legitimacy problem of representative-liberal democracies. It aims to solve the legitimacy crisis which is referred to lack of citizen participation by adopting participatory nature of ancient democracies. Considering the history of deliberative democracies, it can be deduced that Turkey is behind its Western counterparts regarding catching the popular train of deliberation. However, she is following its counterparts with recently adopted participatory activities such as political protests. Although protests are not considered deliberative democracy practices, other deliberative practices such as participatory budgeting or city council meetings are practiced.

On the road to deliberative model of democracy, one should mention certain aspects of its history. One of these aspects is the crisis emerged within the representative democracy which led various theories within the democracy discourse. The so-called legitimacy crisis of representative democracy prompted many political thinkers to think of possible remedies for the problem or even create new democracy theories. Deliberative democracy emerged as both solution and a new democracy theory to the legitimacy problem. We cannot label deliberative democracy as a brand-new theory since the theory takes its roots from various historical moments beginning with the democracy practices of Antique Greek as some scholars suggest (Chambers, 2018; Dryzek, 2002; Gutmann & Thompson, 2009).

Chambers (2003) lists four main principles of deliberative democracy which are essentially centralized around conversation, communication, and will-formation. Initially, deliberative democracy focuses on accountability on the contrary to consent of the process of decision-making. Chambers (2003) begins with explaining the concept of accountability within the terms of justification and states "accountability is primarily understood in terms of 'giving an account' of something that is, publicly articulating, explaining, and most importantly justifying public policy" (p. 308). Second principle is about the rules of communication during deliberative processes which is supposed to be respectful, rational and interactive. Third principle is about the results of the process. It is usually expected that the outcomes of a deliberative

process to have an effect on the decision-making process. Finally, fourth principle is coming from the Habermasian perspective, public space is a normative sphere where deliberative democracy takes place.

Above principles could be deemed as the ideals of deliberative democracy; however, it should be noted like many other democracy theories, deliberative democracy is also not perfect. Thus, a real-life example of deliberation may not include all of the principles described since it would not be in its ideal form. The case of Ankara City Council is no exception since the city councils have no policymaking power as per the Municipalities Law. Therefore, even if the other requirements of deliberative democracy were perfect, the fact city councils lack decision-making power makes it less from the ideal.

Habermas (1994), explains two main requirements for the legitimacy of deliberation within representative-liberal democracies. The first consists of a normative nature and it is related to the discourse ethics and communication. He explains the communication and action principles in a deliberative environment should be. The second is related to the participatory nature of deliberation which is connected to the public sphere.

3.1.   Public Sphere as the Platform for Deliberative Democracy

While Athenian Democracy lays one pillar of deliberative democracy, another pillar is public sphere. The questions of what is public, and who is included under which circumstances are significant questions that need answers for the sake of the deliberative democracy theory. Since deliberative democracy is realized within the public sphere its limits and potentials are worth exploring.

Weintraub (1997) presents an analysis of public and private distinction under four categories within somewhat historical context. He initially explains the public private distinction in a basic understanding. In the most basic terms, he explains, to understand the distinction in the given framework one should be able to identify two distinctions. First, "what is hidden or withdrawn versus what is open, revealed, or accessible" (p.5) and the second "what is individual, or pertains only to an individual, versus what is collective, or affects the interests of a collectivity of individuals" (p.5). In other words,

while publicness requires two essential criteria that are visibility and collectivity, hidden and individual refer to the private.

Weintraub (1997) continues with the classical approach where publicness is related to the political through the fact that the participants are citizens and thus, they are equal within this public sphere. Here, Kant's distinction of public and private is worth mentioning as his approach could be placed under the classical approach. However, Benhabib (1992) would categorize his theory under liberal tradition and call "legalistic model of public sphere" (p. 73). Although his assigned distinction might be a bit confusing, in a way, one could claim that he led the way for contemporary thinkers as he was one the first thinkers emphasizing the distinction between public and private. The idea on the usage of ration will be base for Habermas's opinion-formation as he states "… Kant has also referred to 'reason' as a post-metaphysical base for legal and political orders. This mentalist conception of reason is now translated, however, in pragmatist terms and spelled out in terms of practices of reason-giving, i.e. as conditions for deliberation." (Habermas, 1999, p. 940). Therefore, the concept of enlightenment will be explored from Kant's perspective.

Kant denotes distinction within the context of use of reason to explain "What is Enlightenment?" of which he answers "Enlightenment is man's emergence from his self-imposed nonage. Nonage is the inability to use one's own understanding without another's guidance. This nonage is self-imposed if its cause lies not in lack of understanding but in indecision and lack of courage to use one's own mind without another's guidance." (Kant, 1963, p.1). He defines the public as;

> By the public use of one's reason I understand the use which a person makes of it as a scholar before the reading public. Private use I call that which one may make of it in a particular civil post or office which is entrusted to him. (Kant, 1963, p.5)

The term "public" refers to a sphere where individuals have freedom of speech as they are not bound by their official duties. By using the public reason, one could engage in collective action through communicating with others. On the contrast, however, the term "private" refers to a sphere where individuals are restricted from such freedom since they are carrying out their official responsibilities. Private reason is use of reason to accomplish given tasks. In Kant's own words, the reason for such restriction is;

> Thus it would be ruinous for an officer in service to debate about the suitability or utility of a command given to him by his superior; he must obey. But the right to make remarks on errors in the military service and to lay them before the public for judgment cannot equitably be refused him as a scholar. (Kant, 1963, p)

As mentioned above, Kant's approach could be listed under classical approach and he was an influential thinker. He describes public space to be separate from the state, as individuals have freedom of speech when they are free from their official duties. "In regard to enlightenment, therefore, thinking for oneself seemed to coincide with thinking aloud and the use of reason with its public use" (Habermas, 1991, p. 104). Habermas's public sphere –as Benhabib (1992) names discursive public space– has also a similar characteristic.

I will borrow Weintraub's (1997) flow and turn my course towards Hannah Arendt and her possibly most renowned work The Human Condition to be followed by Jürgen Habermas and his bourgeois public sphere which is explained in "The Structural Transformation of the Public sphere". Both Habermas's and Arendt's conceptualizations of public life starts with the classical approach. However, their distinction of public and private have their own nuances and they go beyond this classical approach, one by reviving the sharp distinction of public and private life –in other words, *polis* and *oikos*– and other by laying the grounds for his radical democracy view.

While Kant made the distinction between public and private in search of enlightenment, Hannah Arendt tries to revive the distinction between public and private which was blurred with the modernity in her work. Therefore, she takes the roots of her theory from the Ancient Greek democracy.

Modernity is explained by the concept of *vita activa* and how relation between three activities regarding human life transformed and blurred the lines between public and private life by Arendt (1958). As a result, public space was no more a separate space. Arendt, however, searches the distinction in the Ancient Athenian *polis*, and revives what Benhabib (1992) would call Civic-Republican public space –the neglected part of the human life. Although Arendt deems all three activities of human life as essential for a complete life, it is clear that she puts emphasis on action compared to the others

as action is what distinguishes human life from the life of animals as well as *vita contemplative* which is the highest form of life or god's life as d'Entreves (2019) puts it. *Vita activa*, therefore, is the neglected part of the human life that Arendt revives through public space.

According to Arendt (1958) all three activities are autonomous since each are bound by different criteria and each have its own unique principle. Labor is the activity which is connected to the human condition of life in biological sense. Its value is demonstrated by basic biological needs to maintain human life. Work is the activity which is connected to the human condition of "worldliness", in other words things that are created by humans or building a world that is fit for humans. Action is the activity that is connected to the plurality and freedom –which is capacity to start something new. In other words, human beings are equal yet they are distinct.

> Action, the only activity that goes on directly between men without the intermediary of things or matter, corresponds to the human condition of plurality, to the fact that men, not Man, live on the earth and inhabit the world. While all aspects of the human condition are somehow related to politics, this plurality is specifically *the* condition –not only the *conditio sine qua non*, but the *conditio per quam*- of all political life. (Arendt, 1958, p.7)

In a way, activities are evaluated by their values in regard to the revival of the public space. Labor is the least public activity among all if not anti-political. Work is somewhat public compared to the labor. Action, on the other hand, is the most perfect public and political activity according to Arendt. Private is the one that not public. Private is deprived of plurality, permanence, visibility and a common world. Private has value only to ensure protection of the public realm since the public realm can be realized only after the satisfaction of basic needs of human life. Therefore, labor which is aims to satisfy the vital needs of the human body is the most private activity (Özkazanç, 1994).

Action, however, is seen as the realization of freedom which is originated from *natality* since, in a sense, birth symbolizes a new beginning. Like freedom, plurality is the other pillar of action since it represents starting new. All things said on the action, Arendt emphasizes that the action appears in the public as visible, as equal; yet existence in the public realm requires communication. Action involves both deeds and speech

simply to express one's thoughts and feelings clearly and to be able to coordinate with other members of the public for it cannot be done in isolation. The web of relations is maintained by communication. As action requires speech since it would be relatively difficult to coordinate with actions of other people, speech also requires action. Arendt (1958) states that "…the political realm rises directly out of acting together, the "sharing of words and deeds." Thus action not only has the most intimate relationship to the public part of the world common to us all, but is the one activity which constitutes it." (p. 198). d'Entreves (2019) explains "power" through the link between action and speech. Power is the capacity to act "in concert" of people and "Power is actualized only where word and deed have not parted company, where words are not empty and deeds not brutal, where words are not used to veil intentions but to disclose realities, and deeds are not used to violate and destroy but to establish relations and create new realities" (Arendt, 1958, p. 200). It only exists when it is realized through action if it is not actualized it cannot be stored away.

Özkazanç (1994) interprets the reason Arendt's sharp distinction between the private and the public as to protect the public which is the place for equality, freedom and self-realization from domination of the realm of necessity and self-interest. In other words, both realms entail their own value. While living only in the public realm would be meaningless as one would not meet his (or her –even though women were not citizens in the eyes of Ancient Greek city states) basic humanly needs and only exist in the eyes of others; the contrary –a life only ensuring physical needs- unfulfilling in an intellectual sense.

Another reason for such distinction is the fact that communication can be realized among equals. As Arendt takes her roots from the Ancient Greek, it should be clear that the people are not equals in the private household. As explained earlier, the equals are only the citizens and citizens are rather exclusive. Women and slaves were not citizens, thus only belonged to the private. Citizens only included free, adult men who were born in the so-called polis. The distinction protected "equality" among citizens in the ancient *polis*.

> The polis, properly speaking, is not the city-state in its physical
> location; it is the organization of the people as it arises out of acting
> and speaking together, and its true space lies between people living

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together for this purpose, no matter where they happen to be.
"Wherever you go, you will be a polis" … This space does not always
exist, and although all men are capable of deed and word, most of
them—like the slave, the foreigner, and the barbarian in antiquity, like
the laborer or craftsman prior to the modern age, the jobholder or
businessman in our world—do not live in it. No man, moreover, can
live in it all the time. To be deprived of it means to be deprived of
reality, which, humanly and politically speaking, is the same as
appearance. (Arendt, 1958, pp. 198-199)

Polis for Arendt is a metaphor since it does not refer to political institutions of Ancient
Greek city-states. Polis represents the state of appearance where communication or
speech and action are realized among free and equal citizens. In other words, *polis* is
where the instances that citizens were able to act "in concert". Thus, public space is
not a designated specific place. As Arendt states "… the space where I appear to others
as others appears to me, where men exist not merely like other living or inanimate
things but make their appearance explicitly" (*ibid.*, pp. 198-199). As public space is
not bound by its spatial character but by "wherever men are together in manner of
speech and action" (*ibid.*, p. 199), it can be revived anew yet it is also fragile. The fact
that once the space of appearance came into existence under the optimal conditions
does not guarantee its longevity but its potentiality.

Its peculiarity is that, unlike the spaces which are the work of our
hands, it does not survive the actuality of the movement which brought
it into being, but disappears not only with the dispersal of men—as in
the case of great catastrophes when the body politic of a people is
destroyed—but with the disappearance or arrest of the activities
themselves. Wherever people gather together, it is potentially there,
but only potentially, not necessarily and not forever. (Arendt, 1958, p.
199)

Therefore, the space of appearance should be realized over and over again by action.
It exists under three requirements: the topic of deliberation must entail a public value,
it should happen within a space which is in the reach of politically, and free and equal
citizens who are active participants.

However, Benhabib (1992) criticizes Arendt's public realm claiming that in the
modern world, her distinction of public and private is not useful and states "The
struggle over what gets included in the public agenda is itself a struggle for justice and
freedom" (p. 79). She interprets the public realm as a competitive realm for recognition

and it is a struggle for justice itself making something public. Salikov (2018), on the other hand, compares Arendt's and Habermas's public spheres and argues that their public spheres have many common points, starting with the fact that they both base their arguments in the past models. They both criticize the modern society and present public sphere as a way to mend it. They both argue for openness and equality in the public sphere. However, they also differ in other ways. Initially, Habermas's public sphere –as will be discussed below- is less concerned about the spatial characteristics. Although Arendt's concept of public realm exists in "the deeds and speeches of individuals who gather together to under-take some common activities, existing only while these activities last" (Salikov, 2018, p. 93), she emphasizes the visibility of the people. Habermas's public sphere emerges through communication; therefore, it may or may not have a spatial character. Second difference is although the core principle of Habermas's public sphere is essentially communication where aim is opinion-formation; Arendt's public space has a competitive or "agonistic" character to it. Arendt's public space set forth to more than opinion-formation and it includes "act in concert" as well, also a place for individuals to present themselves to others; on the contrary to being a sphere for rational-discussions. Finally, while Habermas sees agreement as an end point of public spheres, Arendt criticizes this and advocates for pluralism; she argues "…there cannot be a single opinion; there are plural opinions" (*ibid*., p. 94) in real politics.

Before continuing with Habermas's interpretations of public sphere, I would like to mention Bruce Ackerman's "liberal model of public dialogue" as Benhabib (1992, p.81) names. She states that "Ackerman understands liberalism as a way of talking about power, as a political culture of public dialogue based on certain kinds of conversational constraints" (*ibid*., p. 81). She explains the constraint to be neutrality for the public dialogue within the liberal concept. However, neutrality is a controversial issue since it implicitly demands individuals to be silenced. The concept itself is not neutral, on the contrary, "it presupposes a moral and political epistemology" (*ibid*., p. 84); thus, leading to exclusion of some groups and their voices to be not heard. On the contrary, Habermas's public sphere, in other words discourse model of public space, is radically inclusive and fluid since it does not impose strict entry constraints or decides the debates for the public. Even the presupposed good and bad are open for deliberation (*ibid*., pp. 84-85).

Public sphere that Habermas envisioned was evolved in a space that is neither public nor private, on the contrary to Arendt's public realm which is actualized purely in public. In The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society (1989), Habermas illustrates his notion of public sphere and explains growth and deterioration of the bourgeois public sphere in historical context. He tells that there was no distinction between public and private during medieval times due to hierarchical class divisions.

> Representation in the sense in which the members of a national assembly represent a nation or a lawyer represents his clients had nothing to do with this publicity of representation inseparable from the lard's concrete existence, that, as an "aura" surrounded and endowed his authority. When the territorial ruler convened about him ecclesiastical and worldly lords, knights, prelates, and cities … this was not a matter of an assembly of delegates that was someone else's representative. As long as the prince and the estates of his realm "were" the country and not just its representatives, they could represent in a specific sense. They represented their lordship not for but "before" the people. (Habermas, 1989, pp. 7-8)

As Habermas states, the rulers were viewed as the state itself and what they represent were not the people but their own power. However, in the public sphere, equality is one of the first and foremost presuppositions. Imbalances of power among participants would prevent the ideal speech within the public sphere. These spaces were aiming to remove inequality, As Habermas states "they preserved a kind of social intercourse that, far from presupposing the equality of status, disregarded status altogether. The tendency replaced the celebration of rank with a tact befitting equals" (1997, p.36). Nonetheless, he was criticized highly in this very respect by many other scholars, which will be discussed later.

He explains how the constitutional changes within the mentioned political structures led ways to the bourgeois to gather around coffee houses and salons during 18th and 19th centuries. When the Enlightenment comes into light, the political structure is reshaped into a more egalitarian society. The non-feudal lords and non-aristocrats were to be seen as part of the society now.

> Because, on the one hand, the society now confronting the state clearly separated a private domain from public authority and because, on the other hand, it turned the reproduction of life into something

transcending the confines of private domestic authority and becoming a subject of public interest, that zone of continuous administrative contact became "critical" also in the sense that it provoked the critical judgment of a public making use of its reason. (Habermas, 1989, p. 24)

The normal people (bourgeois class in Habermas's historical context) were able gather together, share information and most importantly argue literature and later politics in these coffee houses, in other words forums. With the adoption of mass printing, journalism grew as well. The aim of these was essentially passing information of the rulers and their decisions –politics. At the same time certain constitutional changes helped the separation of public from the private. These intellectual debates that took place in the coffee houses were private in the Republican view.

The private sphere comprised of commodity exchange and of social labor; imbedded in it was the family with its interior domain. The public sphere in the political realm evolved from the public sphere in the world of letters; through the vehicle of public opinion it put the state in touch with the needs of society. (Habermas, 1989, pp.30-31)

However, Habermas's public sphere was actualized neither in the public space, nor in the private. It was happening in a space in between.

The model of the bourgeois public sphere presupposed strict separation of the public from the private realm in such a way that the public sphere, made up of private people gathered together as a public and articulating the needs of society with the state, was itself considered part of the private realm. (Habermas, 1989, pp.175-176)

Demise of public sphere came as the state started to enter to the private space while the private realm kept holding the public function as well. The line between the two began to interlace with each other.

Habermas's public sphere is, in a sense, pinnacle of liberal democracies where ideally each participant is free and equal. It's a realm exists in the social life where public opinion can be formed. In addition, there are no obstacle or restriction for entry, it is blind to class structures and open to all.

The public sphere can best be described as a network for communicating information and points of view (i.e., opinions expressing affirmative or negative attitudes); the streams of communication are, in the process, filtered and synthesized in such a

way that they coalesce into bundles of topically specified public opinions. (Habermas, 1996, p.360)

However, Nancy Fraser (1990) criticizes Habermasian public sphere as being "weak publics" since it includes rational-discussions. It includes those discussions, yet it does not possess the power to directly influence the policy-making process. To be able to influence the decision-making, public spheres has only indirect power of public opinion through opinion-forming following the ideal speech within the public spheres

3.2. Discourse Ethics and Deliberative Democracy

Although deliberative democracy theory is presented as a possible remedy for the mentioned legitimacy crises by many scholars (Dryzek et al., 2019; Habemas, 2001; Manin, 1987; Cohen, 1989; Elster, 1986). It is not presented as an alternative to existing representative-liberal democracy models, on the contrary as Shapiro states it aims to expand the representative-liberal democracies with citizen participation.

Rick Roderick, in one of his lectures, explains that the fundamental human interest for Habermas is in communication and "not just in communication … but in *undistorted and clear communication*[10]." This fundamental human interest leads to the deliberative democracy-along with public sphere. Habermas (2001) emphasizes the significance of communication while deliberation since it is the instrument that the people express their will. He also explains the importance of communicative action in his work Between Facts and Norms as;

> the public sphere is reproduced through communicative action, for which mastery of a natural language suffices; it is tailored to the general comprehensibility of everyday communicative practice. … the public sphere distinguishes itself through a communication structure that is related to a third feature of communicative action: it refers neither to the functions nor to the contents of everyday communication but to the social space generated in communicative action. (Habermas, 1996, p.360).

The only limitation of the public sphere is the wish to be included and having the communicative rationality for the deliberation. There is no competition to have one's voice to be heard, neither "constraint of neutrality" (Benhabib, 1992, p.86) as would in the classical liberal models of public space but the quality of deliberation is judged according to communicative rationality. However, Bohman & Rehg (2019) argues that

instead of competition "… arguments depend in turn on the rhetorical quality of the persuasive process" since Habermas presupposes an ideal speech situation for the public sphere. He explains the presuppositions for communicative action as;

> (a) inclusivity: no one who could make a relevant contribution may be prevented from participating;
>
> (b) equal distribution of communicative freedoms: everyone has an equal opportunity to make contributions;
>
> (c) truthfulness: the participants must mean what they say; and
>
> (d) absence of contingent external constraints or constraints inherent to the structure of communication: the yes/no positions of participants on criticizable validity claims should be motivated only by the power of cogent reasons to convince" (Habermas, 2008, pp.82)

For the communication to be successful, he puts certain conditions for unconstrained understanding of each other. The first condition is symmetry condition which is basically everyone to have an equal opportunity to talk and listen. It is rather egalitarian condition, considering the usual communications in everyday life –almost always- include a power asymmetry. When a parent talking to their child, or a boss to their employee, or a teacher to their student, or –in many societies- a man talking to a woman; there is always a power relation between them which interferes with unconstrained understanding.

Another condition to "the ideal speech" is speakers to be sincere in their speeches. In the most basic sense, sincerity here means that participants do not try to deceit others and they are speaking the truth. The final condition is moral condition. In other words, to pursue and speak what is right. To put it shortly, ideal speech is sincere, right, and truthful.

