



**COMPARATIVE ANALYSES OF LOCAL
GOVERNMENT: CASE OF AFGHANISTAN,
INDIA AND TURKIYE**

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**COMPARATIVE ANALYSES OF LOCAL GOVERNANCE: CASE
OF AFGHANSIATAN, INDIA AND TURKIYE**

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THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

I certify that in my opinion the thesis submitted by Shamsuddin JALALI titled “COMPARATIVE ANALYSES OF LOCAL GOVERNANCE CASE OF: AFGHANSIATAN, INDIA AND TURKIYE” is fully adequate in scope and in quality as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

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This thesis is accepted by the examining committee with a unanimous vote in the Department of Political Science and Public Administration as a Master of Arts thesis. June 13, 2022

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The degree of Master of Science by the thesis submitted is approved by the Administrative Board of the Institute of Graduate Programs, Karabuk University.

Prof. Dr. Hasan SOLMAZ

Director of the Institute of Graduate Programs

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own work and all information included has been obtained and expounded in accordance with the academic rules and ethical policy specified by the institute. Besides, I declare that all the statements, results, materials, not original to this thesis have been cited and referenced literally.

Without being bound by a particular time, I accept all moral and legal consequences of any detection contrary to the aforementioned statement.

Name Surname: SHAMSUDDIN JALALI

Signature :

FOREWORD

I would like to thank many people for their support while acquiring my master's degree at Karabuk University. Since space is limited here, I would like to mention a few of them by name. I am very grateful to the Public Administration's department's head Assoc.Prof.Dr. Kemal YAMAN, who guided me step by step in the process of writing this thesis and logically conclude my submission. Without his contribution, it would not have been possible to complete my thesis on a timely basis. I would also like to thank the administrative staff and all the academic personnel who were part of my education. I found them very helpful and supportive. I would also like to thank valuable academicians, who were part of my thesis committee, and my friends and colleagues who assisted me during the collection of needed data which was used in this thesis. Finally, I would like to thank my beloved family, especially my mother for patiently supporting and motivating me throughout my education.

ABSTRACT

This study analyses the systems of local government in Afghanistan, India, and Türkiye. Despite many efforts, the local government in Afghanistan has still remained inefficient. India, meanwhile, as a country with a high population, has built their local government based on the country's ancient populist structures which has proved to be very efficient. Türkiye as a country with the experience of local government practices from the times of Ottoman Empires, has been able to improve the local government system of the Ottoman era to make useful. This thesis studies the local government systems in terms of their concept, history, structure, local government autonomy in the mentioned countries in to find out the reasons for the inefficiency of Afghan local government, success of the Indian local government system and how the Turkish local government system managed to be productive despite of having a centralized government. The findings of the research indicate that Afghanistan has never experienced a government that shows willingness to share their power with local authorities; While in India the authorities have been able to successfully incorporate their ancient populist structures into their legal governmental system, Türkiye is also found to have been able to build a functional local government system by changing the elitism approach of the Ottomans to the popularize approach of the republicans.

Keywords: Local Administration; Autonomy; Authority; Power.

ÖZ

Bu çalışma Afganistan, Hindistan ve Türkiye'deki yerel yönetim sistemlerini incelemektedir. Birçok çabaya rağmen Afganistan'daki yerel yönetim hala savunmasız ve verimsiz kalmıştır, öte yandan Hindistan, nüfusu yüksek bir ülke olarak yerel yönetimlerini ülkenin çok verimli olduğu kanıtlanmış eski popülist yapılarına dayanarak inşa etmiştir. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu döneminde günümüze kadar yerel yönetim uygulamaları tecrübesine sahip bir ülke olan Türkiye, Osmanlı dönemi yerel yönetim sistemini olumlu yönde geliştirerek daha kullanışlı hale getirebilmiştir. Bu tez, söz konusu ülkelerdeki yerel yönetim sistemlerini kavramı, tarihi, yapısı, halkın katılımı ve yerel özerkliği açısından inceleyerek, Afgan yerel yönetiminin neden etkisiz kaldığını, Hindistan yerel yönetim sisteminin neden son derece etkili olduğunu ve güçlü bir merkezi yönetim sistemine sahip olmasına rağmen Türk yerel yönetim sisteminin nasıl daha verimli olmayı başardığı gibi sorulara cevap vermektedir. Bu araştırmanın bulgularına göre, Afganistan'ın yerel yönetimlerle yetki paylaşımı konusunda anlaşmaya varacak bir hükümeti hiç deneyimlemediği tespit edilmiştir. Bu nedenle Afganistan Yerel yönetim sistemi şimdiye kadar beklentileri karşılayamamıştır. Hindistan örneğinde ise yetkililer, eski popülist yapılarını hükümet yapılarına başarıyla dahil edebildiler ve bu birleşmenin Hindistan yerel yönetim sistemi için çok verimli olduğu kanıtlanmıştır. Ayrıca, Türkiye'de Cumhuriyet döneminde halkın katılımı konusuna daha fazla odaklanılmıştır ve Osmanlı'nın elitiz anlayışını cumhuriyetçilerin halkçılık anlayışına çevirerek işlevsel bir yerel yönetim sistemi kurabildiği de tespit edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yerel Yönetim; Özerklik; Otorite; Güç.