Rick Roderick argues that Habermas uses the words "ideal speech" since he is very-well aware that his view is an idealization; therefore, the ideal speech will never be fully successful but only to the extent of communicative reasoning. It should be noted that Habermas takes his roots from enlightenment. In the sense that similar to Kant, Habermas also gives significance to autonomous agency, therefore human beings are free and they cannot be forced. Yet there is one certain force –the force of the better argument which is the backbone of deliberative discussion. Following to "ideal speech" human beings are rational enough to change their position and agree on the

better argument. Following a communication in which everyone is free and equal, one would not be ashamed of themselves if other participants convince with better argument. Habermas explains the non-coercive principle of deliberation as:

> A [moral norm] is valid just in case the foreseeable consequences and side-effects of its general observance for the interests and value-orientations of *each individual* could be *jointly* accepted by *all* concerned without coercion (Habermas, 1998, p. 42)

Deliberative democracy is not presented as an alternative to existing representative-liberal democracy models, on the contrary as Shapiro (2003) states it aims to expand the representative-liberal democracies. The theory is presented as a possible remedy for the mentioned legitimacy crises by many scholars (Dryzek et al., 2019; Habemas, 2001; Manin, 1987; Cohen, 1989; Elster, 1986). Habermas proposes an alternative normative form of democracy which is deliberative democracy in Between Facts and Norms. Main pre-conditions for the deliberative democracy theory are discourse ethics and institutional protection, in other words, judicial and constitutional guarantees of the said political body.

Leydet (1997) argues that representative democracy would not suffice for Habermas since the legitimacy of the representative democracy depends on elections when Habermas would argue that citizens should have power more than simply voting. Instead, he wishes to make use of one of the core values of republican tradition which is citizen participation for the process of opinion-formation. Leydet summarizes Habermas's view as;

> … it would not be enough to show that the debates that go on in civil society somehow influence the decision-making of formal political institutions. He makes the further claim that these processes contribute to the production of decisions that have a presumption of rational acceptability. This is what ultimately grounds the legitimacy of collective decisions and the obligation citizens have to obey the law. (Leydet, 1997, p.39).

Habermas's model is neither republican nor liberal, instead he presents synthesized point of view. The republican model includes concepts of collective opinion and will-formation which are advocated by Rousseau as its core values. On the other hand, liberalism adopts the protection of individual rights and freedoms (essentially negative rights of individuals) by certain institutional structures. Habermas, however, neither is

as weak as liberal model, nor as strong as the republican model. In his model, individual liberties are indeed protected by institutions, yet this is not their sole value. Along with protection of liberties, institutions are responsible for carrying out the communicative rationality which is another pre-condition of deliberation. To put it shortly, deliberative democracy is where the opinions formed in the public sphere are transferred into communicative power within the legal and political system – *representative-liberal democracy*. As Mendieta (2013) states

> Habermas develops a theory of democracy that links a procedural theory of law with his discourse ethics. The central idea of this massive work is to show how deliberation among citizens generates a communicative power that translates moral intuitions into administrative power through law. In other words, the process of juridification is a process that links a postconventional moral orientation to the rational regulation of society through the law. (Mendieta, 2013, p. 699)

The aim of such process is essentially restoring the legitimacy of the decision-making process in representative liberal democracies. Habermas puts emphasis on institutionalization, as opinion-formation in public spheres is usually informal. He states

> According to discourse theory, the success of deliberative politics depends not on a collectively acting citizenry but on the institutionalization of the corresponding procedures and conditions of communication, as well as on the interplay of institutionalized deliberative processes with informally developed public opinions. (Habermas, 1996, p. 298).

The significance of rational discourse is emphasized since with its egalitarian nature in communication, it will essentially lead towards a deliberative space for all individuals.

> Rational discourse is supposed to be public and inclusive, to grant equal communication rights for participants, to require sincerity and to diffuse any kind of force other than the forceless force of the better argument. This communicative structure is expected to create a deliberative space for the mobilization of the best available contributions for the most relevant topics. (Habermas, 1999, p. 940)

As argued earlier, Smith and Rowe (2016) also argue that deliberative discussion is initiated among individuals and these discussions should be open to every willing

member of the society. In addition to open participation, there should also be freedom to express one's opinions without any restriction or any oppression during the debates. The theoretical base for this argument originates from deliberation itself, not from a social contract as republican model. Cohen (1989) emphasizes the importance of that decision-making process to be deliberative to be called democratic regime. As discussed earlier, decision-making is result of a deliberative process which is formulated in public sphere through communicative action, meaning through free and equal participation, reason-giving, and rational discussion. It can be deduced that deliberative democracy borrows some of its principles from representative democracy and some other from direct democracy. It puts public debate at the center of political and legal relations. It bases its legitimacy not on voting, but on the rational negotiation process itself. It is an understanding that emphasizes the need to reconstruct the legitimacy of liberal democracy with a participatory approach.

> …discourse theory brings another idea into play: the procedures and communicative presuppositions of democratic opinion- and will-formation function as the most important sluices for the discursive rationalization of the decisions of an administration bound by law and statute. (Habermas, 1996, p. 300)

The will-formation emerges in the form of consensus according to Habermas (2001) following a deliberative process. It was argued that Habermas aims to solve the crises of legitimacy through deliberation. The core perspective here is that the decision-making process should be realized through deliberative process to take place of representation. In this way, a liberal democracy could be called as deliberative democracy. As mentioned above, to reach this deliberative process communicative action is the key which naturally opens the doors for it. The reason Habermas borrows principles of citizen participation and will-formation from republican model to the liberal model is to simply combine these two models. Liberal model encapsulates the necessary institutional design and republican model includes civic engagement. Constitution is the guarantor of the individual rights and liberties, including negative rights which are promised to be protected by liberal models. Constitutional structure aims to maintain democratic elements of the political system, in addition to maintaining the ideal communication.

According to discourse theory, the success of deliberative politics depends not on a collectively acting citizenry but on the institutionalization of the corresponding procedures and conditions of communication, as well as on the interplay of institutionalized deliberative processes with informally developed public opinions. (Habermas, 1996, p. 298)

Habermas have been criticized in many aspects; however, lack of empirical content is one of the most common criticisms he faced. Many scholars argued that his deliberative theory is too abstract (della Porta, 2013; Steiner, 2012; Chambers, 2003; Sanders 1997). The theory is not tangible enough for people to easily put into practice.

Another criticism, in the broadest sense, is on the problem of inclusion (Fraser, 1990; Setala,2014; Young, 1996; Sanders 1997). Feminist approach focuses on Habermas's public sphere and argues that he fails to recognize the inclusion problem. While claiming that democratic deliberation would strengthen fairness and rationality of public decisions, Setala (2014) explores varying issues regarding especially inclusiveness. Her criticisms include being not being as inclusive as promised and explains these stances on issues such as inclusion, representation, and public sphere within deliberation concept. On the other hand, Fraser (1990) claims that public sphere does not disregard status since historically these spheres -such as coffee houses- are intrinsically exclusive, regardless of Habermas's assertions. Women and marginalized groups were not welcome in these so-called bourgeois public spheres. Fraser's historical inference regarding the public sphere is in line with Young's definition of external exclusion concept which is as not allowing certain viewpoints in public deliberation or decision-making process. Similarly, Benhabib (1992) also criticizes Habermas on disregarding the problem of domination between genders. Yet this problem of domination is not limited to the genders, but also between rich and poor, better educated and less educated, old and young, so on and so forth.

However, in his late works, Habermas answers the criticisms on this issue of elitism and Leydet (1997) explains shortly. Habermas argues those critiques have missed the point of communicative rationality which is process of enlightenment. He argues that this would include each and every one without exclusion. In Leydet's words "It includes, us. It includes everyone," and claims that they have missed the universality concept of the enlightenment. Although there are no formal obstacles to the inclusion,

as his critiques also argue, there are intrinsic obstacles. Even having time to attend public sphere could cause discrimination among society without proper institutional design.

Accountability is another issue for Habermas as it is seen as a pillar of democracy. In deliberative democracies, accountability is achieved through reason-giving for public decision-making as discussed earlier. It is expected that both citizens and officials justify their views to those who are affected since the decision should be acceptable for them. In other words, accountability in deliberative democracy requires reflective citizens who are able to make reasonable judgements for their own views which brings the problem of education of individuals. Following the discussions that public sphere might be exclusive intrinsically, Setala (2014) acknowledges that reflective citizenship should nevertheless be learned by citizens through practical exercises such as mini-publics.

Up until this point, deliberative democracy has been tackled from a Habermasian perspective, yet the literature is vast. Therefore, I will continue with various points of view regarding the deliberative democracy theory, as the case of Ankara City Council cannot be tackled only with Habermasian perspective since the case is not in an ideal practice of deliberation. Elstub (2010) explains the history of deliberative democracy theories under three generations. In the first generation, normative basis for deliberative democracy has been argued. This included identification of necessary components as well. However, it seems that the first generation was not able to handle the complexity of modern societies. By arguing that reason-giving would eventually lead to consensus was a failed point of view. He continues by explaining the second generation which essentially focused on institutions of deliberative democracy as scholars did not disregarded the complexity issue. The third generation he states;

> … who have sought to establish the nature of the institutions required to achieve this reconciliation of deliberative democracy in practice by drawing on the significant amount of empirical evidence that has become available due to deliberative democracy's 'empirical turn'. (Elstub, 2010, p. 4).

Another widely accepted view of deliberative democracy is developed by Amy Gutmann and Dennis Thompson (2004), they define the deliberative democracy as

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> a form of government in which free and equal citizens and their representatives justify decisions in a process in which they give one another reasons that are mutually acceptable and generally accessible, with the aim of reaching decisions that are binding on all at present but open to challenge in the future. (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004, p. 3)

They present four characteristics of deliberative democracy. The first is reciprocity. Justification of decisions or participants' views, the authors argue that justification is the first and foremost characteristic which is followed by reason-giving for arguments that are made. The importance here is that the reasons given must be accessible to all citizens who are related with the issue. In short, then, reciprocity condition means the reasons given by free and equal citizens should be acceptable. The second characteristic is accessibility to the reasons by each citizen. To ensure accessibility, they argue that deliberation must take place in public not in one's own mind and the topics of deliberation must be public concerns. Although requirement seems obvious, Goodin (2003) argues the opposite which is internal-reflective model of deliberation. He argues that instead of practicing deliberation in a public space, citizens can deliberate themselves without needing a public space which would eventually be reflected to their decisions.

The third characteristic presented by Gutmann and Thompson is about the decisions which are supposed to be binding at least for a certain amount of time since the process of deliberation aims to reach a conclusion. The arguments during the deliberations usually have an aim, they are not discussed just for the sake of discussion itself. Thus, a decision that was reached by the process should be binding. The fourth and final characteristic is that the deliberative process is dynamic. This simply means that even though a decision is justified for a certain amount of time, it may not hold its justification for the future. The people could make mistakes during deliberations as well. Therefore, the authors provide possibility of discussing and changing previously agreed decisions. The system is open to the criticism under deliberative practices. They give two reasons for the last characteristic and state that "First, in politics as in much of practical life, decision-making processes and the human understanding upon which they depend are imperfect. … Second, in politics most decisions are not consensual." (p. 2). They continue by explaining the aims of the deliberative democracy and list four aims. These are

> The first is to promote the legitimacy of collective decisions. … The second purpose of deliberation is to encourage public spirited perspectives on public issues. … The third purpose of deliberation is to promote mutually respectful processes of decision-making. … Inevitably, citizens and officials make some mistakes when they take collective actions. The fourth purpose of deliberation is to help correct these mistakes. (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004, p. 6).

They also try to answer general criticisms towards deliberative democracy. The first criticism argues that the conclusions are not reaching in a natural way and during decision-making process there have to be other procedures as well. Even though deliberations must reach a decision, the theory does not provide a procedure to reach it, and using other methods such as voting is not deliberative. Their answer to this is;

> The fact that deliberative democracy does not in itself define a unique method for bringing deliberation to a justified conclusion (short of a moral consensus) means that it acknowledges that no single method can justify whatever results from its implementation. … Deliberative democracy can accommodate many different kinds of decision-making procedures to reach final decisions, including voting and executive order, provided they are justified in a deliberative forum. (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004, p. 19)

The open-ended nature of deliberations, in fact, allows the fourth characteristic which is dynamism to be actualized. Participants are able to challenge and deliberate other reasons constantly. They claim if there is a possible solution to the issue, by deliberating and reasoning together participants will eventually be able to reach it. However, if the problem is non-solvable, then again deliberative practices are better equipped for reaching a more "justifiable agreement in the future".

They also touch upon the ongoing question between republican and liberal traditions. Scholars from republican tradition usually are in search for a common-good –whether or not it will be reached- as the aim. Others, however, from the liberal tradition, claim that the aim should be living respectfully since searching for a comprehensive common good may not always be desirable. While Gutmann and Thompson (2004) agrees with republican scholars since one of the aims were to reach justified decisions which are binding, in the sense "a thin conception of the common good" (p. 27); they also mention risks of aiming the common good such as possibility of tyranny, being less tolerate to diversity etc.

Another issue is limitation on the institutions where deliberations applied. Habermas argues that deliberations to be applied in institutions where structures are organized constitutionally as argued before, he put the constitution as the guarantor. Gutmann and Thompson (2004) explain the reasons for such institutional limitations on the basis of liberties.

> First, the demands of deliberation cannot be generally applied even to all governmental institutions. As long as legislatures are authorized to regulate other political institutions consistently with constitutional values, they may rightly decide that certain parts of the government, such as executive agencies, should not be made to engage in public deliberation. …
>
> The second reason that some deliberative democrats would not extend the deliberative mandate to all institutions is that such an extension could threaten the freedom of citizens and the associations they choose to form. … A society that is thoroughly deliberative—as a result of governmental mandate—would not be a society of free citizens. (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004, pp. 32-33)

On the other hand, Cohen as well as Mansbridge argues which deliberations to be applied widely, meaning not only in political and civic institutions, such as labor organizations, professional associations etc., and "even families and friendship circles" (Gutmann &Thompson, 2004, p.34). The institutions that deliberation can be applied differ. One of the institutional designs that deliberative democracy is implemented is mini-publics.

As mentioned earlier, deliberative democracy is essentially a normative theory which has also been criticized on this perspective. However, there are mechanisms for deliberations to take place out of normative theory. One of those institutional designs is mini-publics which have been practiced in some countries since the 1970s (Chwalisz, 2019). Smith and Setala (2018) provide a basic definition and states "mini-publics are independent and facilitated group discussions among a (near) random sample of citizens who take evidence from experts and interested parties." (p. 4). As the name suggests the purpose of mini-publics is to create mini version of the public aims to understand what would happen if the all members of the public that enough time and resources for deliberation on a certain issue.

The design of mini-publics aims to achieve diverse and inclusive group of participants who would later deliberate in small facilitated groups. They are still expected to follow

the principles of deliberative democracy such as justifying their views. Niemeyer (2011) claims that majority of empirical data for deliberative democracy comes from mini-publics. This is due to, mini-publics being almost laboratory experiments for deliberation as design, and process are easier to control in such a small group.

Leydet (2016) also focuses on mini-publics and argue that for equal opportunity for influence is realized through three basic features. Initially all participants should be provided with balanced and enough information to overcome pre-existing informational inequalities. The second condition is that the deliberations to be facilitated in a way to ensure "participation is not monopolised by anyone" (p. 9) and those with less secure backgrounds could have equal chance of speech. The third basic feature, according to Leydet is "provision for plenary meetings where participants can ask questions to a balanced panel of experts or stakeholders in order to clarify specific issues" (p. 9)

Escobar and Elstub (2017) explains that the participants are usually selected by lot "through stratified random sampling" (p. 1) to ensure each citizen having the same opportunity to be selected. They explain that mini-publics could take various forms from citizens' juries to deliberative polls. Each is distinguished by the average number of participants, number of total meetings, selection methods, and activities during the mini-public and results. While citizens' juries typically have 12-26 participants over 2-5 days of meeting, deliberative polls (by Fishkin) have 100-500 participants for instance. Those also differ in results as one result might be detailed recommendation; other is survey opinions, or position report.

They explain that mini-public usually comprises of five stages. These are "planning and recruitment", "learning phase", "deliberation phase", "decision-making phase", and "follow up". Without going into detail; the participants are usually selected by lot to deliberate over divisive topics. During the learning phase, they are exposed to information and different views on the topic to be discussed. Following the learning phase, deliberation phase begins. During this period, facilitators would help participants in small group deliberations. During this phase, participants are expected to use the knowledge they gained from the previous phase, however, they are also encouraged to keep open mind to fellow participants' arguments. Next phase is

decision-making which is supposed to be informed decision that is enabled by previous phases. "The focus in [follow-up] stage is impact" (Escobar & Elstub, 2017, p. 5). The outcomes of the mini-public are disseminated to relevant networks. The mini-public could have advisory role for the elected representatives as the public itself would be more familiar with any possible issue they might experience. They argue that aside from new opportunities for participation, mini-publics have emancipatory effects not only on the participants but also among their circle as well.

Smith and Setala (2018) also explore the concept of mini publics. Although, they claim, that the role of the mini-publics was rather marginal, they state "Mini-publics are subject to increasingly sophisticated empirical analysis based on both self-reporting in surveys and observational studies" (p. 6). They further go into details of selection of the participants and discuss random selection to ensure equal chance of selection, compared to use of quotas to ensure "presence of different social groups and perspectives." (p. 4). However, the selection of participants is not concern of this study as the case of Ankara City Council differs from the literature on the issue of selection and leans towards self-selection methods. Smith and Setala argue that mini-publics are valuable in the sense that they enhance legitimacy of the decision-making process. However, their role during the process is only advisory and as Warren (2009) argues mini-publics are "governance driven democratization" which suggests a top-down deliberation exercise. Deliberative practices of Ankara City Council are also a top-down exercise as the city council has been revived by the Ankara Municipality officials.

The mini-publics have also emancipating effects. Smith and Setala (2018) explain that since the participants "increase their understanding of arguments used by those with opposing view" (p. 6). Knobloch et al. (2019) argues that these emancipating effects could actually be effective at macro level. They research on the effects of Oregon Citizens' Initiative and reach to the conclusion that deliberative processes change behaviors. The significant result is observed in the relation between mini-publics and macro-level influence on non-participants as well. They argue with the existence of deliberative processes have positive effect on not only participants and on all citizens. They state "In other words, simply being aware that such structures exist tended to boost voters' faith that average citizens play a vital role in the democratic process."

Thus, simply the existence of deliberative mini-publics provides a level of legitimacy to the existing political system. To increase the knowledge of the existence of deliberative practices and thus its emancipatory effects, various dissemination platforms could be useful. This is an arena in which Ankara City Council lacks, since their main source of dissemination is social media accounts. Only those who are already aware of the city councils would be following these pages, therefore the deliberative process is not a widely known practice.

Similarly, Pogrebinschi and Samuels (2014) also advocates for the deliberative process to wider effects. They explain the case of Brazil's National Public Policy Conferences (NPPC) had influence on national policy making process. They also answer the criticism of impracticability and having no real impact on decision-making. The unique part with this practice is although it starts at local level, the practice levelled-up the national scale with enormous participation.

While many scholars argue for mini-publics, others argue against it. John Parkinson is one of the critiques. He names the process as "micro-deliberative processes" and essentially criticizes the size of the mini-publics. Parkinson (2006) argues that participants of mini-publics are only a tiny percentage of the public itself. He also criticizes the random selection of participants on the basis of being another form of representation. He continues his criticisms with the difference in capacities of the participants and also distinction between speakers, facilitators, and the decision-makers. The inequalities between participants is not overlooked by other scholars, in fact Setala (2014) provides enclave deliberations as a solution for background inequalities. To explain in shortly, enclave deliberation is a mini deliberation among who are like-minded, or those with non-mainstream views. The aim is to provide an area where marginalized groups can voice and enhance their arguments among like-minded as a possible solution to the inclusion problem of bigger groups.

Yet Parkinson's criticisms are not limited with this. He has three basic criticisms: the time allocated for deliberations are limited, there is a scale problem, and motivation problem on the citizens' side. Initially, the time allocated is limited simply due to logistics. The participants already spend their free-time or even take time from their work. They can only spare so much time, while longer deliberations could potentially

lead to a better deliberative process, it would be exclusionary to a number of participants. As will be discussed later, the participants of Ankara City Council are volunteers some of whom sacrifices their work time or family time to participate. However, some simply drops out of the meetings due to such conflicts. While some focus groups found solution in online deliberation, others simply became relatively inactive. The scale problem is rather unsolvable again due to logistical problems. Parkinson gives solution to the problem of motivation by simply giving the mini-publics decision-making power. Although this seems like the solution, the problem arises for centralist countries. The city councils have been granted legal status by the Municipalities Law since 1990s. This was only for to be practically implemented within municipalities. Even though the law has granted legal status almost 30 years ago, the city councils were not taken advantage until 2019. Therefore, it would be rather too demanding to be granted of direct decision-making power. Although many participants criticized Ankara City Council's decision-making power, they still have the power to present advisory decrees to the municipality. Additionally, as many scholars -and many interviewees- claim that the mini-publics should be focusing on the emancipatory effects. They also argue that city councils should be an area for identifying the issues and possible problems that citizens are facing, rather than directly trying to find a solution to already defined problem.