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ABBREVIATIONS

GVK :Gunapati Venkata Krishna

IARCSC: The Independent Administrative Reform and Civil Service Commission

IDLG : Independent Directorate of Local Government

ISG : Local Self Government

LSG : Local Self Government

MLA :Member of the Legislative Assembly

MP : Member of Parliament

NPM : New Public Management

OAA :Office of Administrative Affairs

OBS :Other Backward Classes

PRIs : Panchayati Raj Institutions

SC :Scheduled Castes

SPA : Special Provincial Administration

ST :Scheduled Tribes

TOKI :Housing Development Administration of Türkiye

SUBJECT OF THE RESEARCH

Efficiency of the local government system within different social, cultural, historical and political spheres.

PURPOSE AND IMPORTANCE OF THE RESEARCH

This thesis studies the efficiency of local government systems within different social, cultural, historical, and political spheres. For this reason, the primary objective of this research paper is to investigate country with the differences from one another. Therefore, due to the vast cultural social and historical differences from one another Afghanistan, India and Türkiye have been chosen as the principal cases to be investigated in this study. The study evaluates the local government institutions in the Afghanistan, India and Türkiye in terms of their concept, history, administrative structure, people participation, administrative and fiscal autonomy, reforms, and obstacles. Studying the local government systems in societies with vast cultural, social, and historical differences from one another could on one hand provide us with a wider understanding of the traditionally dominated local administrative system. on the other hand, it will enlighten us about the socially and culturally dominated problem-solving approaches that has been used in these societies to sort out the local governance challenges.

METHOD OF THE RESEARCH

The quantitative research method has been primarily used as data collection method for this research paper and the collection was conducted using academic publications, websites, magazines, indexes, and other publicized documents. Keeping the importance of the research methodology in mind, efforts have been made to collect the relevant research data from the most reliable resources such as Library Genesis, ResearchGate, DergiPark, Academia, and most importantly, Google Scholar. After the data were collected, they were scrutinized and the most relevant information extracted, and conceptualized. Finally, the gained knowledge was applied to the relevant research parts of this study.

RESEARCH PROBLEM

Afghanistan, despite being a country with a rich history and culture, is yet to have a comprehensive and efficient system of local governance that could meet the needs of its people. India, as the largest democracy in the world, is a country that has built a local government system based on its ancient traditional practices.

The country also added some improvisations to its local administration in order to make it up to the standards of the modern world also meet the needs of its people. Türkiye, on the other hand, is a country located in the strategic location between Europe and Asia.

The current local administrative system in Türkiye is also the modernized and improvised form of the local government system that has left for the country from the times of the Ottomans and after the establishment of the modern Türkiye, the republic preferred to carry on with the same administrative system only with accretion of some reforms in it.

Consequently, in this study it is attempted to explain why several attempts to build a useful local government system in Afghanistan haven't yielded any results yet. Furthermore, based on the experiences and approaches of the two other cases in this study, the paper provides the required recommendations for the improvement of the Afghan local government system. Also, the efficiency and the success degree of the approaches taken by India and Türkiye to build their local government system based on ancient traditions and structure are questions to be answered in this study.

SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS / DIFFICULTIES

In this study, the local government systems in terms of concept, history, structure, public participation and local autonomy in three countries, namely as; Afghanistan, India and Türkiye are analyzed and evaluated. The study investigates local administrative systems providing services to the 947.152.699 million rural population of the mentioned countries. The researcher had also faced a few difficulties while conducting the research. Firstly, the covid-19 restrictions such as the travel restrictions and closer of academic institutions and libraries have limited researchers' accessibility to academic data as well as traveling to Afghanistan and India in order to

carry on with the cases study in the field. Secondly, The lack of available academic resources in the field of local government. Specifically, in case of Afghanistan. People in Afghanistan have limited access to the Internet and academic institutions such as universities do not publish conducted academic research online on the internet. Furthermore, lack of public knowledge and interest regarding the issue yielded government due to which, despite several attempts, the researcher was unable to collect public opinions about the subject of the research. Finally, lack of financial resources has been one of the main obstacles for researchers to conduct research. Most of the books and academic publications available online are not for free and they are only available after the required amount is paid. This issue had sometimes limited the ability of the researcher to get the required data.

1. CHAPTER ONE: LOCAL GOVERNANCES

1.1. Introduction To the Local Governance

Özer and Akçakaya (as cited in, Kpentey, 2019, p. 172) reported that local governments, in broad sense, are governmental institutions with distinct resources, expenditures, and employees, with Constitutional responsibilities and powers, and whose decision-making bodies are selected by the local people to satisfy the collective needs of the people living in a specific territory. Therefore, one can say that a local government is an administrative unit of the central government that is responsible for administering the affairs of a specific territory and providing services to the people of that specific territory. It is the local government that connects the local people with the central government. The local government is responsible for local people residing in the areas under its jurisdiction. The aim of the local government is to empower the local people and enhance their capabilities by creating an environment for their healthy growth so that the people themselves get involved in the government decision making process because making and implementation of policies in the process of which the local people are not involved cannot produce the desired results. Participation in democratic countries can help solve multi-dimensional problems. This it takes the burden off the shoulders of the government at the local as well as the central levels. Local government within the boundaries of law gives a substantial amount of power and authority to local officials which they can use for the interests of the local people and area under their jurisdiction (Thapa, 2020, p. 4-7).

1.1.1. Concept and Theory of The Local Governance

Sidgwick (as cited in, Ndreu, 2016, p.3) described local governance in his book "Elements of Politics" as a "government of certain sub organs with specific authorities and powers to enforce policies or rules within the region they control". Due to cultural, historical, and resources differences between the nations of the world every nation has a different ideology or understating of the local government. Studying the concept of the local government by the country could help us understand their concept of local government. Understanding the concept and theory of local government as they operate in each of the aforementioned countries with different cultural, historical, and

social backgrounds of the local government would lead us towards some useful outcomes which could be used to strengthen the local governments of the countries with relevant differences from one another.

1.1.2. History of the Local Governance

Local government emerged as organized institutions in almost every society in order to increase its effectiveness in the field of local public services. These organizations have emerged in parallel with the historical developments of societies in order to achieve certain goals and respond to certain needs in the local community (Grote, Lachenmann, and Wolfrum 2016, p. 4). Knowledge about the history of local government in a country helps us better understating the current concept of the local government in the specified state.

1.1.3. Type and Structure of The Local Governance

The structure of local government is made up of a variety of stakeholders working together to achieve the shared purpose of providing a service to the inhabitants of the area. Under the local government system, the council is the most important organ. The structure of the local government primarily consists of the council which is the central representative organ of local government. Every unit of local representative government requires the presence of a council. The position of the council as a legislative body varies by country, depending on the development and dynamics of local government processes in the relevant country (Humes and Martin, 1969 pp. 80-81). Structure plays an important role in the overall performance of the government system. Unless the government has a strong structure, which is suitable and compatible with its social, historical, and cultural roots, it cannot meet the needs of its nation.

1.1.4. Local Government Democracy

Devolution of authority and duty to political institutions at the village, municipal, towns, districts, counties, and similar regional level, but not entirely, via elective mayors, councils, and other local officials is referred to as "local democracy." It means that the locally elected people representatives are allowed by law to act freely within the limits of law in order to implement the tasks given to them. Local officials