In the next section, deliberative quality of Ankara City Council focus group and assembly meetings will be discussed, under the light of previous discussions and the main principles of the deliberative democracy. The council meetings are deemed as mini-publics even though they are not officially established as mini-publics. The reason is that, first, the participant number is considerably within the limits of an average mini-public. Second, the groups are established around certain themes, such as environmental issues, city aesthetics, neighborhood culture etc. Meetings are also arranged on the basis of specific agendas regarding the themes of the groups. As explained briefly, both quantitative and qualitative method are utilized. The reason for such decision is that, while qualitative measurement provides an overall idea on the data, semi-structured interviews provided much detailed nuanced on the issues to be discussed.

CHAPTER 4

THE CASE OF ANKARA CITY COUNCIL – FOCUS GROUPS AND ASSEMBLIES

This thesis aims to measure the quality of deliberations that takes place in the Ankara City Council focus group or assembly meetings in the format of mini-publics. As discussed earlier, mini-publics are deemed as experimental laboratories of deliberative democracy theory by some scholars. Mini-publics existed and practiced even before the deliberative theory gained popularity. The aim of the deliberative practices is generally summarized as developing informed advises to the local authorities. While some authors argue that the deliberative meetings must reach a binding decision at least for a certain amount of time, the deliberations in Ankara City Council can only reach creating an advisory decree for the administration since the city council is not granted any decision-making power according to their law of establishment.

During the research of this study, both qualitative and quantitate methods have been used for an insightful understanding of the deliberative processes. To gain a general knowledge regarding the quality of the meetings, a quantitative approach has been used. For this purpose, existing video recording data of two different focus group meetings were transcribed for better analysis purposes. The transcribed data has been analyzed and coded in accordance with Discourse Quality Index that has been enhanced by Ugarriza and Nussio (2016). However minor alterations on the index have been made for it to be more suitable to the existing data. Indicators marked with stars in Table 1 are not used since those indicators were not suitable with the data. The indicators "*illustration*" which is providing one's opinion in the form of storytelling and "*abstract principles*" which is justification of position in abstract values, such as religion were not used. The main reason for such decision is due to nature of the format of the city council meetings. The city council meetings are conducted in a rather formal setting as discussed earlier which leaves little space for non-formal forms of speech.

Thus, it is decided that these two principles would not provide valuable data for the measurement of deliberations. The coding scheme provided a basic measurement on the quality of deliberations during these two different meetings. As will be described below, there are two scores for each indicator; 1 and 0. Due to development of the index, while the score 1 indicates a better deliberative quality, score 0 indicates worse deliberative quality. To measure the deliberations, speech of each participant is scored with either 0 or 1 for every indicator in line with the coding scheme which is explained below. To determine the participants' deliberative score, mean of each thirteen indicators have been calculated. The score of the meetings is calculated by the mean scores of all indicators for each participant. A mean score between 0.50 and 1 indicates deliberative quality. It should be noted that Ugarriza and Nussio explains that higher scores indicate higher quality of deliberation.

Table 1 Discourse Quality Index sub-indicators

Participation	Respect	Justification	Common-good orientation	Disposition to change
Intervention	No Disrespect	Position	No own good	Force of better argument
No interruption	Respect	Justification	Good of others	
	Reciprocity	Illustration*	Common good	
		Reasons	Abstract principles*	
		Sophisticated reasons		

According to many theorists, including Habermas, there are several rules for the ideal discourse ethics. First of those rules is open participation. Participation has been one of the main discussions of deliberative democracy among scholars. Steenbergen et al. (2003) asserts that all citizens should be free to participate and contribute to the discussions. They state "…everyone should be able to express his/her attitudes, desires, and needs. No one should be prevented from exercising these rights due to internal or external coercion" (p. 25). Although usually participation of all citizens is deemed necessary, the question of to 'to what extent' remains unresolved as participation of all citizens is rather unrealistic. Habermas (1996) argues that significant decisions -such as healthcare, environment- should be deliberated as they influence all citizens. The logic behind is when people deliberate, they would naturally be open to force of better argument. Consequently, this would lead opinion-formation

of the public which would eventually influence policy, however, others are not as idealistic as Habermas. Fishkin (2009) argues that it is near impossible every single citizen to somehow engage in deliberation, therefore deliberation among a group of a few randomly selected citizens would also suffice. The group is mini-public as discussed before. The index however measures whether the participants spoke during the meeting and whether they were interrupted by other participants.

Steiner (2012) summarizes that deliberative democracy literature usually agrees that mutual respect from a reciprocal point of view is a significant element for deliberation for all participants whether listener or speaker. However, he also mentions that there is no agreement over the definition and the extent of respect element. He explains that while Habermas argues all arguments during the deliberations should be considered as disrespectful argument would be cut off from the discussions naturally; others argue there may some arguments so disrespectful which should not be considered at all. He also explains the discussion regarding whether arguments or people should be respected during the discussions.

The DQI measures essentially whether the participants themselves were acting and arguing respectfully. Particularly respect and no disrespect indicators measure the language of speakers. However, as the index cannot provide nuanced data regarding the issue, the interviews provided much more insightful view over the respect principle, as did for other principles.

Habermas (1996) explains that all the arguments during deliberations should be rationally justified so that the arguments would be acceptable for other participants with reference to his communicative action theory. He states "Communicative action refers to a process of argumentation in which those taking part justify their validity claims before an ideally expanded audience" (1996, p. 322). Steiner (2012) explains how Habermas disregards storytelling and images from the deliberative scene, with reference to his critiques such as Manbridge who argues that personal experiences or humor may provide valuable contributions to the deliberations as real-life communication blends all those together. Ugarriza and Nussio (2016) are also critiques of Habermas's normative ideal, they measure storytelling with illustration indicator, in addition to abstract principles indicator for abstract values. However, as discussed

earlier, Ankara City Council focus group and assembly meetings have rather formal structure. Even if, personal experiences or humor were used during the meetings; those were quite low in number. Therefore, the two indicators were not taken into consideration, leading to measurement of Habermas's normative point of view.

To put it shortly, common-good orientation could be summarized as putting general interests over self-interest during deliberative discussions. Steenbergen et al. (2003) defines common good as "a sense of empathy, other-directedness, or solidarity that allows the participants to consider the well-being of others and of the community at large" (p. 25). Even if self-interest is presented by participants, those must always be justified in favor of general public. The index aims to measure whether speakers are motivated with self-interest or not and to what extent participants are concerned with the common good for the public.

Habermas (1996) argues that political decision should be taken based on rational arguments which lead to the core of the deliberative democracy, as he states "the unforced force of the better argument" (p. 302). In the most basic sense, the force of better argument could be summarized as reaching an agreement during the discussion where each participant is free and equal. In such situation, force of better argument would only be natural. Because every argument is rational, respectful, and justified in favor of common good; rational citizens would agree on such better arguments without external force. Steiner (2012) explains that it is usually accepted not all arguments would result in consensus; however, it is the aim. The DQI also aims to measure the inclination of participants towards force of better arguments. Although it is discussed in detail later, the index scores positively only when the participants explicitly states changing opinions. The measurement naturally indicates quite low inclination towards force of better arguments. Here, interviews provided more insight regarding this principle.

Semi-structured interviews with the participants of focus group and assembly meetings have been conducted as qualitative research method. The interviews were analyzed with a deductive approach. Five main principles of discourse ethics that were deducted from Habermas's discourse ethics rules have been used during the deductive analysis. The questions during the semi-structured interviews were prepared to be able to gain

insight regarding these five main principles from the respondents. Additional questions have also been asked for other issues that may not have been covered under these five principles. The purpose was to gain an in-depth understanding of the participants and the procedures. A total seven participants were interviewed. Interviews were voice recorded for note-taking purposes following the approval of the interviewees.

In the first part, measurements from the coding of focus group meetings will be explained with examples of the coding. In the next part, the semi-structured interviews will be shared in detail. Finally, in the third part, the data from both the interviews and the DQI coded measurement that has been presented will be discussed in accordance with the existing literature.

The data from these two sources shows discrepancies in three of the five principles. As mentioned earlier, even though participation principle scored perfectly according to the DQI, interviews unveiled that was not the case. On the contrary, there were intrinsic participation issues regarding the city council. Respect and disposition to change principles scored rather low, however, interviews revealed that this was essentially due to the measurement of the DQI. Therefore, instead of discussing the implications during the presentation of the data, I made the choice to discuss these together during the third part

4.1. Focus Group Meetings

Existing video recordings of two different focus group meetings were analyzed for measuring the quality of the deliberation, along with semi-structured interviews which provided qualitative data. Discourse Quality Index which has been expanded by Ugarizza and Nussio (2016) have been used. The DQI consists of fifteen indicators, however thirteen of those indicators have been coded for this study. Since the deliberative meeting in the Ankara City Council takes place in a rather formal environment, the indicators *illustration* and *abstract principles* were meaningless to code as none of the speeches coded included such content.

As explained earlier, thirteen of the fifteen deliberation indicators have been used. The coding scheme the index used is coded as shown below:

Table 2: Discourse Quality Index-Deliberation Indicators

Intervention	1= participant spoke 0= participant remained silent
No Interruption	1= participant refrained from interrupting 0= participant interrupted
No Disrespect	1= participant did not use foul language 0= participant made use of foul language
Respect	1= participant made use of explicitly respectful expressions 0= participants did not made use of respectful expressions
Reciprocity	1= participant referred to what other participants said 0= participant did not refer to what other participants said
Position	1= participant stated a position in the discussion 0= participant did not state a clear position
Justification	1= participant justified the stated position 0= participant did not justify the stated position
Reasons	1= justification took the form of reasoned justification (e.g. X needs to be done because of Y) 0= justification did not take the form of reason
Sophisticated reasons	1= justification took the form of reasoned justification (e.g. X needs to be done because of Y, and Y is elaborated) 0= justification did not take the form of sophisticated justification
No own good	1= participant did not advance self-interested justifications 0= participant advanced self-interested justifications
Good of Others	1= participant justified in favor of disadvantaged groups 0= participant did not justify in term of other people's good
Common Good	1= participant made explicit common-good-oriented justifications 0= participant did not make common-good-oriented justifications
Force of the Better Argument	1= participant explicitly expressed a willingness to change a position 0= participant did not express a willingness to change a position

The speeches from the two recordings have been transcribed. The meetings were coded separately initially, then complete analysis have also made. Below, some examples of speech will be shared to describe the coding scheme. Four speeches from the first meeting (N=19) and five speeches from the second meeting (N=26) will be examined.

Since the indicators are marked between 0 and 1, a mean over 0,5 means that more than half of the deliberative indicators have been realized, thus the speech has deliberative qualities. The closer the mean to 1, more deliberative it is. On the contrary, the closer it is to 0, less deliberative (or even non-deliberative). Three indicators scored 1 for each speech. These were *intervention*, *no interruption*, *no disrespect* indicators. All of the participants spoke in the video, none of the participants interrupted another participant, and none of them used foul language. Therefore, they will not be presented in the tables to explain the coding below examples. Table 3 Example Coding of DQI presents the scores of each speech from each indicator along with means. As can be seen below, speeches #1.8, #1.8, and #2.10 have the highest deliberative score indicating their speeches were more deliberative. On the other hand, speeches #2.2 and # 2.15 have score of 0,38 which indicates a non-deliberative speech behavior since the score is quite low.

Speech#1.4[11] scored a mean of 0,69 point from the indicators which is relatively an average score:

> Years of our youth have been taken away from us in the last two and a half years. Our life expectancy has decreased due to our mental health, and we are talking about 1.5-2 years in the pandemic. And more importantly, since these are our most important and most productive periods, when we compare it with our old age, one year from youth is equal to two years in old age. In fact, the elapsed time has shortened us by about 7-8 years, which is what the pandemic has taken from us. Apart from that, one of the most important features that the pandemic has taken from us in relation to the pandemic is the relationship. It's the relationship we're in right now, it's a relationship that we sit in the classroom listening to, it's a relationship that we establish with the library, just like we go to the library and take off the mask and drink coffee with peace of mind.[12]

Table 3: Example Coding of DQI

Speech no.	#1.4	#1.8	#1.15	#1.18	#2.1	#2.2	#2.6	#2.10	#2.15
Respect	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0
Reciprocity	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Position	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
Justification	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
Reasons	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0
Sophisticated Reasons	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
No own good	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0
Good of others	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
Common good	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0
Force of Better Argument	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
Mean	0,69	0,85	0,85	0,62	0,69	0,38	0,77	0,85	0,38

Speech#1.8 scored a mean of 0.85 which indicates higher deliberative quality:

> We realized that the biggest problem in the pandemic is obesity, because we all lived with the slogan "Turkey stay at home". And we've observed a very serious increase in obesity in teenagers and children. We talked to doctors about this, got advice and advice, and then we started working on doing sports at home. At least, like doing sports at home, or people doing sports in the garden of someone who has a garden independently of each other, or doing sports with a mask without raising the heart rate. When we have doctors, it's not ours to say anything, but we think that sports have a great effect on human health. We wanted certain sports to be continued at home or individually.[13]

Speech#1.15 scored a mean of 0.85 which indicates higher deliberative quality:

> With the online education, we have seen that the children of families with financial problems have difficulties in accessing education and cannot access computers and the Internet. During this period, some symposiums, online congresses and online certificate programs were

held for personal development. However, due to this inequality of opportunity, our other friends were also deprived of technology and became disadvantaged because they could not access technology. Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk told us how much he trusts us by saying that all my hope is in youth. We, as the youth of the capital, came together during the pandemic we are in and took place together to establish a Youth Assembly. I say we are ready to take steps and I thank you.[14]

Speech#1.18 scored a mean of 0.62 which indicates relatively average deliberative score:

In the last two months, 97 people committed suicide in Turkey and the majority of them were young people. The reasons for suicide are the reasons that the pandemic brought and we all know. Economic problems and unhappiness are among them. According to a survey conducted by a UK-based charity, people need help 3 times more than before the pandemic, because the prevalence of suicide has increased during this period.[15]

Speech#2.1 scored a mean of 0.69 which indicates a deliberative score:

In this process, what is important for us is that we want the entertainment sector to be opened as soon as possible and then artists, especially our working friends who do not have social security, to be able to find work areas as soon as possible and continue their lives in a democratic way. Our artist friends have suffered great damage and loss in every sense. Thanks to Çankaya Municipality and Metropolitan Municipality, they are trying to support us by organizing events, but these must be permanent.[16]

Speech#2.2 scored a mean of 0.38 which indicates a non-deliberative speech:

Our primary goal is to aim not to sink until 2022, which is the obvious issue. In a sector where everyone from the lowest income to the highest income is affected, why is nothing about the owners at the state level, from the highest to the lowest?[17]

Speech#2.6 scored a mean of 0.77 which indicates a relatively higher deliberation:

I am a musician; first of all, I would like to thank the council for organizing such a meeting. When I heard the speech of the sector representatives, I was embarrassed, so our people were not a problem. Because ours passes when we die, even if you die, you cannot be saved. Our industry is the most socially insecure working line. We can't get short-term allowances that our friends don't like, we can't get anything, we can't retire. Let the pandemic be a lesson to us, at least

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try to give Social Security benefits to the musicians you hire after the pandemic.[18]

Speech#2.10 scored a mean of 0.85 which indicates a high level of deliberation:

> We have three concrete main problems that I can identify. 1- Our accumulated debts: To make the grant support absolutely and absolutely. If we can agree on a text, let's produce a three-item text and show concrete practice on this text.[19]

Speech#2.15 scored a mean of 0.38 which indicates a non-deliberative speech:

> We continue to invest in the sector. However, we have a loan payment according to their earnings, but after applying loss of income, we have difficulty in making loan payments.[20]

I will share examples for each indicator for better understanding of the coding. For respect indicator, Speech#1.8 stated "…When we have doctors, it's not ours to say anything…" showing explicitly respectful expression by acknowledging superior knowledge of professional health-care workers, therefore the score is 1. Speech#2.6 stated "…When I heard the speech of the sector representatives…" and scored 1 on reciprocity indicator by referring other participants. Majority of the speeches indicated their positions, however, Speech#1.18 shared information, yet he did not explicitly indicate his position. Therefore, he scored 0 on this respect. On the other hand, Speech#2.15 stated his willingness to continue investing thus his score is 1. Speech#2.2 openly stated a position, however he did not provide any justification regarding it, consequently his score is 1 on position indicator but 0 on justification indicator.

Speech#1.4 scored 1 on reasons since he stated a position and explained his reasons for it. That the life of youth is taken due to pandemic and it is valuable, thus he scored 1 for this respect. However, he did not elaborate on his reasons thus score of sophisticated reasons is 0. On the other hand, Speech#1.15 scored 1, since she explained her reasons, then elaborated on the given reason by stating "…due to this inequality of opportunity…".

Participant#2.2 scored 0 on no own good indicator by stating "…Our primary goal is to aim not to sink until 2022…" even though spoke on behalf of other people on sector too; it is a fact that he seeks his own benefit as well. Participant #1.15 clearly speaks

about children from underprivileged background, therefore her speech scored 1 for good for others indicator. Participant#2.2 shares his point of view from a specific perspective, thus his scored 0 for the common good element. Similarly, Participant#2.1 –although this speech could be interpreted differently- speaks on the problems of a certain community, therefore she also scored 0.

Speech#2.10 scored 1 on the force of better argument since he stated "… if we can agree on a text…" openly stating on discussing and agreeing on a point. He did not state his point or any other specific point; he only mentioned agreeing which indicates his willingness to changing his opinion. Speech#1.15 was the other sample who scored 1 for the force of better argument indicator since she stated "…I say we are ready to take steps…".

Table 4: Overall DQI Mean Scores

Session 1 (N=19)	Session 2 (N=26)	Total (N=45)
0,72	0,61	0,66

It is possible that some of the speeches could be scored differently according to coder's interpretation which could possibly affect the outcome of the analysis of the data. However, due to lack of resources, the coding has been conducted by this author.

The overall mean scored 0,66 for the total 45 speeches, as shown in the Table 4. Session 1 scored significantly higher (0,72), compared to the Session 2 (0,61). The scores indicate that the discussions in Session1 was more deliberative than the discussions in Session2. Possible reasons are discussed below, however the reason could be related with the agenda of the meetings. The agenda of Session2 was on the economic issues during the pandemic, thus, it could have led into less deliberation.

The participation section of the index scored 1 in each session which indicates perfect participatory score for the meetings in the Table 5. However, it should be noted that

the data is retrieved from existing video-recording of two different sessions which could be edited. This issue will be discussed later.

Table 5: Mean Result of DQI

	Session 1 (N=19)	Session 2 (N=26)	Total (N=45)
Participation	**1,00**	**1,00**	**1,00**
Intervention	1,00	1,00	1,00
No interruption	1,00	1,00	1,00
Respect	**0,53**	**0,53**	**0,53**
No disrespect	1,00	1,00	1,00
Respect	0,32	0,35	0,33
Reciprocity	0,26	0,23	0,24
Justification	**0,72**	**0,58**	**0,64**
Position	0,84	0,88	0,87
Justification	0,95	0,81	0,87
Reasons	0,84	0,46	0,62
Sophisticated Reasons	0,26	0,15	0,20
Common-good orientation	**0,91**	**0,63**	**0,75**
No own good	0,95	0,58	0,73
Good of others	0,89	0,92	0,91
Common good	0,89	0,38	0,60
Disposition to change	**0,21**	**0,19**	**0,20**
Force of Better Argument	0,21	0,19	0,20

In the respect section, no disrespect indicator has also scored perfectly as none of the participants openly used any foul language. However, respect and reciprocity indicators were both scored rather low as usage of explicit respect expressions and referring other participants are required, respectively. Respect scored 0,33 and

reciprocity scored 0,24. There were no differences in scores of *Respect* between two sessions. Similarly, the scores of *disposition to change* were also quite close in two sessions (Session1= 0,21 and Sessions2= 0,19).

However, there were significant difference in score of the sections *justification* and *common-good orientation*. Nearly 81% of the participants in the Session2 scored 1 for justification indicator, while nearly 95% of the Session1 scored 1. Although, compared to other indicators the difference seems rather low, it is significant with 14% difference. The next two indicators present that Session1 scored nearly two-times better. While the participants of Session1 did not elaborate on their reasoning, Session2 scored significantly low on reasons indicator. This means half of those who stated a position did not justify their position, nor did they give reasons. Giving sophisticated reasons were scarce in both of the sessions. Common-good orientation scored the highest among basic sections (apart from participation). Overall score was 0,75; again Session1 scored significantly higher than Session2. Only the *good of others* indicator which is taking disadvantaged groups into consideration, scored higher in Session2 (0,92) than Session1 (0,89), however the difference is not significant.

Overall mean score of DQI measurement was 0,66 which shows that the meeting was indeed deliberative as the score is above 0,50. However the score is as high as to claim that the deliberations were of high quality. Even though some of the speeches scored above 0,75 it appears speeches with higher deliberative quality were rather scarce in total. The scores indicate that force of better argument which is one of the core values of deliberation, is scored alarmingly low. On the contrary, participation scored unusually perfect. Therefore, these two principles were investigated in detail during the interview. Respect principle was also another point of caution as it scored nearly 0,28 without the *no disrespect* indicator. Along with these three principles, all five of them along with other issues were discussed with the interviewees.

4.2. Semi-Structured Interviews

To gain a detailed understanding of the Ankara City Council meetings, semi-structured interviews were conducted. The interviews were structured around the five principles of the discourse ethics rules which are *participation*, *respect*, *justification*, *common-good orientation*, and *disposition to change*. Additional questions were asked to gain

an insight of the process of the focus group meetings. The names of the respondents have been anonymized; therefore, "*Respondent#*" will be used to specify each participant. Among the interviewees, only one respondent was woman (Respondent#2), and the rest six respondents were men. Except Respondent#3 (who is 27), all respondents were aged above 50.

The general council of the Ankara City Council consists of delegates of civil society organizations in Ankara; therefore, participation is limited. However, this study focuses on the focus group and assembly meetings which are open to participation of everybody who is interested in the topic. All interviewees also confirmed that the meetings are open to anyone and independent individuals could participate as well. Thus, it can be deduced that open participation principle indeed exists.

All of the respondents were already interested in civil society. Respondent#1, Respondent#3, and Respondent#7 were interested in urban policy long before the Ankara City Council become active. The rest were also actively participating civil society organizations as active members. It can be deduced that city council usually consist of people who are active participants of existing civil society organizations. This leads to the question of whether the city council is as genuinely open to participation as it claims. On the other hand, people who are actively interested in certain topics, already participate to the relevant civil society organizations. From this perspective it should be expected that the very same people would also participate to the city council meetings. The important issue here is whether there are systematic obstacles for the participation of independent individuals to the focus group or assembly meetings. In that case, very basic principle of open participation of deliberative democracy would have been impeded. However, interviews showed that participation is open to everyone who is interested although the numbers of independent individual participants were lower compared to members of civil society organizations.

Most of the participants argued for open participation and claimed there were little to no problems regarding this principle. They argued that anyone is welcome to the meetings as long as they are interested and sincere. While answering about his

participation to the focus group, Respondent#6 argued having open and sincere participation and stated that:

> Rather than participating absolute governance, the people here -me including- wish to come together around a common mind and work for projects etc. We come together with the idea that 'I have an idea but I also need your idea' this is the common mind. We trust the participants. We need to trust each other so that we can do safe work. We have no concerns in that direction. I don't think the participants are participating for their own benefit. But if such a situation arises later, these people leave after a while. [21]

However, there were some criticisms as well regarding the participation to the city council. Respondent#1 claimed that the general council of the Ankara City Council has resembled a traditional representative body. He deemed civil society organizations as representatives of their community; therefore, their delegates are second degree representatives. As Respondent#1 is the vice head of the city council, thus he is not a regular participant of the meetings. He argued that the city council is not formally structured as mini-publics since learning phase is not a regular practice during the meetings. Respondent#1 stated that:

> Participation of interested individuals is more important than nearly 2000 delegates who are the representative of representatives. But it is also meaningless for someone to participate if they do not know the topic[22].

Although Respondent#5 who is the spokesperson of the Public Health Focus Group agrees on open participation, he mentioned disagreeing participants. Since the Public Health focus group is gathered around healthcare workers, the issue of participation is rather nuanced. None of such participants were interviewed during the research period.

> The Public Health focus group usually consists around healthcare workers due to its nature, however it is not limited to professionals only. Any shareholder is welcome to participate if they are interested. The aim of some participants is for personal gain or to be closer to certain focuses. However, some professional participants think that only healthcare professionals should participate, since they are results-oriented. If the purpose of focus groups is for everyone to be together, to equalize information, or to discuss which way to go, that is, if the purpose is the process itself, then of course, it should be open to everyone.[23]

However, even though Respondent#5 assured they adopt open participation principle, he still mentioned that high majority are health sector workers. Since their topics require professional knowledge, it is possible that other participants may have felt intimidated by participants who are professional health sector worker. When he was asked whether all of the participants contribute to the discussions during the meetings, he answered that people who wish to speak speaks. He added that towards the end of the meetings he asks whether anyone else wishes to take the floor. However, he argued that even if he tries to encourage participants, some people do not contribute. Therefore, even if others participate to the meeting, they are mere recipients and they remain silent. The reason for such avoidance for speaking could be related with the knowledge gap between ordinary participants and health-sector workers. Since health-sector workers naturally have more knowledge regarding the issues discussed, not being as informed as them could lead averse in participation. It could be deduced that knowledge gap among participant could cause aversion in speaking during the discussions. Since the city council meetings are not formally formulated as mini-publics, there is no regular learning-phase before the sessions. The learning-phase aims on closing such knowledge gaps and preparing the participants to the discussion sessions. Even if the participants are interested in topics, knowledge gap among them causes participation issue as can be deduced from the Public Health focus group meeting.

Interviewees were asked whether there was any briefing for the new participants that explained the purpose of the city council or the focus groups, or meeting and discussion/deliberation rules. Overall the respondents explained that even though there is a directive shared with the newcomers, it was not effective.

Respondent#2 said there was no specific briefing about deliberation rules but participants were usually accommodating to the existing vibe of the meetings. Respondent#5 has also answered in a similar fashion however he was more critical of the city council. The rest explained that there is a directive of their groups and the said rules and purposes are explained in the directive. However, there were mixed answers regarding openly sharing it with the newcomers or its effectiveness. Respondent#1 said "There are preliminary information about the negotiation process, but it does not work[24]. Respondent#4 stated that:

> Both Ankara City Council and Çankaya City Council have guidelines that include deliberation etiquette. These are also often shared with volunteers. I do not know whether the participants read or not. But nobody would say that the directive is like this, like that, or something like that.[25]

Respondent#7 answered in a similar fashion as well explaining that he and his group tries to inform newcomers but since the group is expanding it was getting more difficult and newcomers would learn by observing. However, Respondent#6 was quite positive with his answer. He openly stated that they inform newcomers about the discussion etiquette, although he did not comment on the effectiveness.

Participants were also asked whether it was easy to take the floor or whether they had reservations, or whether they encountered any disrespectful discussions or not. Overall the respondents answered that the discussions were conducted respectfully and they were able to share their opinions or ideas easily. Many argued that neither them nor other participants had any reservations on speaking their minds since they would participate in focus groups they are interested. Respondent#4 stated:

> Usually there is no hesitation on speaking. Well, of course, those here are generally experienced people. That's why no one is afraid to speak. They are people who have high egos because they come from somewhere, but have seen and have good social relations as a result. If they are saying something about their own subject, they do it out of confidence. So if they insist on something, they know with that high ego. In other words, there are no people out there who wouldn't want to speak and just listen. That is, eighty percent of them express their views very easily, and even repeat them over and over again..[26]

On the other hand, Respondent#3 stated that during online meetings he, sometimes, had to specifically ask some participants of their ideas for them to speak their minds. Respondent#5 stated that there were no reservations about speaking. However, when he answered the question about spokesperson's role, he mentioned that while closing the meetings he would ask if there were any comments and would not force people to speak. Therefore, it is deduced that some participants were either not comfortable with sharing their opinions or they simply did not have any comment or argument.

Questions have been asked to understand whether the participants were sincere or not as per Habermas's view. All of the respondents explained that they were participating voluntarily and they wish to better the urban environment they reside in. Thus, it

appeared most of the respondents were concerned with common-good. Their responses showed discrepancy with the measurements of the index. As explained before, the score for common-good orientation was rather low, however the interviews unveiled that this was not the case.

There were others supporting the results of the index. Respondents #1, #2, #3, #5, and #6 openly expressed that aim of some participants were to create networks, or to increase the visibility of the association they delegate. Respondent#2 expressed that she also benefitted from the networking since it bypasses the formal ways and stated:

> When you attend meetings regularly, you naturally expand the network. Some use it only for personal purposes. I met the Minister of Culture and Art at a meeting. We arranged a stand for our association at an event to be held at that time. Our aim was to be more visible and thus to introduce Japanese art to the people of Ankara. Again, at the same event, we created the hashtag "Ankara in my dreams" and ensured the participation of all people of Ankara via social media.[27]

On the other hand, some respondents were critical of network-seekers, they claimed that since their participation is not sincere, they stop participating to the meetings after a while. The sincerity condition of the ideal speech is actualized, even without formal requirements. However, this is rather fragile as it relies on the individual participants.

Some of the participants criticized network-seekers by claiming that they participate only to advance their own agenda and due to them the city council has become an arena of "photo politics" rather than deliberative democracy. He was not pleased by the city council to be used for personal gains through networks of businesspersons and Respondent#3 stated that:

> The eco-climate summit was the show-off of the ATO president. At the end of the event, the importance of the event reflected as the foreign currency and tourist inflows to Ankara rather than the participation or the result of summit.[28]

However, the same respondent explained that he is losing trust in the city council and focus group since he and his group were not able to advance a project they presented. The respondent explained the project arising from his own academic interests and that it would be beneficial for people of Ankara. He explained that the project was deliberated within the focus group meetings first, after reaching a consensus they

followed the official route for relaying advisory decree to the general council of the Ankara City Council. Even though individuals were pleased with the project and they asserted its benefits for the people, eventually "the project was scrapped due to political reasons[29]". Therefore, he lost trust to the city council's processes. Regardless of the end aim, he began to see to city council in bad light due to personal reasons. Therefore, looking from the opposite side, Respondent#3 acted in a similar way of those whom he criticized. The interview allowed interpreting the process in a more nuanced understanding than only observing the meetings.

Since the participation element was measured perfect in both of the deliberation sessions, interviews showed another view than the observations. Another issue that was not possible to measure in from the observation is the issue of inclusion which will also be discussed. As mentioned above, most of the interviewees were over age of 50. The issue seems different in the two focus group meeting video recordings. However, it should be noted that one of the meetings were directly on the problems of the youth during the pandemic and it was prepared by the Youth Assembly. Respondent#3 mentioned the inclusion problem of the focus groups and stated that:

> The average age of the audience speaks volumes. In general, people who are retired or have nothing to do and do not worry about income, or who do not work 9-5, participate in meetings. I am the youngest in age. There is no one in the same age range in this group. The people who should have the main say cannot participate because they have to work or be at school. Some of the participants are people from political and commercial circles with certain motives. People whose economic or social problems are the main ones do not talk. Even in the youth council, only students of certain a few universities and their circles participate. So no one else has anything to say except those universities? [30]

Respondent#4 who is a retired construction engineer, defines himself as "active citizen". He explained when he was 40 years old; he prepared a list for rest of his life. "I decided that in the next 10 years I will fulfill my material needs and then I will devote myself to this country to be part of new politics. For the last 12 years I am an active citizen[31]". He is an active participant in various NGOs and Çankaya City Council aside from Ankara City Council and its focus groups. Yet he is critical about the procedures of focus groups. He criticizes both the participants and the structure and states that:

Since most of them come from civil society, they come with the logic there. That's why they want immediate results. We're discussing, but after a while people start staying what's next. People say let's make a decision right away and send it to the general assembly so that we can save another street in our neighborhood. However, there are 5 million people in Ankara, if necessary, we should take the risk of meeting with all of them one by one. But when they focus on the result, they try to pass the deliberation process as fast as possible. Meetings are not regular either. One day there are 10 people, the next day 15, then maybe 3-4 people. On the contrary, I want more meetings, our aim should be to deliberate, not to reach a solution right away. In fact, the general assembly should convene twice a year, but it has not been convened for 16-17 months. In other words, it is necessary to strengthen the institutional structure. But the participants also do not know the purpose of the city councils. Nor are they interested in the founding directive. Everyone must read the directive at least once to understand it.[32]

Continuing with the participation aspect; interviewees were asked how they conduct the meetings, whether those were online or face-to-face or combination of both. Three respondents said during the peak period of the pandemic, the meetings were online. However, currently they try to come together face-to-face even though participation is lower. Respondent#3 who is spokesperson for Neighborhood Culture Focus Group states that:

We held meetings online during the pandemic. Our focus group was not active either, but it became active with online meetings during the pandemic period. In the early days of the shutdown, participation to the meetings was high probably due to the lack of other activities. Due to the pandemic, people were able to participate easily, without finding an excuse. People did not say that I have a job, I have to go to school, and I have to take care of my child. Some participated since they had nothing else to do, filled the void with in the city council. But some joined for show or networking.[33]

One respondent said that during the pandemic they started online meetings and the regular meetings are still conducted online. Respondent#5 stated that "Online meetings are easier for active participants. They do not have to travel to a meeting venue. They don't waste time on the road. Even though city council provides a venue, most of us are professionals we work during the day[34]."

Respondent#3 continued with online meetings and explained that participation to the online meetings was higher compared to face-to-face meetings. He shared his reasoning for the difference:

> But when face-to-face meetings started after the pandemic, participants declined considerably. Here, the obligation of people to go to work actively is effective. I think they may have other things to do or not have the extra time to commute to and from the meeting. Online was very good in this respect, but face-to-face meetings were sincerer. More favorable environment for participation and negotiation was created. Because it creates an environment of trust towards others.[35]

The next topic was on respect and sincerity among the participants. They usually answered that the meetings were conducted respectfully within deliberative standards. However, some answers unveiled another nuanced view. Respodent#6 stated even though majority is sincere and voluntarily participates, some participants had ulterior motives:

> Everyone participates comfortably, without reservations. After all, we are people who can produce a common mind. In general, everyone speaks in accordance with a certain debating etiquette. We try to come to an agreement through persuasion each other. For example, we held workshops with broad participation before. Naturally, many people from different views joined. But even in these situations, we move forward by trusting each other. If someone speaks for a long time, others warn. There hasn't been a problem so far. Those who do not behave in accordance with the debating etiquette disappear.[36]

Similarly, Respondent#7 also mentioned that participants are sincere and he has not encountered problems in this regard and stated;

> Those who will cause trouble leave the groups in some way. Those who can't find a place to start a discussion choose to leave. In other words, it may be a problem if someone who does not know how to argue comes, but those who come are people and associations who know each other more or less.[37]

He later mentioned leaving another focus group due to opinion conflicts. Similarly, Respondent#2 mentioned leaving a focus group since she was not comfortable with the discussion etiquette.

Everyone have praised discussion etiquette and assured how deliberative it is. It really looks that under the current circumstances. The real problem, however, is that an environment that requires discussion is often not created from beginning. Although I wanted to dwell on the phrase "leaving somehow", I could not get any explanatory answers. The respondents expressed that "people who just wanted a fight" chose to leave because they realized that they could not find such environment. They have chosen not to explain in detail.

Next topics were about how the agenda of the meetings was decided and whether there was any preparation on the agenda of the meetings by the participants. This topic is followed by the indicator *disposition to change*. The respondents generally expressed that the agenda is decided collectively by the members of the focus groups. Each focus group has a WhatsApp group where the details of the meeting (such as date, location, and agenda) are shared. Usually the spokesperson of the focus groups consults whether any participant has a particular input for the agenda and he or she collects the inputs for the agenda. Usually all of the topics suggested are put into the agenda. It should be noted that, Respondent#5 expressed "There is an unspoken consensus on determining the agenda of the meetings. Since being together is significant, people choose topics that wouldn't disturb anyone[38]." It can be interpreted that the participants value on the participatory nature of the focus groups and try not to intimidate other participants. However, this could also indicate that participants do not feel free to discuss anything that could be deemed as controversial. This cautious behavior hinders free participation principle as participants try not to be controversial. They might be inclined leave the issues they wished to discuss out of the meetings where those should be deliberated.

To continue with the preparation topic; the answers were varying. Respondent#2 openly stated there was no such preparation. However, others stated there were some preparation yet their reasoning and the level of preparation varied. Most of the participants expressed that preparation for presentation of the topic is made by participants who are interested in the said topic or those who suggests the agenda. This is usually to share information with other participants before the discussions. Only Respondent#7 expressed making a personal preparation for the meetings beforehand.

In general, spokespersons make such preparations, but if the other participants have an agenda, they also come prepared to inform everybody. Other than that, if it's a very unknown subject, I personally read it and take a general look, but of course I don't know about the others. I don't think it's very common though.[39]

Respondent#3 expressed that sharing pre-research and presenting them helps people changing opinions. Therefore, I will continue with *disposition to change* indicator which scored rather low in the DQI as the interviews suggest opposite of those results. He stated:

We always gave general statements in the street-park naming project. We have prepared it by highlighting what is acceptable to everyone. We prepared the project based on the results of a survey. That's when ideas change. Because it is based on data, it guides people.[40]

Respondent#6 –who is spokesperson of Environment and Climate Assembly- also expressed that many participants changed their opinions following the discussion with new information. He stated:

Many participants of these meetings here became more sensitive. Especially young people. They said they didn't know that much. Even older participants who are new to these issues could change their way of life in this regard.[41]

Respondent#4 also stated similar opinion; however, he was more nonchalant about this. He thought the normal behavior was changing opinions since everybody got affected from each other since the focus groups are result-oriented. His behavior suggested that opinion changes during the meeting were in fact common. He stated:

Things usually progress around the person who brought the project, that is, the person who made the agenda proposal. Courtesy deliberations continue. But they are justified, of course. In other words, there are different opinions since everybody comes from a different culture. But there are not fights after all. Usually we discuss and deliberate the issue and try to convince each other.[42]

On the other hand, Respondent#1 shared opposite situations occurred in the past, yet he wished not to elaborate.

Participants need to stop being fixed position and be open to change. There are, of course, certain polarizations and movements that want to dictate their own ideas to get results. There are those who say that

they will have to do this and not to do this. But meetings are meaningless if they are not open to changing their minds.[43]

Connecting with the above mentioned answers, being stubborn on one's own point may cause other participants to leave to focus groups altogether. Respondent#2 stated that

> I used to participate another focus group before, but I left there. The Spokesperson was quite self-opinionated. His attitude was inevitably reflected on the other members as well. It was no longer an argument, it was a fight. I did not like such an environment. After all, we are volunteers. Nobody should act like that. I heard when the spokesperson changed, the culture of the place also changed, it became more deliberative, but I still did not go[44]

Attitude of one-single person negatively affected the deliberative process of a focus group. Consequently, this caused some members to fall out from the deliberation. In a society where deliberative culture is not well-established, although such attitude is expected, there were no defense mechanisms institutionally against such individuals. As Respondent#6 stated "trust among participants" is the main defense mechanism of the deliberation in the Ankara City Council.

The final topic was on *decision-making* indicator of deliberative democracy. Interviewees were asked whether the meetings have tangible results and if they had, whether they could influence the decision-making process. All of the respondents answered that they had certain outcomes yet since the city council has no actual decision-making capacity, they could only relay advisory decrees to the General Assembly of the Ankara City Council. Legal status of the city councils specifies that they only have advisory authorities, they do not manage a budget, nor do they have decision-making capacities.

Nevertheless, answers from the interviewees provided more detailed insight on the issue. Respondents #1, #3, #4, #6, and #7 expressed that the focus groups or assemblies prepare an advisory decree to the General Assembly if they reached an agreement and a tangible decision. If the advisory decree passes from the General Assembly, then these are presented to the Ankara Municipality. However, there is no guarantee that the advisory decree will pass from the General Assembly or whether the Municipality

will approve. Therefore, Respondents #3, #4, and #7 were rather sceptic on the decision making power of the city council. Respondent#7 stated:

> But are there results? No! At first, we thought we should prepare a proposal to the city council. Each working group had adapted to the idea. In the first year, we sent four proposals. So at that time, all four passed unanimously. But there is nothing in it.[45]

Respondents #5 and #6 stated that they prepare reports on the issues they work on. They send the reports to the City Council and publish in their social media accounts as well. Respondent#6 added that they try to follow-up the advisory decrees and reports which were sent. If a project is approved, then they try to connect and send at least one representative from the group during the implementation.

It is deduced that some groups advance their projects or advice through their networks. Respondent#2 explained that due to their connection to the Minister of Culture and Art, she was able to directly relay her opinions and as a result, those ideas were approved quickly. One example was the "Hayalimdeki Ankara" event which was explained above. Respondent#6 also implied that networking helps accelerating implementation processes. He expressed having relationship with certain trade associations. Then continued and stated, "Since the City Council does not have a budget, we have to find a budget like ordinary NGOs while doing projects[46]."

Respondent#6 differs from others interviewees since he has rather positive views towards the City Council, focus groups and assemblies. He also expressed that they were able to influence decision-making process and many of their projects were implemented.

> When we first started the focus group, we proposed the establishment of a climate change office in Ankara Municipality. The Climate Change and Adaptation Branch Directorate was established within the Ankara Municipality. We made a proposal about bicycle paths, that was also approved and they have started to be built. So we have many examples like this.[47]

The majority of the interviewees were critical of the decision-making and implementation power of the city council. To finish the interviews final question was whether they had any criticism or recommendation for the city council and focus groups. Respondent#3 criticized that lately the city council was an arena of events

rather than an arena for deliberation. He stated "I would love to hear different opinions about a real problem during discussions or a problem that requires participation. But you see, they are running around to take a photo at an ordinary event[48]."

Respondent#5 expressed that even "just the existence" of the city councils are meaningful. However, he commented that for such deliberative experiments, it is significant to increase reliability of the democratic institutions. Respondent#7 had his share of critiques:

> Ankara City Council suddenly came out. It came out with a huge participation, but the infrastructure was not planned enough. Rules of each association and NGO is different. In other words, everyone tried to bring their own work to the foreground, this is one of the issues that bother me. We are already doing our own work as an association. In focus groups, our goal should not be to solve a problem. It should be to identify the problem, develop solutions for that problem and present it to the relevant authorities.[49]

He recommended creating good practice examples out of focus groups and their works, then disseminate the results through media. He stated;

> Those who say that nothing will come out of this will also participate more. Then we won't be five or six people. Maybe we will be fifty-sixty people. Seeing positive results, people, NGOs will be more involved.[50]

Respondent#1 also criticized certain elements of the city council and focus groups and stated:

> Deliberation is meaningful at the policy level. While the policy deliberation is a concept that allows options/discussion and a certain frame of mind; when it comes to action, there is no room for deliberation if it is reduced to black and white options such as building or destroying the building. The council has been trying to take the deliberations from black and white, and bring it back to the policy level, but it has not seen a serious success for 4 years.[51]

While the quality of the deliberative process in the Ankara City Council will be discussed among with the pre-existing video-recording data of two different deliberative sessions later, the semi-structured interviews presented data that could not be detected with other methods. The deliberative meetings are more or less conducted in a formal fashion. However, interviews provided nuanced data and provided opinions

of some participants in an informal area. Additionally, it provided pre- and post-deliberation data as well, since the respondents shared their own experiences.