must be chosen democratically through general elections. Local democracy aims to ensure that government laws meet the goals and preferences of the people who live there. Successful local democracy can encourage social involvement, quality management, community strengthening, and economic growth. Even if some states meet basic democratic standards at the national level, they are only moderately democratic at the local level, with dark realities of totalitarianism, aristocracy, or corruption remaining inside them. Other nations have very well local democratic structures that can provide a more open and integrated kind of democracy than at the national scale. Successful local democracy is becoming more acknowledged as a requirement for guaranteeing long-term and equitable growth of the economy, better governance, and the promotion of liberal principles (Bulmer, 2017, pp. 3-5). The local government democracy can effectively be evaluated through assessment of executive authority at the local level, taking a look at the fiscal autonomy of the local authorities and participation of public in the local-level decision-making process. Pratchett (as cited in, Celikturk and Kus, 2017, p. 237) stated that the terms "local democracy" and "local autonomy" are frequently used interchangeably. He further explains that local democracy is a larger term that also incorporates local autonomy. The establishment of an autonomous local government system is a requirement for local democracy. Local authorities must have independent governance in order to function as a site where politics takes place and where varied interests clash and resolve. Studying the relationship between the central governments and local governments will enable us to effectively analyze the degree to which the reform studies were democratic and participatory, and whether they were pro-local autonomy. The relations between the central and local governments in a country's public administration system are formalized as a result of the country's historical process's social, economic, political, and administrative structure. For this reason, the political, administrative, and socio-cultural system that developed during the historical phase has an effect on the country's situation in terms of relationships between both administrative levels. Administrative tutelage and local autonomy are the two main principles in the relationship between the central government and local governments.

1.1.4.1. Local Autonomy

Vedinaş (as cited in, Zaharia and Bilouseac, 2009, p. 810) illustrated that local autonomy could be divided into two parts the administrative and fiscal. The administrative independence of local officials means to what extent do the officials at the local level are independent in planning and implementation of their policies or to what extent the central government has influence over the policy and decision-making process on the local government. On the other hand, Ogunna (as cited in, Okafor, 2010, p.126) described fiscal autonomy as the ability of a local government to hire and administer its own workforce, generate and handle its very own revenues and funds, create laws and regulations in this regard with its fiscal issues, and carry out its tasks as prescribed by law with intervention from higher governmental authorities.

1.1.4.2. Public Participation

Direct or indirect engagement via representatives of relevant parties in decision-making regarding policies, strategies, or policies in which they have a stake is referred to as public engagement or people participation. Stakeholders can be certain groups of people, individuals, parties, or entities who have a claim on an institution's or other entity's interest, assets, or outputs and can influence or be impacted by government policies. Stakeholders may engage with local authorities, elected parties, nonprofit groups, and various organizations that formulate or implement public policies and programs via public involvement (Quick and Bryson, 2016, p. 1). Citizens are assumed to be essential stakeholders in democratic governments because they may engage in the creation, approval, and execution of legislation and rules that impact them explicitly or implicitly via elected representatives. In democracies, democratic engagement is thus an essential component of the public–government interaction. People participation could be in two different ways. First is the temporary and limited participation such as attending meetings in certain places or citizen surveys. Secondly, the participation could be more influential or direct, this type of participation requires continuous and long-term public involvement. The second type of public participation can be in two stages; The first stage is the direct participation of people in elections and the voting process, while the second stage requires public engagement. The people engaged in the decision-making process of the government are done via; People's

Councils, Mass Organizations, and through Private Sector Representatives. In addition, community meetings are organized to discuss and even take decisions regarding social and political issues (ACVN, 2009, pp. 10-12). Public participation serves a variety of functions. These can also include meeting statutory obligations, emulating representative democracy involvement and participation principles, expanding social justice, spreading awareness, improving public problem understanding and finding and developing alternative approaches, and producing higher-quality measures, strategies, and developments in terms of content (Bryson et al., 2013 p. 3). Moynihan (as cited in, Quick and Bryson 2016, pp. 3-4) reported that participants could contribute to bureaucratic decision-makers and help the public become more aware and build a broader vision of national matters by sharing new knowledge, diverse perspectives on a situation, and incentive to find solutions. Engagement from the public could also help to ensure a more appropriate allocation of government funds by boosting trust and confidence, establishing relationships, and developing knowledge and interest about government concerns, it can also provide means for better problem-solving and execution to solve new public challenges. Active people participation results in a strong people-oriented government, the people can hold the authorities accountable for their responsibilities.