The interviews indicated that there are major discrepancies between the results of the DQI. They helped to see respect and disposition to change principles in a much positive light. Therefore, it appears that deliberative quality of the city council is in a better situation than the DQI results indicate. However, it also revealed that participation is a major issue that waits to be resolved. Although participation is open to everyone formally, reality begs to differ as explained. In the next section, both quantitative results from the DQI and the qualitative results from the interviews will be discussed.

4.3.   Discussion of the Results

The aim of this thesis study is to assess whether focus groups and assemblies have deliberative qualities and if they indeed incorporate deliberative characteristics, to measure and interpret the quality. For this purpose, a number of researches have been conducted. Members of city council and participants of focus groups have been interviewed. While observation of such meetings has been planned due to the halt of many of the focus group meetings, this was not possible. Instead, existing video recordings of two meetings have been transcribed and measured according to the Discourse Quality Index that is expanded by Ugarriza and Nussio (2016). The DQI is originally developed by Steenbergen, et. al (2003). The authors developed the index essentially in accordance with discourse ethics rules described by Habermas. The aim was to create a tool for empirical measurement of the deliberation. However, the DQI version by Ugarriza and Nussio were more suitable with the data existing as it incorporates fifteen different indicators to measure five main principles listed for interpretation of deliberation. These are participation, respect, justification, common-good orientation, and disposition to change. The main rules of discourse ethics were measured with sub-indicators of those rules. The results of both the meetings and the semi-structured interviews were described in detail before.

For deliberative democracy to flourish one of the main requirements is existence of a public space as a place for deliberations. This study accepts the city council as the main public space for deliberative process in the form of mini-publics. The online

deliberations are not the topic of this study. However, Ankara City Council has been revived in 2019 after years of inactivity. Today, nearly half of that time has been past under the rules of the COVID-19 pandemic. Therefore, online deliberations have become the normal especially during the peak times of the pandemic.

The spokesperson of the Neighborhood Culture Focus Group explained that they conducted a number of online meetings which essentially revived the group from inactivity. The reason for this is the particular character of the internet itself. In the world we live in, many people have at least a basic internet connection. The conditions were quite suitable for the meetings as well. It should be noted that during the pandemic except for the essential workers, everyone had to stay at their homes. However, human beings are social animals who need interaction with other human beings. The online meetings allowed interaction with other people, without the monetary and time cost. Therefore, number of participants was rather higher compared to face-to-face meetings. As the interviewee explained, when the pandemic measures were loosened, face-to-face meetings have become possible.

However, except for the few, many participants choose to not continuing active participation to the focus group meetings. Since I did not conduct an interview with those people, I can only interpret the causes for this behavior. First of all, during the pandemic lockdowns, almost all other activities were also halted. Online deliberative meetings were another passing time for individuals as there were not others things to do. Thus, people were able to satisfy their social interaction needs in an area they were interested. Second is a time constraint of working adults. Even if the person were genuinely interested in deliberative meetings and the issues discussed in there, they simply do not have the extra time to participate the face-to-face meetings. The participants of Public Health Focus Group have come to an agreement on conducting regular meetings online. The reason is simple. The participants also are employees. Although Ankara City Council provides a physical place for the meetings, the building is open only during working hours. Consequently, people with regular jobs cannot attend meetings during their working hours. Another reason is work-life balance. Although the meetings could be held on weekends, this is also not quite viable option. People have responsibilities towards their family as well; additionally, not everyone would like to spend at least half a day during their precious weekends. Therefore, the

solution was to conduct the meetings online, after work hours. In this way, participants are saved from spending extra time and money for voluntary meetings by participating in the comfort of their homes or other familiar spaces.

The results from the respondents regarding the online meetings are not clear enough to understand the quality of the deliberations. However, one respondent claimed that although online deliberations were not significantly different than face-to-face meetings, he thought online meetings were less sincere. Therefore, the group must decide the trade-off between sincerity and participation. Sunstein (2007) argues that people are likely to disregard social norms on the internet. While the internet increases possibility to engage in deliberation processes and lowers -mainly- invisible barriers to entry, quality of the deliberation decreases simply due to the fact that internet individuals are less likely to be prepared enough to engage in a truly deliberative process. Due to continuous nature of internet, most of the time, there is little time to construct and satisfactory and robust arguments, in addition of majority's illiteracy of rules of deliberation.

The interviews and the measure of Discourse Quality Index have the same basic indicators which are derived from Habermas's discourse ethics rules. However, data from the interviews and data from the video-recordings have some discrepancies between each other. To explain in detail, I will continue with the issues regarding participation characteristic. As explained earlier, video-recording of both sessions indicates that the participation score is perfect. However, insight from the interviewees suggest otherwise. The interviews suggested major participation issues occurs during the focus group and assembly meetings. Although individuals are not prevented from participating to the meetings formally, there are other constraints. Initially, participant profile indicates that people, who are highly educated, have a stable income, and usually older in age participates to the meetings as they have spare time and resources. This would indicate that especially people who are financially less fortunate would have difficulties participating regularly as many of the meetings are conducted during work hours. Additionally, as mentioned earlier, most of the participants were highly educated. The education gap could discourage less educated individuals from participating.

Three of the thirteen indicators scored perfectly, meaning each of forty-five speeches scored 1. The results indicate those indicators shows perfect deliberative qualities. First, the intervention indicator is scored 1 if participant spoke. Since the data is taken from video-recordings, all of the participants shown have spoken, therefore if there were any participant were not able to speak, he or she was most probably edited out of the recording. Second, no interruption indicator is scored 1 if participants did not interrupt each other's speeches. Again, there were no interruptions shown in the recordings. Third is -respect indicator not participation- no disrespect indicator scored 1 if participants did not use foul language. Again, no participant used open foul language in the recordings. The reason for perfect score might be due to the fact that the data is retrieved from an official video-recording. The video is most likely edited to be shortened and only those parts which deemed to be "appropriate enough" might be added. Obviously, this is speculation on this author's side. Any foul language or interruption may not seem appropriate for such environment. On the other hand, last two indicators, accommodates with the data from the interviews. All of the participants claimed that people would argue in certain manners which are indeed in line with the discourse ethics rules. Although they were not familiar with deliberation jargon, some of them used words such as "sincere" and "honest" explaining the nature of the meetings.

One of the respondents argued that people with real concerns cannot participate. This essentially seems correct considering the participant profile. Initially, there is gender disparity in among the participants. Only one among the seven interviewees was woman. Similarly, among the forty-five speeches coded only six were women. This equals to approximately 13% of the participants were women in these meetings. Second, all of the interviewees at least had university degrees. The participants of the meetings also had similar educational backgrounds. However, since the data was gathered from video recordings, there is no certain way of confirming. During Session1 participants were either members of the General Assembly of the Ankara City Council, or participants of the Youth Assembly of which many of its participants are university students.

While Habermas (1996) puts deliberation process at the heart of deliberative democracy; and in the heart of deliberation process lies the inclusive public sphere

which was later criticized as not being as inclusive by many scholars. There are many criticisms of deliberative democracy regarding inclusion of individuals from less fortunate backgrounds. Setala (2014) explains the notions of inclusion and exclusion since those are central normative concepts of democracy and deliberation. Inclusiveness, in a basic sense, is that all members of a political community having a say in the process of public decision-making. Iris Marion Young is one of those critiques. She focuses on exclusion within deliberative process. She distinguishes external and internal exclusion. While external exclusion is not allowing certain viewpoint in public deliberation or decision-making, internal exclusion occurs when certain viewpoints are ignored during a deliberative process. Bourgeois public sphere which Habermas envisaged is also criticized by Young, since it may lead to internal exclusion due to the fact that better educated people are likely to be at advantage over rather marginalized groups of people. To further the argument; the necessity of education may lead to domination of certain groups -such as better educated, middle class- and further marginalization of already marginalized groups. On the other hand, Fraser's (1990) criticisms have feminist perspective. She is another critique of the public sphere that Habermas envisioned on the basis of being exclusionary of women and marginalized groups, even though public sphere supposed to be inclusive.

Additionally, Setala (2014) argues that since people are most likely unfamiliar with a deliberative process, an initial averse towards willing participation might be an issue; thus, this aversion may lead to eventually exclusion of certain individuals. In addition, deliberative processes are rather time consuming and, it is possible -and also understandable- that especially working citizens might not wish to spend their free time over an unknown deliberative process which again may lead to exclusion of certain individuals. The focus groups meetings in the Ankara City Council have become a pristine example of Young, Fraser and Setala's criticisms regarding participation principle as discussed above.

Setala (2014) discusses another pillar of democracy which is accountability. In deliberative democracies accountability is achieved through reason-giving for public decision-making. It is expected that both citizens and officials justify their views to those who are affected since the decision should be acceptable for them. In other words, accountability in deliberative democracy requires reflective citizens who are

able to make reasonable judgements for their own views which, again, bring the problem of education.

Another issue with the participation is closely related with the discussion quality. When the participants were asked about discussion etiquette, all mentioned that it was in line with the deliberative rules. Participants were respectful to each other, they listened each other etc. However, some of them implied that there were sessions which were not appropriate for discussion etiquette and some participated simply for self-benefits such as networking. Respondents claimed some were looking for fights and when they could not find it, they simply left. While their departure seems to improve the overall quality of discussions, it brings minds whether the meetings were losing their deliberative quality. Because a very basic principle -participation- has been given up. Interviewees claimed that such participants simply fall out of the groups, in other words, they are not chased out of the groups.

From one point of view this could be interpreted as suitable for open participation indicator. Some people participated on their own will, and then they simply quit participation again on their own will. However, if all of the participants are more or less from similar point of views, then what is there to discuss. If participants are from similar backgrounds, then there is not much to discuss since their inclinations would also be similar. Instead of having conflict free sessions, this could even result in echo chambers as Sunstein (2007) argues. Without an adversary, there is a risk of participants to be sinking into their own views without considering others.

In line with Sunstein's criticisms towards deliberation among like-minded, Mansbridge argues that under certain circumstances, non-deliberative behaviors might in fact improve the deliberation. She claims that "angry moments" could help to include "perspectives that can be accessed only through anger … Anger distorts cognition but, like many other emotions, also motivates thought." (p. 186). There is no certain way to interpret whether Mansbridge's idea holds truth in this case, since the views of the interviewees would be biased. On the other hand, Smith and Rowe (2016) argues that to ensure that although in some circumstances organizers may ensure "fair representation", they cannot take responsibility for the discussions during the deliberation which is highly dependent on the individual. They state that "Good

facilitation and communication can bring out the best in participants' deliberative skills, but the attitudes and behaviours of participants are ultimately their individual choices" (Smith&Rowe, 2016, p. 5). In this case, there is not an unbiased way of exploring the quality of the facilitation during the said mini-publics, however, it could be interpreted that quality of deliberations are dependent on its particular participants. This is in line with the result comparing two different sessions from the video recordings, as they had different scores for deliberation quality even though formal setting was the same.

Open participation certainly exists as a fundamental principle of deliberative democracy. However, since the process is not designed primarily for a real participation, as some respondents criticize, participators are mainly people who have time, no financial problem. This could be criticized as being an elitist approach. However, even this exclusive nature could be advocated under the quality discussions among the theory as some would argue quality is more important than a perfect inclusion. Habermas states that

> Public communication must be inclusive and selective at the same time; it must be channeled in such a way, that relevant topics come up, interesting contributions and reliable information come in, and good arguments or fair compromises decide on what comes out. (Habermas, 1999, p. 941)

Even though majority of the interviewees were critical of certain aspects of the city council, they were adamant about the participation aspect of the participants of the focus groups. They claimed each of the existing participants did not hesitate to contribute to the discussions and taking the floor. Some stated that people, who already have something to say and are not vary of taking the floor, participate regularly. Thus, these people would not show any reservations due to their nature. So, the problem with participation is not about meeting attendees taking the floor, but about the identity of those participants themselves.

Another quality of deliberative democracies –that is measured- is respect. Even with the no disrespect indicator scoring perfectly, the overall score in this respect is 0,53 which indicates that the deliberations were not of high quality. However, the interviews suggested otherwise. Majority of the interviewees clearly expressed that

participants were respectful to each other, they refrained using foul language as they share their opinions. The issue here appears to be with the scale itself. For the respect indicator to be scored 1, the participant must use respectful expressions openly. Even though, participants may have not used explicitly respectful expressions, this would not indicate they were disrespectful. Additionally, they may have signaled non-verbal respect expressions as well which are not measured. Similarly, reciprocity indicator is also scored on the basis of explicit expressions. This shows more correlation with the interview data, as some of the participants were criticizing that sometimes participant explain the same position over and over again, instead only expressing that their agreement.

The justification principle scored better than respect principle. There is significant difference between the two sessions. Since Session2 was on the struggles of food and beverage sector workers, their problems were more economic oriented, which may have caused them simply relay their problems rather than trying to identify solutions. The main difference is caused from the *reasons* indicator. As many of the participants simply expressed, the problems they faced during the pandemic and did not elaborate on them. The result was expected. On the other hand, Session1 was on the issues youth have encountered during the pandemic. The topic was more oriented towards identifying the problems. Some proposed possible solutions as well. Therefore, they were more inclined to base their arguments on solid justifications. *Sophisticated reasons* indicator scored low in both sessions which are due to time constraints for each participant. They simply could not possess enough time to present sophisticated reasons.

It should also be noted that the average age was significantly younger, since many of the participants were also members of the Youth Assembly –who are mainly university students. Agenda of the Session1 was non-economic in contrast to the Session2. Even though young people were discussing about the difficulties of youth during pandemic, it appears that the participants themselves were not direct recipients of the issues discussed. Another reason could be related with the fact that participants being younger. Since they were younger, participants had the urge to back their arguments with undeniable reasons, as participants from the General Assembly were generally older to be heard by them. Considering traditional culture of respecting elders, and

acknowledging their wise, the youth may have paid special attention on justification principle.

Mansbridge argues that deliberative democracy may take different form within different contexts, although she is more focused on different cultures. I believe her argument also explains the difference in the scores of these two sessions. Here we see that deliberation can have quite different quality results within the same society, depending on the subject. Session2 is centered on a much more *immediate* problem; the deliberative quality is much lower since they are people who experience the economic problems themselves. The aim is not to shed light on the problem, but to reach someone in authority, to convey the existing problems and to ensure that those problems are resolved quickly. Therefore, the score of Session2 was lower.

Another principle of deliberative democracy is *common-good orientation*. The highest score difference among the sessions has been observed in this principle. Overall score was 0,75 which indicates rather high quality in this respect. The data is also in-line with the responses of the interviewees. The respondents expressed that some respondents aim on building networks or increasing the visibility of their associations, overall majority is concerned with the problems of the society they live in. Also, they mentioned, people with ulterior motives usually do not participate regularly, thus, if someone is a regular participant it can be deduced that they are genuinely concern with the common-good.

To interpret in detail; the highest overall indicator under the common-good principle was good of others with score of 0,91. In the Session1 participants openly stated underprivileged groups, in the Session2 participants mentioned groups that have been negatively affected by the pandemic. However, Session2 scored considerably lower for *no own good* and *common good* indicators. The reason for this is that, participants of Sesssion2 are also part of those mentioned disadvantaged groups. Therefore, Session2 scored high on good of others, but lower on the two other indicators, since they also seek their own good –being part of disadvantaged- and the main concern was not all of the society but rather a small group who works in –or owns- food and beverage sector.

The final section of measurement is *disposition to change* which is measured with *force of better argument* indicator. The score is the lowest among all other indicators. The overall score is 0,20 which indicates that only 20% of the participants expressed their willingness to change positions when faced with better arguments. The score, on itself, shows that this principle is not realized at all even though it is one of the core values of discourse ethics. The issue here is related with the index coding, rather than participants as the interviews also supported.

The Discourse Quality Index by Ugarriza and Nussio (2016) provides more detailed indicators for the measurement of deliberation quality. However, although the scale provides detailed content, it seems to be more suitable for a longitudinal study. Some indicators cannot be measured in a single session. If we proceed from the "force of better argument" example, the average score seems to be quite low in both sessions. If we were to only take the quantitative data into consideration here, the relevant indicator would appear to have failed in quality. However, we need to consider that index is scored 1 when there is an explicit expression regarding changing opinions. Yet it is relatively difficult for the participants to express *force of better argument* statements such as "you are right, you have put your finger on the right point, I thought wrong about this" in one single session. On the other hand, interviews with the participants unveiled that the score of the indicator, which seems quite low, is actually misleading. Each participant stated that, except some extreme cases, when there were better arguments, everyone was convinced; consensus was either reached or approached. Therefore, it is possible to argue that measurement of the index may not lead to correct outcomes regarding deliberative quality.

Additionally, the semi-structured interviews showed that some participants are displeased with the institutional design of the city council, arguing that the discussions should be designed in a more deliberative way rather than aiming to produce immediate solutions for immediate problems. The outcomes of the meetings should have long-lasting effects on the locals. Respondent#7 has given the example of tree planting events and said that planting trees in a designated area should not be the aim of the city council, since NGOs are capable of such events already. Instead, participants should focus on the underlying issues of such needs and try to identify them. Some argued that to increase the quality, the meetings should be designed to

deliberate policy oriented rather than execution oriented. One of the main concerns implied to be political distrust towards the system and decision-makers, since some explained that participants discuss in a manner not to displease others.

Another issue with the discussed mini-publics is its lack of decision-making power. Interviewees were also critical on the decision-making capacity claiming that many projects are either never initiated or not followed through. Smith and Rowe (2016) argue that Habermas's public sphere is made of by enacting communicative action among individuals informally and naturally that would eventually form into a public opinion to influence political agenda. However, in the case of Ankara City Council's focus groups, this is formally impossible as law does not give the city council any decision-making power, only advisory power over the administration. Nor do the individuals come together in a non-institutional form. However, almost none of the mini-publics are purely Habermasian as his theory is criticized being too abstract, interpretation differences on the implementation are only expected. Yet it is a fact that city council mini-publics do not hold decision-making power except of an advisory role. This may cause some participants to feel disheartened as the discussions take place are done for the sake of discussion as Gutmann and Thompson (2004) would argue.

However, Steiner (2012) argues that a deliberative process should not be judged on its decision-making power. He argues, it should also be considered according to the effects on the participants. If participants were able to fulfill their own lives even a little bit more, then the deliberation could be judged with quality. Since the aim is not direct policy making, mini-publics with no direct links to decision-making –such as Ankara City Council- is also valuable. He argues that if participants are able to talk about "big issues of the world" which they have discussed during the meetings with their surroundings, then this has value in itself. In fact, it is better this way since the deliberations could lead to a more extensive public opinion formation as surroundings of the participants could also discuss those issues with their own surroundings. Therefore, there is a possibility that "big issues of the world" would have spread as waves into the society forming public opinion eventually.

Ian O'Flynn (2007) and Kanra (2012) explore the potentials of the deliberation in deeply divided societies. They both come to the conclusion that deliberation can be achieved in such societies and eventually could lead to reaching a positive result considering polarization. Kanra conducts a longitudinal case study in Turkey among women civil society organizations which are deeply divided due to religious and political views. He explains that eventually even the most extremist opposite groups were able to develop tolerance to each other. Although it is rather difficult to measure whether or not their position holds true for this case, it can be interpreted that by listening and discussing with the people from different points of view, participants could enhance their tolerance for those from opposing views. As many respondents stated they eventually try to convince each other on a topic and to reach such an end they listen each other. Knobloch et al. (2019) argues that trust of citizens increases even simply by being aware that deliberative practices take place. Although Ankara City Council is relatively less active currently, the issue is that the deliberative practices are not disseminated to the public enough. Vice head of the General Assembly claimed that they share their activities on the social media accounts, yet if an individual is not aware of existence of the city councils, how could they be aware of its social media accounts. Therefore, dissemination of this deliberative experiment lacks even though it might help to build tolerance and solidarity among the community.

Overall, there are some issues with the deliberative system in Ankara City Council. Some of those might be related with the fact that the practice is quite young since it is initiated on 2019 following the local elections. Some are related with the participants themselves as mainly they are not familiar with the deliberative systems and a deliberative culture is not embedded in Turkish politics. However, the fact such an initiative is taken is quite valuable in itself considering Turkey is categorized as "competitive authoritarian" (Esen & Gümüşçü, 2016, p.1582) rather than a democratic regime[52] and the decreasing democracy scores[53] of the country.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The theory of deliberative democracy has been rather popular since the 1990s, although he was not the first scholar to present; Habermas has become one of the most prominent scholars considering deliberative democracy. The theory essentially argues for free and fair participation of citizens to the structures in which decisions are made in a reasonable fashion providing justifications. The deliberative theory emerged as a remedy –not as an alternative- to the crises of representative-liberal democracies. Therefore, it naturally encompasses some characteristics of representative democracy, however many scholars find roots of the deliberative democracy back in Ancient Athenian democracy since its direct nature is somehow planned to be replicated in deliberative processes. In the ancient Greek democracy "every citizen" was part of the decision-making process. They had every right to suggests and accept or decline decisions, they even acted as judges during certain times, all by random selection – sortition. The problem, however, was that even though every citizen had right to participate only a small percentage of the residents were citizens. In fact, Ancient Athenian city state was quite exclusionary in this nature. Therefore, even though deliberation requires free and fair participation, this should be on an inclusionary basis, contrary to the direct democracies.

Another important part for deliberative democracy theory is representative-liberal democracies as due to its legitimacy crises many scholars begin the search for remedies. Before dwelling into the crises, to explain shortly, representative democracy is often associated with concepts such as equality, elections, the relationship between the ruling and the public. On the other hand, liberalism is often associated with concepts such as liberty and individualism. Although the link seems rather blurred, once turned towards to Mill, it become rather clear. The state exists to protect those so-called individual rights and liberties, following the industrial revolution and the boom in the population, it is clear that not each citizen can participate to the decision-

making process. Therefore, individuals elect politicians whom they think capable of taking decisions for them. Robert Dahl on the other hand, criticizes minimalist view of democracy and he adopts a procedural version. He argues five principles that a poliarchy must include are: inclusion of adults, enlightened understanding, voting equality, control of the agenda, and effective participation.

Yet democracies were not free of criticisms either. These could be summarized as crisis of representation which is essentially caused by citizens' decline in trust to politicians. As their trust decline, trust towards the traditional institutions decline as well. Consequently, citizens feel estrangement from political processes. In other words, the so-called representatives do not represent the citizens anymore. These problems lead to search for other solutions, one of which is deliberative democracy.

Deliberative democracy could be deemed as synthesis of the direct and representative democracies. Although there is no consensus on its principles, Chambers (2003) lists four main principles of deliberative democracy which are essentially centralized around, conversation, communication and will-formation. The theory focuses on accountability on the contrary to consent of the process of decision-making. Second principle is on the rules of communication during deliberative processes which should be respectful, rational and interactive. Third principle is on the results of the process. It is usually expected that the outcomes of a deliberative process to have an effect on the decision-making process. Finally, fourth principle comes from the Habermasian perspective, public space is a place that deliberative democracy takes place. There are two main requirements for the legitimacy of deliberation within representative-liberal democracies. The first consists of a normative nature and it is related to the discourse ethics and communication. He explains the communication and action principles in a deliberative environment should be. The second is related to the participatory nature of deliberation which is connected to the public sphere.

As mentioned earlier, the aim of this study was to measure the deliberative quality of the Ankara City Council's focus group and assembly meetings. The results have been collected through semi-structured interviews with the participants of the focus groups. Interviewees are identified through snow-balling technique from two different interviewees. Other resource is video-recordings of two different focus group

meetings. The speeches were transcribed and were coded in accordance with the Discourse Quality Index to measure the quality of the deliberations.

The meetings were usually conducted in a more or less formal setting. Therefore, both the interviews and meeting records presented that the discussions were conducted in a deliberative fashion. However, interviews provided nuanced data compared to the coding and provided opinions of some participants in an informal area. Additionally, it provided pre- and post- deliberation data as well.

Although taking advantage of both qualitative and quantitative method may seem rather excessive, those provided varying even contradicting results. While the DQI provided a general idea over the deliberations in the city council meetings, interviews provided insight over the meetings and even other participants' attitudes. Interviews also shed light on issues which are not measured by the index.

There were discrepancies on the results of participation, respect, and disposition to change indicators. The main problem of the Ankara City Council deliberative meetings lies within the participation principle which scored perfectly; however, interview results unveiled it was quite the opposite. Majority of the participants were indeed had high levels of participation since they were able to speak freely. However, the public were either not aware of the existence of the meetings or simply did not have the resources to participate to the meetings. There is a massive inclusion problem which can be deduced from the profile of the interviewees. Almost all of the participants were middle class, highly educated individuals with means and spare time for participation. Although there are no formal obstacles, as participation requires time at the very least, it excludes people with less fortunate educational and financial backgrounds. While participants proudly claimed they give the city council priority by taking time off work, they were mostly unaware of having such privilege. One of the main reasons for citizen participation is to relay the problems and needs of the community since they experience them every single day. It is the same for Ankara City Council as well, thus voice of marginal groups remain unheard as they are not participants of these deliberative experiments at the very least.

Internal exclusion among the participants of the city council was another issue. Focus groups and assemblies are founded with a certain main theme. While these could be

more general topics such as urban aesthetics, they could be topics requiring expertise such as public health. Profile of participants also vary according to the topics of the groups.

Participant with higher education and expertise in a field that requires specialization speak more and naturally play a more dominant role in the group deliberations. Within these conditions, other participants who do not have similar qualifications speak less or their contribution is not taken into account. This indicates an invisible hierarchy between the participants of the city council which may hinder an ideal deliberation environment.

Since participation to the meetings are voluntary, the decision to participate depends on the certain conditions such as the internal culture of the group, attitude of its spokesperson, agenda, or even the venue of the meetings. While certain spokespersons could be encouraging, others may repulse participants with their behavior. In lack of respectful discussions, some participants have chosen not to continue participating. Similar attitude has been observed when the quality of deliberations dropped. Therefore, the participation principle requires more detailed research as it has many intricate details.

When the DQI and interviews results were considered together, all other four principles were in line with the deliberative democracy rules. Nonetheless, it should be noted that respect and especially disposition to change principles scored quite low compared to the results of interviews. As mentioned earlier, the reason for such difference stems from the coding method of the index used for this study. While explicit statements are necessary for scoring the indicators, it is also clear that these do not always give accurate results. At this point, it can be concluded that the index is more suitable for long-term studies. Additionally, it is also clear that, measuring deliberation on the basis of spoken language is not sufficient as non-verbal language also matters. For example, even though the participants were respectful to each other during meetings, since this was not spoken, the respect indicators scored low.

To explain in detail, although disposition to change scored very low, interviewees expressed that they usually reach an agreement since people change their opinions as result of the discussions. Even if an agreement is not reached, they try to come up with

a solution that would be acceptable to the majority or continue to discuss the issue at later meetings. Inclination to change opinions can be measured in a longitudinal study. Since participants would more or less be the same people, change in their opinions could be observed in time.

The principle justification was overall rather high except giving sophisticated reasons. Although there is a possibility of the video recordings to be edited, interviewees explained that participants usually expressed their reasoning and in some cases, they even prepared presentations on the issue or even conducted surveys to convince other participants. Therefore, it is deduced that reason giving principle is fulfilled in the case as well.

Ankara City Council focus groups and assembly meetings is far from being distinguished example of deliberative democracy. Some of the issues discussed earlier could be related to the study design or simply the practice being rather young. Additionally, many of those problems are simply related to the political culture of Turkey which is quite behind of her Western counterparts on participation and deliberation. Nevertheless, the city council provides deliberative process a place to exists which could be built upon in the following years. It contributes to the deliberative culture of the community. Even though city councils lack essential decision-making power. However, its participants can still be involved in policy-making processes by the advisory role of the city council, compared to non-participant citizens.

This study aimed to explore the deliberative processes that are practiced by the initiatives of local authorities. Although it is far from being perfect practice, it helps to accumulate a common social knowledge on deliberative democracy practices which is an introduction to the issue to be adopted and to be developed in future. The accumulated knowledge from experiences such as Ankara City Council meetings and İstanbul's *The Budget is Yours*! will be act as guidelines for future deliberative experiences.

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[1] Yerel Gündem 21: toplumsal uzlaşma olmadan sürdürülebilir kalkınma hedefine ulaşılamaz görüşü ağırlık kazanmaktadır https://www.mfa.gov.tr/yerel-gundem-21.tr.mfa
[2] ibid.

[3] According to Freedom House data, Turkey has a score of 32/100 in Global Freedom Scores in years 2020, 2021, and 2022. Therefore, Turkey is classified as "not free".
https://freedomhouse.org/countries/freedom-world/scores

[4] Bütçe Senin

[5] Ankara Kent Konseyi Pandeminin Gençlik Üzerindeki Etkilerini Masaya Yatırdı

[6] Pandemide Yiyecek-İçecek Sektörü ve Etkilenenler Toplantısı

[7] 26 speeches were coded during the Food and Beverage Industry During the Pandemic and Those who are Affected Meeting. 19 speeches were coded during the Ankara City Council Discussed the Effects of the Pandemic on Youth.

[8] https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/rhetoric

[9] Robert Dahl, 1989, Democracy and Its Critics

[10] The Self Under Siege (1993) Lecture 5: Habermas and the Fragile Dignity of Humanity:
http://rickroderick.org/305-habermas-and-the-fragile-dignity-of-humanity-1993/

[11] The speeches are named with the order of speech in the meetings. For example, Speech#1.4 means the fourth speech in the first meeting.

[12] Son bir buçuk iki yıldır bizim gençlik yıllarımız elimizden alındı. Mental sağlığımızdan dolayı yaşam süremiz azaldı, hem de pandemide geçen 1.5-2 yıldan bahsediyoruz. Ve daha da önemlisi aslında bu en önemli en verimli dönemlerimiz olduğu için yaşlılık dönemimizle kıyasladığımızda gençlikten elimizdeki bir yılımız yaşlılık dönemindeki iki yıla eşittir. Aslında geçen süre bizden yaklaşık 7-8 yıl kısalmasına sebep oldu işte pandeminin bizden aldığı şey bu. Onun dışında pandemiyle ilişkili olarak pandeminin bizden aldığı en önemli özelliklerden biri ilişkidir. Bizim şu an burada olduğumuz ilişkidir, sınıfta oturup ders dinlememiz ilişkidir, kütüphaneye gidip rahatlıkla maskeyi çıkarıp gönül rahatlığıyla kahve içiyor olmamız gibi kütüphaneyle kurduğumuz bir ilişkidir.

[13] Pandemide en büyük problemin obezite olduğu fark ettik çünkü "Türkiye evde kal" sloganıyla yaşadık hepimiz. Ve gençlerde ve çocuklarda çok ciddi obezite artışını gözlemledik. Bununla ilgili doktorlarla görüştük, akıl ve tavsiyeler aldık ve sonrasında evde spor yapmayla ilgili çalışmalar yapmaya başladık. En azından evde spor yaparak ya da insanların birbirinden bağımsız, bahçesi olanın bahçesinde spor yapması ya da nabzı yükseltmeden maskeyle spor yapmak gibi. Hocalarımız varken bize laf düşmez ama sporun insan sağlığına çok büyük bir etkisi olduğunu düşünüyoruz. Evde veya bireysel olarak belli sporların yakılarak devam edilmesini istedik zararlı alışkanlıkları yenmek, uyuşturucu ve alkol bağımlılığı gibi şeylerin gençlerden uzak tutulması ve sağlıklı bireyler yetiştirilmesi için, - sadece vücut sağlığı değil zihin sağlığı açısından da- başarılı gençler yetiştirmek için sporun yapılmasını gerektiğini düşünüyoruz.

[14] Eğitimin çevrimiçi olmasıyla beraber maddi sorunları olan ailelerin çocuklarının eğitime erişme konusunda sorunlar çektiğini, bilgisayara, internete erişemediğini gördük. Bu dönemde kişisel gelişim için bazı sempozyumlar, online kongreler, online sertifika programları gerçekleştirildi. Fakat yine aynı şekilde bu fırsat eşitsizliğinden dolayı diğer arkadaşlarımız da teknolojiye erişim sağlayamadıklarından bunlardan da mahrum kaldılar ve dezavantajlı konuma geldiler. Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk bütün ümidim gençliktedir diyerek bizlere ne kadar güvendiğini anlatmıştır. Bizler başkentin gençleri olarak içinde bulunduğumuz pandemi döneminde bir araya gelmiş ve Gençlik Meclisi kurmak için bir arada yer almışız. Adımlar atmaya hazır olduğumuzu söylüyorum ve teşekkür ediyorum.

[15] Türkiye'de son iki ayda tam 97 kişi intihar etti ve bunların büyük çoğunluğunu gençler oluşturuyor. İntihar etme nedenleri pandeminin getirdiği ve hepimizin malumu olan nedenler. Ekonomik problemler ve mutsuzluk bunların başında geliyor. Zaten İngiltere merkezli bir yardım kuruluşunun yaptığı ankete göre de insanlar pandemiden öncesine göre tam 3 kat daha fazla yardım alma ihtiyacı duyuyorlar çünkü intihar etme yaygınlığı arttı bu dönemde.

[16] Bizim için önemli olan şu süreçte bir an önce eğlence sektörünün açılması ve ardından sanatçıların özellikle sosyal güvencesi olmayan emekçi arkadaşlarımızın bir an önce iş alanlarına kavuşup hayatlarını demokratik bir şekilde devam ettirebilmesini istiyoruz. Her anlamda çok büyük zarar ve kaybına uğradı sanatçı arkadaşlarımız. Sağ olsun Çankaya Belediyesi, Büyükşehir Belediyesi bizlerle etkinlikler yaparak desteklemeye çalışıyorlar ancak bunların kalıcı olması lazım.

[17] Bizim öncelikli hedefimiz 2022'ye kadar batmamayı hedeflemek, zaten görünen aşikar konu o. Bu kadar en alt gelirden en üst gelire herkesin etkilendiği bir sektörde neden mal sahipleri ile ilgili hiçbir şey konuşulmuyor devlet kademesinde en yüksekten en aşağıya kadar?

[18] Ben müzisyenim önce konseye teşekkür ediyorum böyle bir toplantı düzenledikleri için. Sektör temsilcilerinin konuşmanın dinleyince utandım yani bizimkiler dert değilmiş. Çünkü ölünce geçiyor bizimki, siz ölseniz de kurtulamazsınız. Sektörün en sosyal güvencesiz çalışan işkolu bizimkisi. Arkadaşların beğenmediği kısa dönem ödeneklerinİ de alamıyoruz biz, hiçbir şey alamıyoruz emekli

olamıyoruz. Pandemi bize ders olsun, pandemiden sonra çalıştırdığınız müzisyenlere en azından Sosyal Güvenlik haklarını vermeye çalışın.

[19] Somut üç tane benim tespit edebildiğim ana problemimiz var. 1- Birikmiş borçlarımız: Hibe desteğini kesinlikle ve kesinlikle yapılması. Bir metin üzerinde anlaşabilirsek üç maddelik bir metin çıkaralım bu metin üzerinde somut pratiği gösterelim.

[20] Biz sektörde yatırım yapmaya devam ediyoruz. Bununla birlikte de kazançlarımıza göre bir kredi ödemelerimiz var ama gelir kaybı uyguladıktan sonra kredi ödemelerini yapmakta zorlanıyoruz.

[21] Buradaki insanlar – ben dâhil – mutlak bir yönetime katılmaktansa ortak bir akıl etrafında toplanıp projeler için çalışmak vs. Benim bir fikrim var ama senin fikrine de ihtiyacım var düşüncesiyle bir araya geldik ortak akıl bu. Katılımcılara güven duyuyoruz. Birbirimize güven duymamız gerekiyor ki güvenli işler yapabilelim. O doğrultuda herhangi bir endişemiz yok. Katılımcıların kendi çıkarları için katıldıklarını sanmıyorum. Ama sonradan ortaya öyle bir durum çıkarsa, bu kişiler bir süre sonra ayrılıyorlar zaten.

[22] İlgili kişilerin katılımı, temsilcilerin de temsilcilerinden oluşan yaklaşık 2000 delegenin katılımından daha önemli. Ancak konuyu bilmeyen birinin katılması da anlamsız.

[23] "Halk sağlığı konusu itibariyle daha çok sağlıkçılarla ilerliyor ama sadece profesyonellere değil konuyla ilgili olan diğer paydaşlara da açık. Kimi katılımcıların amacı ise kişisel kazanç veya belli odaklara daha yakın olmak. Ancak kimi profesyonel katılımcılar sonuç odaklı baktıklarından, yalnızca sağlıkçılar katılmalı diye düşünüyor. Eğer çalışma gruplarının amacı herkesin bir arada olması, bilgi eşitlenmesi, ya da ne tarafa yöneleceğinin tartışmasıysa, yani amaç sürecin kendisiyse tabii ki herkese açık olmalı"

[24] "Müzakere sürecine dair ön bilgilendirmeler oluyor fakat işe yaramıyor."

[25] Ankara Kent Konseyi'nin de Çankaya Kent Konseyi'nin de müzakere adabını da içeren yönergeleri var. Bunlar genelde gönüllülerle paylaşılır da. Katılımcılar okurlar mı, okumazlar mı bilmiyorum. Ama kimse özellikle yönerge şöyledir, böyledir falan diye söylemez muhtemelen.

[26] Genellikle orada çekinme olmaz. E buradakiler tabii genellikle tecrübeli insanlar. O yüzden kimse konuşurken çekinmiyor. Hani bir yerden geldikleri için egoları yüksek ama sonuç olarak görmüş geçirmiş, sosyal anlamda iyi ilişkileri olan insanlar. Kendi konularında bir şey söylüyorlarsa işkembeden atmıyorlar. Yani o yüksek egosuyla bildikleri bir şeyi ısrarcı oluyorlar. Yani sıradan tevazu içerisinde sadece dinlemek veya herhangi bir şekilde sözünü söylemek istemeyen insan yoktur oralarda. Yani yüzde sekseni ile çok rahatlıkla görüşlerini ifade eden, hatta tekrar tekrar eden falan.

[27] "Toplantılara düzenli olarak katılınca, doğal olarak networkü genişletiyorsunuz. Bazıları kişisel amaçları için kullanıyorlar. Ben de bir toplantıda Kültür ve Sanat bakanıyla tanıştım. O dönem yapılacak olan bir etkinlikte, derneğimiz için stant ayarladık. Amacımız hem daha görünür olmak hem de böylece Ankaralılara Japon sanatını tanıtmaktı. Yine aynı etkinlikte Hayalimdeki Ankara hashtag'i açıp, tüm Ankaralıların sosyal medya yoluyla katılımını sağladık."

[28] "Ekoiklim zirvesi ATO Başkanının gösterişiydi. Etkinlik sonunda katılım ya da zirvenin sonucu değil, ticari olarak kente kazandırılan turist ve döviz girdisinin önemliymiş gibi yansıtıldı."

[29] Respondent#3 claimed that the project was not advanced due to political reasons, yet he did not specify the reasons.

[30] "Kitlenin yaş ortalamasının çok şey anlatıyor. Genelde emekli ya da yapacak bir işi olmayan ve gelir kaygısı olmayan, 9-5 çalışmayan insanların boy gösteriyor. Yaşça en küçük olan benim. Benzer yaş aralığında kimse yok bu grupta. Esas söz sahibi olması gereken insanların katılım sağlayamıyor çünkü çalışma zorunda ya da okulda olmak zorunda. Katılımcıların bir kısmı belirli saiklerle siyaset ve ticaret çevrelerinden kişiler. Ekonomik ya da sosyal problemleri esas kişiler konuşmuyor. Gençlik meclisinde bile sadece belirli birkaç üniversitede öğrencileri ve onların çevreleri aktif. O üniversiteler hariç başka kimsenin anlatacağı bir şey yok mu yani?"

[31] Önümüzdeki 10 yıl maddi ihtiyaçlarımı tamamen giderip ondan sonra kendimi bu ülkeye adayıp yeni siyasetin bir parçası olacağım dedim. 12 yıldır da aktif bir yurttaşım."

[32] Çoğunluğu sivil toplumdan geldiği için oradaki mantıkla geliyorlar. O sebeple hemen bir sonuç çıksın istiyorlar. Tartışıyoruz da ee sonra deniyor bir süre sonra. Hadi hemen bir karar çıksın da genel kurula gönderelim de mahallemizdeki bir sokağı daha kurtaralım deniyor. Hâlbuki Ankara'da 5 milyon kişi var, gerekirse tek tek hepsiyle görüşmeyi göze almalıyız. Ama işte sonuca odaklanınca müzakere sürecini falan olabildiğince hızlı geçmeye çalışıyorlar. Zaten toplantılar da düzenli değil. Bir gün 10 kişi var, öbür gün 15, sonra belki 3-4 kişi. Ben de tam tersi daha çok toplantı olsun istiyorum, amacımız tartışmak olmalı hemen çözüme ulaşmak değil. Hatta genel kurul'un yılda iki kez toplanması gerekir ama 16-17 aydır toplanmıyor. Yani aslında kurumsal yapıyı güçlendirmek gerek. Ama katılımcılar da kent konseylerinin amacını bilmiyor işte. Kuruluş önergesiyle ilgilenmiyorlar da. Herkesin en az 1 kere anlamak için okuması şart yönergeyi.

[33] Pandemide online yaptık toplantıları. Bizim çalışma grubumuz da aktif değildi pek ama pandemic döneminde online toplantılarla aktifleşti. Kapanma sürecinin ilk zamanlarında herhalde başka aktivitelerden de yoksun olmaktan kaynaklı online toplantılara yoğun rağbet vardı. Pandemi sebebiyle insanların rahatlıkla yani bir bahane bulmaksızın, katılabiliyorlardı. İşim var, okula gidiyorum, çocuğumla ilgilenmem gerekiyor denmiyordu. Bir kısım da yapacak başka bir şey olmadığından, boşluğu kent konseyine katılımla doldurdu. Ama bazıları kendini gösterme ya da networking için katıldı o zaman da.