1.1.5. Reforms and Decentralization in The Local Governance

In order to promote democracy and increase the efficiency of the government policies most of the scholars in the world have come to the conclusion of providing local administration with political and economic autonomy but the main obstacle against the occurrence of this idea is the will of the central governments. For many reasons central governments always want to keep the whole power within their hands. This could be because of distrust between central and local authorities, usage of the resources, etc. Görmez (as cited in, Özden, 2007, p. 386) illustrated that keeping the entire power inside the center results in centralization of the power at the hands of certain groups which will eventually lead to sidelining of the local democracy and local participation. The implementation of democracy in smaller administrative units is easier, and it enables the citizens to act more democratically and influence the actions and policies of the local authorities and actively participate in the decision-making

process of their countries. In the meantime, the local government plays an important role in restricting the power of the central government and providing more freedom to the citizens of the local areas. Therefore, most of the countries in the world have started to implement some decentralization reforms. Erylmaz (as cited in, Ozmen, 2014, p. 415) reported that the main goal behind the ongoing reforms is to decentralize the power and autonomy of the central government by sharing the authority with the local government units. This process is called decentralization. Decentralization is explained as the transfer of power, duty, and authority from the central authorities to regional organizations and local officials. Decentralization is a collection of state reforms, not a single event. It is a set of political reforms aimed at transferring authority, duties, and resources from upper to lower levels of state administration. The transfer of authority to non-state actors is not included in decentralization. It consists of three main dimensions or aspects: bureaucratic, political, and fiscal. The transfer of state management, legislative authority, and judiciary liberty to local authorities is part of the political dimension. The bureaucratic aspect refers to the transfer of some traditional governmental duties to independent governmental agencies. The economic aspect encompasses intergovernmental financial relationships in states where government bodies within the federal state have Constitutional and statutory taxing, budgetary, and spending authorities (Ozmen, 2014, pp. 416 - 419). Throughout history, decentralization has been in the center of the focus statesmen who do not want to share their powers with authorities in the local areas. However, the implementation of decentralization reforms has many advantages also. Firstly, it reduces the burden of administrative work on the central government and promotes people's participation. Secondly, it facilitates diversity and promotes executive development. Finally, it promotes better control of supervision which will eventually lead to a quicker decision-making process.

1.2. Literature Review

Local government from Wraith's point of view is referred to locally chosen councils for whom the primary goal is to deliver or govern functions with as much autonomy as modern conditions allow (Wraith, 1964, pp. 15-16;). Local government, according to Golding, is the administration of local issues by the people of the same

community (Golding, 1959, p. 19). Local government, according to Oyediran, is the dissemination of political process on a local level, i.e., local governance with values of fairness, rights protection, and justice, all of which are regarded important to the formation of a free democratic society while Wraith and Golding's idea of the local government is based on the delivery of services by the elected representatives of the local community. Oyediran provides goes further and talks about the values which are essential for the modern-day local government (Oyediran, 1979, p. 171). Görmez (as cited in, Özden, 2007, p. 386) reported that local government is a political concept which is referred to a branch of government that is responsible for a particular territory and population, has a legislative purpose, and has been given power and authority within the boundaries of the law of the state. The democratic values such as integrity, justice, and protection of rights in the local government make the foundation of a liberal democratic society. The local government plays an important role in restricting the power of the central government and giving more freedom to the citizens of the local areas. Hence, throughout the process of the modernization of the states, decentralization has been in the center of focus by those who do not want the power to be at the hand of certain individuals controlling the whole country. Decentralization is defined by Erylmaz as the transfer of authority from the centralized administration to regional organizations and local governments outside the central administration (Erylmaz, 2011, P. 103). Falleti says that decentralization is a collection of state reforms, not a single event. It is a set of political reforms aimed at transferring authority, duties, and resources from upper to lower levels of state administration. The transfer of authority to non-state actors is not included in decentralization (Falleti, 2004, p. 3). The implementation of democracy in smaller administrative units is easier, and it enables the citizens to act more democratically and influence the actions and policies of the local authorities and actively participate in the decision-making process of their countries. Accordingly, in order to promote democracy and increase the efficiency of the government policies most of the scholars in the world have come to the conclusion of providing local administration with political and economic autonomy. The main obstacle against the occurrence of this idea is the will of the central governments. Wilson and Graham (as cited in, Wilson, 2000, P. 59) reported that for many reasons central governments always want to keep the whole power