[34] "Aktif katılımcılar için online toplantılar daha kolay oluyor. Toplantı salonuna gitme zorunluluğu kalkıyor, zaman kaybetmemiş oluyorlar. Kent Konseyi toplantı için yer sağlıyor ama herkes çalışıyor gün içinde."

[35] "Ama pandemiden sonra yüz yüze görüşmeler başladığında sayı oldukça azaldı. Burada insanların aktif olarak işe gitme zorunlulukları etkilidir. Yapacak başka işleri olabilir ya da toplantıya gidip gelmek için ekstra vakti yoktur diye düşünüyorum. Online bu açıdan çok iyiydi ama yüz yüze toplantılar daha samimiydi. Katılıma ve müzakereye daha uygun ortam oluşuyordu. Çünkü diğerlerine karşı bir güven ortamı oluyor."

[36] Çekince yok herkes rahat katılıyor. Ortak akıl üretebilecek insanlarız sonuçta. Genelde herkes belli bir tartışma adabına uygun konuşuyor. Görüş ayrılıkları genelde ikna yoluyla çözülmeye çalışılıyor. Mesela biz daha önce geniş katılımlı atölye çalışmaları yaptık. Doğal olarak farklı görüşlerden birçok kişi de katıldı. Ama bu durumlarda bile karşılıklı birbirimize güvenerek ilerliyoruz. Birisi uzun süre konuşursa, diğerleri uyarıyor gibi. Şimdiye kadar bir sorun olmadı. Zaten tartışma adabına uygun davranmayanlar yok oluyor.

[37] "Sorun çıkaracak olanlar gruplardan bir şekilde ayrılıyor. Tartışma çıkaracak ortamı bulamayanlar ayrılmayı seçiyor. Yani tartışmayı bilmeyen birileri gelse belki sorun olabilir ama gelenler zaten az çok birbirlerini tanıyan kişi ve dernekler."

[38] "Genelde adı konmamış bir consensus var günden belirlenirken. Bir arada olmaya önem atfettiği için kimsenin rahatsız etmeyecek konular seçiliyor o yüzden."

[39] Genelde sözcüler bu tür hazırlıkları yapıyorlar ama diğer katılımcıların bir gündemi varsa onlar da hazırlanıp geliyorlar. Herkese konuyu anlatmak için. Onun dışında çok bilinmeyen bir konuysa eğer ben kişisel olarak bir okuyup, genel bakıp geliyorum ama başkalarını bilemiyorum tabi. Çok yaygın olduğunu düşünmüyorum ama.

[40] Cadde sokak park isimlendirilmesi projesinde biz hep genel ifadeler verdik. Herkesin kabul edilebilir edebileceği şeyler öne çıkararak hazırladık. Projeyi bir anket sonucuna dayandırarak hazırladık. Öyle olunca da fikirler değişiyor. Veriye dayandığı için, insanlara yol gösteriyor.

[41] Buradaki çalışmalara katılan birçok arkadaş daha duyarlı hale geldi. Özellikle gençler. Aa biz bunları bilmiyorduk bu kadar. Hatta işte ilerlemiş yaşına rağmen bu konulara yeni vakıf olan arkadaşlarımız da yaşama biçimlerini değiştirebiliyor bu konuda.

[42] Süreç değil sonu odaklı bu toplantılar. Bu hikayelerde de genellikle projeyi getiren kimse, yani gündem önerisini yapanın etrafında şeyler ilerler. Nezaket müzakereleri devam eder. Ama gerekçeli değerlendiriyorlar tabi. Yani onun bildiği ile onun kültürüyle farklı yerlerden geldikleri için, farklı yerlerden beslendikleri için farklı görüşler oluşuyor. Ama sonuç olarak şu olmuyor mesela kavga; genellikle biz benim içinde bulunduğum gruplarda olmaz, yani tartışılır, ikna edilmeye çalışılır.

[43] Katılımcıların sabit fikirli pozisyondan çıkıp değişmeye açık olmaları gerekiyor. Belli kutuplaşmalar ve sonuç almak üzere kendi fikirlerini dikte etmeye yönelik hareketler tabii ki var. İlle de şunu yaptıracağım, bunu yaptırmayacağım diyenler oluyor. Fikir değiştirmeye açık olmayonca toplantıların da bir anlamı olmaz zaten.

[44] Daha önceden başka gruba da katılıyordum ama orayı bıraktım. Grubun sözcüsü dediğim dedik bir adamdı. Onun tavrı da diğer üyelere de yansıyordu ister istemez. Oradaki artık tartışma değil, kavga oluyordu. Ben öyle ortamdan hoşlanmadım sonuçta gönüllüyüz. Kimse öyle davranmamalı. Sözcü değiştiğinde oranın kültürü de değişmiş daha deliberative olmuş ama yine de gidesim gelmedi.

[45] Ama sonuç çıkıyor mu? Çıkmıyor. Başlarda Belediye meclisine önerge hazırlayalım diyorduk. Her çalışma grubu kendini buna adapte etmişti. İlk yıl dört tane önerge gitti. Yani o zaman dördü de oy birliğiyle geçti. Ama içinde bir şey yok.

[46] Kent Konseyi'nin bir bütçesi olmadığından etkinlikler projeler yaparken, sıradan STK'lar gibi bütçe bulmak durumunda kalıyoruz.

[47] Şimdi biz ilk çalışma grubu olduğumuz dönemde Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nde bir iklim değişikliği şube müdürlüğü kurulmasını önerdik. İklim Değişikliği ve Uyum Şube Müdürlüğü, Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi bünyesinde kuruldu. Bisiklet yollarıyla ilgili bir öneride bulunduk ki, bisiklet yolu yapılmasıyla ilgili, onlar da yapılmaya başlandı, devam ediyorlar. Yani bunun gibi bir çok örneğimiz var.

[48] Gerçek bir sorunun tartışılması ya da katılım gerektiren bir problemde farklı fikirler duymak isterdim ben. Ama bakıyorsunuz, alelade bir etkinlikte fotoğraf çekinmek için koşturuyorlar.

[49] Ankara Kent Konseyinin benim için en zayıf yanı birden bire çıktı. Çok büyük bir katılımla ortaya çıktı ama arka planı yeteri kadar oluşturulmadı. Her derneğin, STK'nın tüzüğü farklı. Yani herkes kendi çalışma alanını ön plana çıkarmak için bir eylem yaptı, Benim için rahatsızlık veren konulardan bir tanesi bu. Halbuki yani zaten biz dernek olarak kendi işlerimizi yapıyoruz. Gruplarda amacımız bir sorunu çözmek olmamalı. Sorunu tespit edip o sorunla ilgili çözüm önerileri geliştirip bunu ilgili mercilere sunmak olmalı.

[50] Buradan bir şey çıkmaz diyenler de daha çok katılacaklar. O zaman beş altı kişi olmayacağız. Belki elli altmış kişi olacağız. Olumlu sonuçları görünce insanlar, STK'lar daha çok işin içine gireceklerdir.

[51] Müzakere politika düzeyinde anlamlıdır. Politika tartışması kendi içerisinde seçeneklere/tartışmaya ve belli bir ele alış çerçevesine izin veren bir kavramken, konu eyleme geldiğinde binanın yapılması/yıkılması gibi siyah ve beyaz seçeneklere indirildiğinde müzakereye yer kalmıyor. Konseyde yapılmaya çalışılan siyah ve beyazdan alınıp tekrar politika düzeyine taşımak fakat 4 senedir ciddi bir başarı görmüyor.

[52] https://www.democracymatrix.com/ranking

[53] https://freedomhouse.org/country/turkey/freedom-world/2022

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER

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Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Fahriye ÖZÇOBAN ÜSTÜNER

Danışmanlığını yürüttüğünüz Elif Meltem MERMER'in **"Ankara Kent Konseyi'nde Müzakereci Demokrasi Kapsamında Çalışma Grupları ve Meclislerin İncelenmesi"** başlıklı araştırmanız İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülerek gerekli onay **0528-ODTUİAEK-2022** protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.
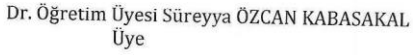
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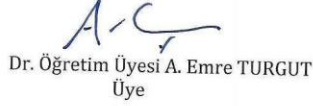Prof. Dr. Sibel KAZAK BERUMENT
Başkan

Doç. Dr. İ.Semih AKÇOMAK
Üye

Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Müge GÜNDÜZ
Üye

Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Şerife SEVİNÇ
Üye

Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Murat Perit ÇAKIR
Üye

Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Süreyya ÖZCAN KABASAKAL
Üye

Dr. Öğretim Üyesi A. Emre TURGUT
Üye

APPENDIX B. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Bu çalışmada Ankara Kent Konseyi'ndeki çalışma grupları ve meclis toplantılarına odaklanılarak, kimilerince temsili demokrasilerin sorunlarına çözüm olarak görülen müzakereci demokrasi uygulaması incelenmiştir. Bu amaç çerçevesinde ikinci bölümde müzakereci demokrasinin ortaya sunuluşuna kadarki temel demokrasi anlayışları üzerinde durulmuştur.

Bilindiği üzere demokrasi tarihi yaklaşık 2500 yıl öncesine yani Antik Yunan şehir devletlerine dayandırılır. Müzakereci demokrasi ise doğası gereği temsili demokraside sistemden uzaklaştırılan vatandaşların bulunduğu sistemi değiştirmeyi amaçlar. Bu sebeple birçok araştırmacı müzakereci demokrasinin kaynağı olarak temsiliyetten uzak olan Antik Yunan şehir devletlerinde uygulanan doğrudan demokrasiyi görürler. Dolayısıyla, müzakereci demokrasi kavramının anlaşılabilmesi için öncelikle kendisini dayandırdığı temel kavramlarım anlaşılması gerekmektedir. Müzakereci demokrasinin birçok araştırmacı tarafından belirtilen "çözüm" olma durumu özellikle doğrudan ve temsili demokrasilerin açıklanması ve bunların problemleri üzerinden gerçekleşmiştir.

Genel anlamda Antik Yunan demokrasisinin özelliği tüm vatandaşlarının yasama, yürütme ve hatta yargıda söz hakkı olmasıdır. Kura yöntemi ile tüm vatandaşlar belirli süreler için devletin tüm organlarında söz sahibi olabilirler. Bu anlamda eşit katılım fırsatları olan Antik Yunan vatandaşları aslında yaşadıkları devletin yöneticileridirler. Ancak modern temsili demokrasilerin problemlerine bir çözüm olarak sunulan müzakereci demokrasinin kaynağı olarak görülmesine rağmen, Antik Yunan şehir devletleri doğrudan demokrasiyi benimseyen ne ilk ne de tek şehir devletiydi. Ayrıca vatandaşlarının tamamının demokrasiye tam katılım hakları olsa da şehirde ikamet edenlerin pek azı vatandaş olarak kabul edilirlerdi. Bu bağlamda kadınlar, farklı şehirlerden gelen yabancılar ve askerlik yapamayanlar vatandaş olamazlardı. Bir başka deyişle, şehirde yaşayanların yalnızca %15 ile %25'i vatandaş sayıldığından, oldukça

dışlayıcı bir anlayış bulunmaktaydı. Bahsi geçen antik demokrasi, ideal olmaktan oldukça uzaktı.

Zamanla demokrasi kavramı değerini kaybetti ve daha sonra tekrar kazandı. Tarihin ilerleyen dönemlerinde özellikle 17. yüzyıldan itibaren demokrasi kavramı cumhuriyetçi ve liberal geleneklerin izinde yeniden şekillenmeye başlamıştır. Özgürlük, birey, akılcılık gibi kavramlar liberal düşünce ile gün yüzüne çıkmıştır. Buradaki en önemli ayrım, Cumhuriyetçi gelenekte bireylerin aktif olarak siyasi faaliyetlere katılımına yani pozitif haklarına atıfta bulunulmasıyken, liberal gelenekte doğal olarak sahip olunan özgürlüklerin korunması yani negatif haklara atıfta bulunulmasıdır. Bu noktada liberal gelenek, bireyi devletten korumayı önemser ki bu amaçla ortaya çıkan kurumlar da modern demokrasinin yapıtaşlarını oluşturur. Bu gelişmelerle birlikte birçok kişinin aşina olduğu temsili demokrasi gündeme gelmeye başlamıştır.

Liberal demokrasinin etkisini bugün dahi hala en doğal haliyle sürdüren diğer bir etkisi ise temsil yetkisidir ve dolayısıyla oy kavramıdır. Böylece vatandaşlar devletteki temsilcileri oy vererek seçebileceklerdir. Mill, Antik Yunan demokrasisinde görülen demokrasinin doğrudan özelliğinin artık uygulanabilir olmadığını, her bir vatandaşın siyasi yönetime katılımının imkansızlığından bahsetmiştir. Bu noktada vatandaşların kendilerini temsil edebilecek ve bürokraside uzman olabilecek kimselere oy vererek, onları kendi haklarını savunacak temsilciler olarak seçebileceklerini açıklar. Mill her vatandaşın eşit oy hakkını savunurken, aynı zamanda devletin tiranlaşmasını engellemek için kimi kurumlar ve mekanizmaların gerekliliğini de savunur.

Demokrasinin temel taşı günümüzde yalnızca seçimlere dayandırılmaktadır. Eşit oy hakkına sahip vatandaşlar, belirli aralıklarla düzenlenen, rekabetçi seçimlerde oy kullanarak içinde bulundukları demokratik rejimin gereklerini yerine getirirler. Demokrasinin seçimlere indirgendiği bu anlayışı kimi araştırmacılar minimal demokrasi olarak isimlendirirken, demokratik bir sistemde oy verme ve seçim mekanizmalarından farklı kurumların da bulunması gerektiğini savunanlar bulunmaktadır. Dahl (1971) demokrasinin en üst noktası hatta ideal bir versiyonunu açıklayarak bunu poliarki olarak isimlendirmiştir. En temel haliyle Dahl demokrasinin sürecine ve kurumlarına da önem atfederek bu süreç için beş kriter bulunduğunu

açıklar. Bunlar tüm yetişkinlerin demokratik süreçlere dahil edilmesi, eşit oy hakkı, etkili katılım, tüm vatandaşların alınacak bir kararın sonucuna dair bilgi sahibi olmaları ve vatandaşların tartışılacak konuları seçebilme hakkıdır. Dahl ideal bir sistem öngörmüştür. Yalnızca seçimlere dayanan demokrasi pek çoklarınca uzlaşmaya varılamaması ya da ideal olmadığı yönünde eleştirilmiştir. Aynı zamanda seçim sonuçlarının tüm katılımcılar tarafından kabul edilebilir olmasının önemi de vurgulanmıştır. Ancak bu sistemde vatandaşların yalnızca seçmenlere indirgendiği ve seçimler haricinde yönetimden uzak tutulduğu da bir gerçektir.

Temsili demokrasi uzun bir süre boyunca en iyi yönetim biçimi olarak görülmüştür. Günümüzde de hala en yaygın yönetim biçimi olması bunun göstergesidir. Ancak yine de eleştiriden ari değildir. Temsili demokrasilere yönelik eleştiriler üç ana probleme dayanmaktadır. Bunların ilki temsili demokrasinin yapıtaşı olan meclislerden yani temsilcilerden yürütmeye doğru yetki ve gücün kayması, ikincisi uluslararası kurumların ulusal devletlere karşı kazandığı güç ve son olarak devletten market ekonomisine doğru kayış gösterilmektedir.

Kısaca bahsetmek gerekirse; yürütmeye geçiş, esas olarak, iktidar arayan gruplar yani siyasi partiler arasındaki rekabete dayalı seçim demokrasisinin meşruiyetini baltalamaktadır. Partilerin temel mekanizmalarından biri siyasi kurumlar ile vatandaşlar arasında arabuluculuk yapmaktır (della Porta, 2008). Ancak geleneksel anlamda kurumların kapasitesindeki gerileme, vatandaşların siyasi partilere olan güveninin azalmasına yol açmaktadır. Vatandaşların partilere güveni azaldıkça, geleneksel temsil kurumlarına olan güvenleri de azaldı. Seçimler, liberal demokrasinin temel geleneksel kurumudur. Dolayısıyla seçimlere güvensizlik, temsili sisteme güvensizliktir.

Küreselleşmenin ulus-devlet demokrasileri üzerindeki etkisi bir başka faktördür. Geleneksel olarak, devletin halkı güçlerini devrettiğinden, devlet tek egemen olarak kabul edilir. Ancak uluslararası kuruluşların başlattığı norm ve düzenlemelerin artmasının yerini ulus devletlerin almaya başlamıştır. Birleşmiş Milletler gibi uluslararası kuruluşlar sözde yaptırım gücüne sahiptir, bu nedenle ulus-devletler önerilen kural ve düzenlemeleri takip etme eğilimindedir. Avrupa Birliği ise uluslar üstü bir örgüt olarak üye devletler üzerinde meşru bir otoriteye sahiptir. Tüm bu

örnekler, ulus devletlerin artık tek egemen olmadığını göstermektedir. Dolayısıyla, temsili sistemlerin seçimsel niteliğine dayanan ulus-devletlerin meşruiyeti, "vatandaşlarının iradesini temsil eden liberal demokrasilerin meşruiyeti" olarak söz konusudur (della Porta, 2013, s. 29).

Diğer bir eleştiri noktası ise gücün devletten piyasaya kaymasıdır. Nitelikli bir demokrasi bireysel hak ve özgürlüklere saygının yanı sıra eşitliği de hedefler. Eşitlik çoğu zaman bir meşruiyet unsuru kaynağı olarak da işlev gören refah politikalarıyla sağlanmaktadır. Ancak ulus-devletlerin, parti-devletlerin ve refah-devletlerin zayıflamaktadır. Kaybedilen güç artık küresel neo-liberal piyasalara kaydığından liberal demokrasi kavramı da zayıflıyor. Habermas (1988) ise devlet kurumlarının, kapitalist neoliberal ekonomi politiğin başarıya ulaşması için hizmet etmek üzere tasarlandığını iddia etmektedir.

Özellikle bu üç temel eleştiriden yola çıkılarak temsili demokrasiye alternatifler aranmıştır. Bu çalışmanın ana konusu müzakereci demokrasi de bu arayışların bir sonucudur. Dolayısıyla bu çalışmanın üçüncü bölümünde müzakereci demokrasi ve onun olmazsa olmaz kurumlarından bahsedilmiştir. Müzakereci demokrasi merkezine iletişimi, katılımı ve müzakereyi almaktadır. Diğer bir temel kavram ise kamusal alan kavramıdır. Kamusal alan üzerine pek çok düşünür tartışmıştır ancak akla genellikle ilk gelenler Kant, Arendt ve Habermas'tır. Bu tezin kapsamında özellikle Habermas'ın müzakereci demokrasi anlayışı üzerine durulduğundan, kamusal alan tartışması da Habermas odağında yapılmıştır. Habermas (1994), temsili-liberal demokrasilerde müzakerenin meşruiyeti için iki temel şartı açıklamaktadır. İlki normatif niteliktedir ve söylem etiği ve iletişim ile ilgilidir. Müzakereci bir ortamda iletişim ve eylem ilkelerinin olması gerektiğini açıklar. İkincisi, kamusal alanla bağlantılı müzakerenin katılımcı doğasıyla ilgilidir.

Habermas kamusal alan kavramını 18. yüzyıldaki kahve evlerinden esinlenerek açıklamıştır. Habermas bunu burjuva kamusal alanı olarak adlandırır. En temel haliyle herkese açık, her çeşit tartışmanın yapılabildiği ve sınıf ayrımı gözetilmediğini açıklar. Habermas'ın kamusal alanı iletişim yoluyla ortaya çıkar ve rasyonel tartışmalar için bir alandır. Bu nedenle, uzamsal bir karaktere sahip olabilir ancak muhakkak mekânsal olmak zorunda da değildir. Esas amaç toplumsal bir fikir oluşturma sürecidir ve

Habermas'a göre kamusal alanda ulaşılacak sonuç uzlaşma (konsensüs) olacaktır. İletişim teorisi de aynı şekilde açıklanan bu kamusal alanlarda doğmuştur. Müzakereci demokrasi teorisini ise bu temelden yola çıkarak kurmuştur. Habermas iletişimin başarılı olması için belirli koşullar koyar. İlk koşul, temelde herkesin eşit konuşma ve dinleme fırsatına sahip olduğu simetri koşuludur. İdeal konuşmanın bir diğer koşulu da konuşmacıların konuşmalarında samimi olmalarıdır. Buradaki samimiyet, en temel anlamda, katılımcıların başkalarını aldatmaya çalışmamaları ve doğruları söylemeleri anlamına gelir. Son koşul ise ahlaki koşuldur. Başka bir deyişle, doğrunun peşinden koşmak ve konuşmak. Kısaca ideal konuşma samimi, doğru ve doğru olandır. Ayrıca Kant'a benzer şekilde Habermas'a göre de insan özgürdür ve zorlanamaz. Yine de kesin bir güç vardır ki bu da daha iyi argümanın gücüdür. "İdeal konuşmayı" takip eden insanlar, konumlarını değiştirecek ve daha iyi argüman üzerinde anlaşacak kadar rasyoneldir. Daha iyi argümanın karşısında fikir değiştirmek de müzakereci demokrasinin belkemiğidir.