within their hands. This could be because of distrust between central and local authorities, usage of the resources, etc. Keeping the complete power inside the center results in the centralization of the power at the hands of certain groups which will eventually lead to sidelining of the local democracy and local participation. Therefore, most of the countries in the world have started to implement some reforms in order to improve the relationship between the central and local bureaucratic units in their countries. Solving of problems at the local level and resource deployment that was determined locally were both significant achievements. Radin (as cited in, Wilson, 2000, P. 59) illustrated that compared to the previous stricter administrative orientation, the new management orientation had the potential to improve government activity. But there are challenges underway. Firstly, Local governments may lack the capability to run local taxation systems, and tax collection and new levies may pose a political challenge. Economic decentralization, especially in terms of increasing local fiscal autonomy, will certainly put poor regions at a significant disadvantage compared to more prosperous regions from a national perspective. Secondly, the increased importance of interorganizational relations is another concern for decentralized administration. Therefore, organizations should learn to work together and complete tasks as part of one network. This requires significant internal reforms in most centralized state institutions. Other studies that comparatively examine metropolitan municipality administrations as another model of local governments are Yaman and Büyükyılmaz (2021), Yaman and Aydın (2018), Topçuoğlu and Yaman (2017), Comba and Yaman (2016), Batal (2010), Gül and Batman (2013), Eken, Köseoğlu and Tuzcuoğlu (2020) and Çelikyay (2010).

1.2.1. Afghanistan

Afghanistan's local government has been a point of focus for many national and international scholars especially after the establishment of the modern local government system in the country. Shabnam Habib in her article Local Government in Afghanistan: How it works and main challenges, 2013 mention that: the modern local government system which is common for western countries is in fact a new experiment in Afghanistan. She further illustrates that: The existence of an autonomic and modern government for Afghanistan requires a system of efficient governance (Habib, 2013,

p.3). Since it is a new experiment in Afghanistan, it is facing a lot of challenges. Therefore, most the scholars have focused on the challenges in the Afghanistan local government system and provided their recommendations in order to deal with the relevant issues. Sarah Lister a research analyst in the Crisis States Research Center concluded a working paper named Understanding State-Building and Local Government in Afghanistan, 2007. The article discusses the power structures in the Afghanistan local governance system. In this paper she writes about the history of a centralized form of government in Afghanistan by quoting that: Centralized state institutions in Afghanistan have co-existed uneasily with fragmented, decentralized traditional society since attempts at state-building began there. For centuries, tribal and religious leaders created 'micro-societies' that related to central and other powers on the basis of negotiation and patronage (Lister, 2007, p.3). Micheal Shurkin in his research paper Sub national Government in Afghanistan, 2011 which is focused on the current problems of the local government in Afghanistan points out the problems to be the lack of performance and representation in the Afghanistan local government system. He provides some recommendations such as encouraging public participation, strengthening informal and semiofficial bodies, promoting national development programs, and seeking innovative ways to measure the success of the government officials in order to deal with the aforementioned challenges (Shurkin 2011, pp. 16 - 17). Alex They're in her study The Nature of the Afghan State: Centralization vs. Decentralization, 2020 points out the lack of accountable and inclusive government to be the main challenge ahead of peace in Afghanistan. He states that; Afghanistan is among the most highly centralized states in the world on paper, yet among the most highly atomized in reality. This tension has shaped much of Afghan history for the last century. Most of the Afghan population has always been remote from the center, and infrastructure and institutions have been insufficient to impose high levels of control (Thier, 2020, p. 1). In order to deal with the mentioned issues, he recommends equal devolution of power, talking about people's demands, paying attention to the budget, and having a clear understanding of decentralization and federalism. Anne Evans, Nick Manning, Yasin Osmani, Anne Tully, and Andrew wilder in their study A guide to government in Afghanistan, 2004 focused on the Administrative, Financial structures and process of government in Afghanistan at the central as well as local level. The

findings of this study show that Afghanistan's centralized government is facing the major challenge of the existence of the de facto states run by local warlords at the subnational levels. It states that; Today, there is a widespread desire for the power of the central government to be extended to the provinces, replacing currently illegitimate de facto states run by the local regional commanders (Evans, Manning, Osmani, Tully, and Wilder, 2004, p. 21). In response, it suggests that there is a need for the implementation of strategies to promote the rule of law alongside the construction activities and measures to decrease the power and influence of local warlords at the subnational level. Douglas Saltmarshe is a senior research manager in Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit. He along with his colleague Abhilash Medhi in their synthesis paper; *Local Governance in Afghanistan A View from the Ground 2011*, whose objective was to examine the development of local government in Afghanistan, states that: Development planning and budgeting at the provincial level is dysfunctional largely as a result of the highly centralized nature of these processes, which leaves provincial administrations unable to make development decisions in line with local needs. It goes on to say that: Coordination among provincial line ministries is difficult to achieve since budgetary flows are controlled by centralized line ministries in Kabul and local planning bodies are essentially symbolic (Saltmarshe and Mehdi, 2011, pp. 2-3). The research paper recommends that the management responsibility of all levels of local government should be brought under single executive authority.