Chambers (2003), müzakereci demokrasinin temelde konuşma, iletişim ve irade oluşturma etrafında merkezileşen dört ana ilkesini listeler. Başlangıçta müzakereci demokrasi, karar verme sürecinin rızasının aksine hesap verebilirliğe odaklanır. Chambers (2003), hesap verebilirlik kavramını gerekçelendirme açısından açıklamakla başlar ve "hesap verebilirlik, öncelikle bir şeyin 'hesabını vermek', kamusal olarak ifade etmek, açıklamak ve en önemlisi kamu politikasını haklı çıkarmak olarak anlaşılmaktadır" (s. 308) der. İkinci ilke, müzakere süreçlerinde saygılı, akılcı ve etkileşimli olması gereken iletişim kuralları ile ilgilidir. Üçüncü ilke, sürecin sonuçlarıyla ilgilidir. Genellikle bir müzakere sürecinin sonuçlarının karar verme süreci üzerinde bir etkiye sahip olması beklenir. Son olarak dördüncü ilke, Habermasçı perspektiften gelmektedir, kamusal alan, müzakereci demokrasinin gerçekleştiği normatif bir alandır.

Müzakereci demokrasilerde karar verme, kamusal alanda iletişimsel eylem, yani özgür ve eşit katılım, akıl yürütme ve rasyonel tartışma yoluyla formüle edilen müzakereci bir sürecin sonucudur. Müzakereci demokrasinin ilkelerinin bir kısmını temsili demokrasiden, bir kısmını da doğrudan demokrasiden aldığı sonucu çıkarılabilir. Siyasi ve hukuki ilişkilerin merkezine kamusal tartışmayı koyar. Meşruiyetini oylamaya değil, rasyonel müzakere sürecinin kendisine dayandırır. Liberal

demokrasinin meşruiyetinin katılımcı bir anlayışla yeniden inşa edilmesi gerektiğini vurgulayan bir anlayıştır.

Bahsi geçen ilkeler, müzakereci demokrasinin idealleri olarak kabul edilebilir; ancak, diğer birçok demokrasi teorisi gibi, müzakereci demokrasinin de mükemmel olmadığını belirtmek gerekir. Bu nedenle, gerçek hayattan bir müzakere örneği, ideal biçiminde olmayacağı için açıklanan ilkelerin tümünü içermeyebilir. Ankara Kent Konseyi de bir istisna değildir, çünkü Belediyeler Kanunu'na göre belediye meclislerinin politika belirleme ve karar alma yetkisi yoktur. Bu nedenle, müzakereci demokrasinin diğer gereklilikleri mükemmel olsa bile, kent konseylerinin karar alma yetkisinin olmaması onu idealden uzaklaştırmaktadır. Doğası gereği genellikle yerel ölçekte kalmış olsalar da müzakereci demokrasinin uygulandığı kimi platformlar bulunmaktadır. Bu kurumsal tasarımlardan biri de 1970'lerden beri bazı ülkelerde uygulanan mini kamulardır (Chwalisz, 2019). Mini-kamular bağımsız ve modere edilen, rastgele bir vatandaş örneklemindeki grup tartışmalarıdır. Adından da anlaşılacağı gibi, mini-kamuların amacı, halkın tüm üyelerinin belirli bir konuda müzakere için yeterli zaman ve kaynağa sahip olması durumunda ne olacağını anlamayı amaçlayan halkın mini versiyonunu oluşturmaktır. Mini toplulukların tasarımı, daha sonra modere edilen küçük gruplar halinde tartışacak olan çeşitli ve kapsayıcı katılımcı grupları elde etmeyi amaçlar. Yine de görüşlerini savunurken müzakere ilkelerini takip etmeleri beklenir Niemeyer (2011), müzakereci demokrasi için ampirik verilerin çoğunluğunun küçük kamulardan geldiğini iddia eder. Bunun nedeni, mini kamuların tasarım olarak müzakere için neredeyse laboratuvar deneyleri olması ve bu kadar küçük bir grupta sürecin kontrol edilmesinin daha kolay olmasıdır.

Müzakereci demokrasinin uygulanmasında birçokları tarafından savunulan ve olumlu sonuçları açıklanan mini-kamular diğerlerince eleştirilmiştir de. Özellikle müzakereler için ayrılan süre kısıtı ve ülke nüfusuna oranla ölçek problemi temel eleştirilerdendir. Ayrıca vatandaşların müzakere için motive olmayacağı da tartışılmıştır. Mini-kamulara karar verme gücü vererek motivasyon sorununa çözüm getirilebileceğini savunanlar da bulunmaktadır. Ancak bu çalışmada incelenen kent konseyleri için çok da geçerli olmayabilir. 1990'lı yıllardan itibaren Belediyeler Kanunu ile kent konseylerine yasal statü verilmiştir. Kanun yaklaşık 30 yıl önce yasal statü sağlamış olmasına rağmen, 2019 yılına kadar belediye meclislerinden yararlanmadı. Bu

nedenle, doğrudan karar alma yetkisi verilmesi oldukça talepkâr olacaktır. Birçok katılımcı, Ankara Kent Konseyi'nin karar alma yetkisi bulunmamasına rağmen, belediyeye tavsiye niteliğinde kararname sunma yetkisine sahiptir. Ek olarak, pek çok akademisyenin ve görüşülen pek çok kişinin iddia ettiği gibi, küçük kamuların eğitici etkilere odaklanması gerekir. Ayrıca, kent konseylerinin halihazırda tanımlanmış bir soruna doğrudan bir çözüm bulmaya çalışmak yerine, vatandaşların karşı karşıya olduğu sorunları ve olası sorunları belirleme alanı olması gerektiğini de savunulmaktadır.

Bu çalışmanın amacı müzakereci demokrasinin yerel pratikte uygulanabilirliğini ve kalitesini ölçmektedir. Dolayısıyla dördüncü bölümde bu amaç çerçevesinde hem nitel hem de nicel yöntemler kullanılarak elde edilen sonuçlar ile bu sonuçların tartışması yapılmıştır. Ankara Kent Konseyi'nce düzenlenen "Ankara Kent Konseyi Pandeminin Gençlik Üzerindeki Etkilerini Masaya Yatırdı" ile "Pandemide Yiyecek-İçecek Sektörü ve Etkilenenler Toplantısı" toplantıları Ugarriza ve Nussio (2016) tarafından geliştirilen söylem kalite indeksi ölçeği revize edilerek yararlanılmıştır. Ölçek öncelikle Habermas'ın söylem etiği kuralları çerçevesinde oluşturulmuştur. Bu bağlamda beş ana ilkeyi ölçmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bunlar katılım, saygı, gerekçelendirme, genel iyiye yönelme ve fikir değiştirme eğilimini ölçmektedir. Bu amaçla toplam 13 indikatör puanlanmıştır. Nicel ölçüme ek olarak daha detaylı bir anlayışa sahip olmak adına kent konseyi çalışma grupları ve meclis toplantıları katılımcıları ile yarı-yapılandırılmış mülakatlar da yapılmıştır. Toplam yedi katılımcı ile gerçekleştirilen. Mülakat sonuçları da incelenmiş ve nicel ölçümlerden elde edilen sonuçlarla karşılaştırılmıştır.

Nicel ölçek puanları 0 ya da 1'dir. Ölçek puanlama kurallarına göre 1 daha müzakereci bir söylemi işaret ederken, 0 müzakereden uzak olduğunu göstermektedir. İki farklı toplantı kaydı için toplamda 45 söylem puanlanmıştır. Her bir söylem için 13 indikatörün ortalaması alınmıştır. Toplantılar için de aynı şekilde ortalama puanlarına göre yorum yapılmıştır. Bu durumda ortalaması 0,50'den yüksek olan indikatörlerin müzakereci kurallara uygun olarak gerçekleştiği ve daha müzakereci bir yapıda oldukları söylenebilir.

Kısaca beş ana ilkeyi açıklamak gerekirse; açık katılım ilkesi akademisyenler arasında müzakereci demokrasinin ana tartışmalarından biri olmuştur. Kimileri tüm vatandaşların tartışmalara katılmakta ve katkıda bulunmakta özgür olması gerektiğini iddia etmektedir. Genellikle tüm vatandaşların katılımı gerekli görülse de tüm vatandaşların katılımı oldukça gerçekçi olmadığı için 'ne ölçüde' sorusu çözülmeden kalmaktadır. Diğerleri ise her bir vatandaşın bir şekilde müzakereye katılmasının neredeyse imkânsız olduğunu, bu nedenle rastgele seçilmiş birkaç vatandaştan oluşan bir grup arasındaki müzakerenin de yeterli olacağını savunmaktadırlar. Bu daha önce de açıklandığı üzere bir mini-kamudur. Ancak ölçek, kimlerin katıldığını değil, katılımcıların toplantı sırasında konuşup konuşmadıklarını ve diğer katılımcılar tarafından kesintiye uğrayıp uğramadıklarını ölçer.

Diğer bir ilke olan karşılıklı saygı, hem dinleyici hem de konuşmacı, tüm katılımcılar için müzakerede önemli bir unsurdur. Ancak saygı unsurunun tanımı ve kapsamı konusunda bir uzlaşma bulunmamaktadır. Habermas, müzakereler sırasındaki tüm saygısız atfedilen argümanların doğal olarak ideal tartışma ortamında barınamayacağını savunurken; diğerleri, hiç dikkate dahi alınmaması gereken çok saygısız bazı argümanların olabileceğini savunur. Ayrıca tartışmalar sırasında tartışmalara veya kişilere saygı gösterilmesi gerekip gerekmediğine ilişkin kimi tartışmalar da bulunmaktadır. Ölçek katılımcıların kendilerinin saygılı davranıp davranmadıklarını ve tartışıp tartışmadıklarını ölçer. Bu anlamda yalnıza konuşma dili puanlanmaktadır. Ancak ölçek konuya ilişkin nüanslı veriler sağlayamadığı için, diğer ilkelerde olduğu gibi saygı ilkesi konusunda da mülakatlar çok daha detaylı bir bakış açısı sağlamıştır.

Habermas (1996), kendi iletişimsel eylem teorisine atıfta bulunarak, tartışmalar sırasındaki tüm argümanların diğer katılımcılarca kabul edilebilir olması için rasyonel olarak gerekçelendirilmesi gerektiğini açıklar.

Bir diğer ilke ise ortak iyiye yönelimdir. Müzakereci tartışmalar sırasında genel çıkarları kişisel çıkarların önüne koymak olarak özetlenebilir. Ortak iyi, en basit haliyle genel toplumun iyiliğini düşünmek ve dayanışma duygusu olarak açıklanabilir. Katılımcılar tarafından kişisel çıkar sunulsa bile, bunlar her zaman genel halk lehine gerekçelendirilmelidir. Ölçek, konuşmacıların kişisel çıkar güdüsüyle motive olup

olmadıklarını ve katılımcıların kamu yararına ne ölçüde ilgilendiklerini ölçmeyi amaçlar.

Habermas (1996), "daha iyi argümanın zorlamasız gücü" (s. 302) ifadesiyle, siyasi kararların müzakereci demokrasinin özüne götüren rasyonel argümanlara dayalı olarak alınması gerektiğini savunur. En temel anlamda, daha iyi argümanın gücü, her katılımcının özgür ve eşit olduğu tartışma sırasında bir anlaşmaya varmak olarak özetlenebilir. Böyle bir durumda, daha iyi bir argümanın gücü sadece doğal olacaktır. Çünkü her argüman rasyoneldir, saygılıdır ve kamu yararı lehine haklıdır; rasyonel vatandaşlar, dış güç olmaksızın bu tür daha iyi argümanlar üzerinde hemfikir olacaktır. Ölçek katılımcıların daha iyi argümanların gücüne yönelik eğilimlerini ölçmeyi amaçlar.

Nitel araştırma yöntemi olarak çalışma grupları ve meclis toplantılarının katılımcıları ile yarı yapılandırılmış mülakatlar yapılmıştır. Görüşmeler tümdengelimci bir yaklaşımla analiz edilmiştir. Tümdengelim analizinde Habermas'ın söylem etiği kurallarından çıkarılan beş temel söylem etiği ilkelerinden yararlanılmıştır. Yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmelerde sorulan sorular, cevaplayıcılardan bu beş temel ilkeye ilişkin fikir edinebilmek amacıyla hazırlanmıştır. Bu beş ilke kapsamında ele alınmamış olabilecek diğer konular için de ek sorular sorulmuştur. Amaç, katılımcılar ve prosedürler hakkında derinlemesine bir anlayış kazanmaktır. Toplam yedi katılımcı ile görüşülmüştür. Görüşmeler, görüşülen kişilerin onayını takiben not alma amacıyla ses kaydına alınmıştır.

Mülakatlar ve Söylem Kalitesi İndeksi ölçüsü, Habermas'ın söylem etiği kurallarından türetilen aynı temel göstergelere sahiptir. Ancak, görüşmelerden elde edilen veriler ile video kayıtlarından elde edilen veriler arasında bazı farklılıklar vardır. Açık katılım ilkesi ile devam etmek gerekirse; her iki oturumun video kaydı, katılım puanının mükemmel olduğunu göstermektedir. Ancak, mülakat sonuçları tam aksini göstermektedir. Mülakatlarda, çalışma grupları ve meclis toplantıları sırasında ciddi katılım sorunlarının ortaya çıktığını gösterdi. Bireylerin toplantılara katılmaları resmi olarak engellenmemekle birlikte başka kısıtlamalar mevcuttur. Katılımcı profili, yüksek eğitimli, istikrarlı bir gelire sahip ve genellikle yaşı büyük olan kişilerin boş zamanları ve kaynakları olduğu için toplantılara katıldığını göstermektedir. Bu,

toplantıların çoğu mesai saatleri içinde yapıldığından, özellikle maddi açıdan daha az şanslı olan kişilerin düzenli olarak katılmakta zorlanacağını gösterir. Ek olarak, daha önce de belirtildiği gibi, katılımcıların çoğu yüksek eğitimliydi. Eğitim açığı, daha az eğitimli bireylerin katılımını engelleyebilir.

Katılımcılardan biri, gerçek endişeleri olan kişilerin toplantılara katılamayacağını savundu. Katılımcı profili dikkate alındığında bu endişenin sebebi anlaşılabilir. Öncelikle, katılımcılar arasında cinsiyet eşitsizliği vardır. Görüşülen yedi kişiden sadece biri kadındı. Aynı şekilde puanlanan kırk beş konuşmadan sadece altısı kadındı. Bu da bu toplantılara katılanların yaklaşık %13'ünün kadın olduğu anlamına geliyor. İkincisi, görüşülen kişilerin tümü en azından üniversite mezunuydu. Toplantıların katılımcıları da benzer eğitim geçmişlerine sahipti. Ancak veriler video kayıtlarından elde edildiğinden kesin bir teyit yolu olmadığı belirtilmelidir.

Habermas (1996) müzakereci demokrasinin merkezine müzakere sürecini koymaktadır. Müzakere sürecinin kalbinde, daha sonra pek çok düşünür tarafından kapsayıcı olmadığı gerekçesiyle eleştirilen kapsayıcı kamusal alan yatmaktadır. Daha az şanslı geçmişe sahip bireylerin dahil edilmesiyle ilgili olarak müzakereci demokrasiye yönelik birçok eleştiri vardır. Setala (2014), içerme ve dışlama kavramlarını, demokrasi ve müzakerenin merkezi normatif kavramları oldukları için açıklar. İçerme, temel anlamda, bir siyasi topluluğun tüm üyelerinin kamusal karar alma sürecinde söz sahibi olmasıdır. Dışlama, kamusal müzakere veya karar vermede belirli bir bakış açısına izin vermemekle birlikte, müzakere sürecinde belirli bakış açılarının göz ardı edilmesiyle ortaya çıkabilir. Habermas'ın tasavvur ettiği burjuva kamusal alanı, Young tarafından da eleştirilir, çünkü daha iyi eğitimli insanların oldukça marjinalleşmiş gruplara göre avantajlı olması muhtemel olduğu için dışlanmaya yol açabilir. Eğitimin gerekliliği, daha iyi eğitimli, orta sınıf gibi belirli grupların egemenliğine ve zaten marjinalize edilmiş grupların daha da marjinalleşmesine yol açabilir. Öte yandan Fraser'ın (1990) eleştirileri feminist bakış açısına sahiptir. O, Habermas'ın, kamusal alanın kapsayıcı olması gerekse de kadınları ve marjinal grupları dışlayıcı olması temelinde tasavvur ettiği bir başka kamusal alan eleştirisidir. Açık katılım kesinlikle müzakereci demokrasinin temel bir ilkesi olarak Ankara Kent Konseyi'nde mevcuttur. Ancak süreç, bazı katılımcıların da eleştirdiği gibi öncelikle gerçek bir katılım için tasarlanmadığı için, katılımcılar çoğunlukla

zamanı olan, maddi sorunu olmayan kişilerdir. Bu elitist bir yaklaşım olarak eleştirilebilir.

Saygı indikatörü ise 0,53 olarak ölçülmüştür. Bu oldukça düşük puan, kalitesiz bir süreci işaret eder ancak mülakatlar ölçek sonuçlarının tersini göstermektedir. Mülakatlarda, katılımcıların birbirlerine saygılı olduklarını, fikirlerini paylaşırken küfür kullanmaktan kaçındıklarını açıkça ifade etmişlerdir. Buradaki sorun ölçeğin kendisinde görünüyor. Saygı göstergesinin 1 puan alması için katılımcının saygılı ifadeleri açık bir şekilde kullanması gerekir. Katılımcılar açıkça saygılı ifadeler kullanmamış olsalar bile, bu onların saygısız olduklarını göstermez. Ek olarak, ölçülmeyen sözel olmayan saygı ifadelerini de işaret etmiş olabilirler. Benzer şekilde mütekabiliyet göstergesi de açık ifadeler üzerinden puanlanmaktadır. Bu, mülakat verileriyle daha fazla korelasyon göstermektedir, çünkü bazı katılımcılar, bazen katılımcıların sadece katıldıklarını ifade etmek yerine aynı pozisyonu tekrar tekrar açıklamalarını eleştirmektedir.

Gerekçelendirme ilkesi, saygı ilkesinden daha iyi puan aldı. İki seans arasında ciddi fark bulunmaktadır. Buradaki farkın toplantıların konusundan kaynaklandığı yorumlanmaktadır. İkinci Oturum yiyecek-içecek sektörü çalışanlarının mücadeleleri üzerine olması nedeniyle sorunlarının daha çok ekonomik odaklı olması, çözüm üretmekten çok sorunlarını aktarmalarına neden olmuş olabilir. Katılımcıların birçoğu pandemi sürecinde yaşadıkları sorunları basitçe dile getirdiler ve üzerinde durmadılar. Birinci oturumda ise pandemi sürecinde gençlerin karşılaştığı sorunlar ele alındı. Konu daha çok sorunları belirlemeye yönelikti. Bazıları da olası çözümler önerdi. Bu nedenle, argümanlarını sağlam gerekçelere dayandırmaya daha meyilliydiler.

Müzakereci demokrasinin bir başka ilkesi de ortak iyi yönelimidir. Oturumlar arasında en yüksek puan farkı bu ilkede gözlenmiştir. Genel puan 0,75 olup, bu açıdan oldukça yüksek kaliteyi göstermektedir. Veriler aynı zamanda mülakat sonuçlarıyla da uyumludur. Katılımcılar, bazı katılımcıların kişisel ağ kurmayı veya derneklerinin görünürlüğünü artırmayı hedeflediğini, ama genel çoğunluğun içinde yaşadıkları toplumun sorunlarıyla ilgilendiğini ifade ettiler.

Ölçümün son bölümü, daha iyi argüman gücü göstergesi ile ölçülen değişim eğilimi ilkesidir. Tüm göstergeler arasında en düşük puanı almıştır. Katılımcıların yalnızca

%20'sinin daha iyi tartışmalarla karşılaştıklarında pozisyon değiştirme isteklerini ifade ettiğini gösterir. Söylem etiğinin temel değerlerinden biri olmasına rağmen bu ilkenin neredeyse hiç gerçekleşmediği yorumlanabilir. Ancak buradaki problem yine ölçeğin puanlama kurallarından kaynaklanmaktadır. Ölçek, görüş değiştirmeye yönelik açık bir ifade olduğunda 1 puan almaktadır. Ancak katılımcıların daha iyi argümanların gücünü tek bir oturumda ifade etmeleri görece zordur. Öte yandan, katılımcılarla yapılan görüşmeler, göstergenin oldukça düşük görünen puanının aslında yanıltıcı olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Her katılımcı, bazı aşırı durumlar dışında, daha iyi argümanların olduğu zamanlarda herkesin ikna olduğunu, fikir birliğine varıldığını ifade ettiler.

Bu bağlamda, Ankara Kent Konseyi'nin karar alma mekanizmalarının eksikliği, katılımla ilgili kimi problemlerin bulunması ya da kurumsal yapısının henüz genç olması sebebiyle henüz oturmamış olması ile ilgili problemleri bulunmaktadır. Ancak yine de müzakereci demokrasi ilkelerine olabildiğince bağlı kalındığı gözlenmektedir. Birçok düşünürün de ifade ettiği gibi, müzakereci demokrasi zamanla yaygınlaştığında ve ilkeleri benimsendikçe kalitesinin de zamanla artacaktır. Ayrıca toplulukta birliktelik ve toleransın artmasına da katkıda bulunacağı söylenebilir.

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