1.2.2. India

Mookerji (as cited in, Nayak, 2016, p. 3) concluded that the Indian local government is indeed a developed form of the ancient structure of the local government in this country. As George Birdwood stated: "India has undergone more religious and political revolutions than any other country in the world, but the village and town communities remain in full municipal vigour all over the peninsula. Scythian, Greek, Saracen, Afghan, Mongol, and Maratha have come down from its mountains, and Portuguese, Dutch, English, French, and Dane up out of its seas, and set up their successive dominations in the land; but the religious trades-union villages and towns have remained as little affected by their coming and going as a rock by the

rising and falling of the tide”. Charles Metcalfe’s point of view which was reported by Mookerji (as cited in, Nayak, 2016, p. 3) was also of the same opinion about the Indian Local Government system. He stated that “The village communities are little republics, having nearly everything they can want within themselves, and almost independent of any foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down; revolutions succeed to revolution; ... but the village community remains the same... This union of the village communities, each one forming a separate little State in itself, has, I conceive, contributed more than any other cause to the preservation of peoples of India, through all the revolutions and changes which they have suffered, and is in a high degree conducive to their happiness and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence”. Venkatarangaiya and Pattabhiram (as cited in, Adegbite, 2019, p. 9) writes about the Lord Ripon’s plan regarding the devolution of power to the people of India He states that: Lord Ripon felt that the time was not yet ripe for giving the people of India a share in the central or provincial Government and they should be first trained in the sphere of Local Government. Such training was possible, only when local bodies became elective and enjoyed real powers and when the control exercised over them by the state was considerably reduced. The leaders of Indian freedom movement had known about the importance of people participation in the administrative process of the governance. For that reason, they have made the village Panchayats the base of democracy in Independent India. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, the chief architect of the Indian Constitution said: In the interests of democracy, the villages maybe trained in the art of self-government, even autonomy... We must be able to reform the villages and introduce democratic principles of government there (Ayyangar, 2015, p. 6). The 73rd and 74th amendments of the Constitution of India have been a milestone that has helped the Indian local governance strengthen and reform. R.P. Joshi In his book “Constitutionalisation of Panchayati Raj” published in 1998 argues that the administrations of several states have issued new laws based on the framework established in the 73rd Constitutional Amendment, preceded by implementation of reservation rules, according to a reappraisal that includes writings by academics. As a result, women and the underprivileged are filled with a level of excitement that has never been witnessed before. While some devolution may have occurred, the issue of

resource scarcity remained as pervasive as always (Nath, 2013, p. 21). Soumyadip Chattopadhyay an associate professor of economics at the Visva Bharati University, He illustrated that: “The need for mayor and council, under whom serves the commissioner and municipal bodies should be empowered with all the above departmental sectors and smart city SPV should function under the municipal corporations as to ensure the democratically elected local self-government’s say in the local decision-making process” (Pasricha and Aayush, 2019, p. 11).

1.2.3. Türkiye

Ozdemir, and Parla (as cited in, Karadağ And Göktolga, 2009, p. 244) reported that the strong central government model inherited from the Ottoman Empire continued to exist with its proclamation during the republican era. The centralized system of local government in Türkiye is indeed the remainings of the Ottoman Empire. Scholars have different perspectives on how to describe the Turkish political system. Some scholars even say that the Turkish political system is a kind of Bonapartism. In opposition to the democratic approach, the early republican era saw the expansion of the central authority in government. According to Keleş (as cited in, Ersoy, 1992, p. 3) "in countries where independence is new prime emphasis is laid upon the central government since the power of the state is a condition for national unity". This approach was initiated in order to maintain the unity among the people of the newly independent Türkiye. The centrality of the authority had created some issues in the Turkish administrative field. Three key concepts, "administrative integrity," "centralized authority," and "decentralization," were approved at the Constitutional level with this article (T.C. Const, 1982, Article. 123). This article provides the central government with the task of protecting the administrative integrity of the whole government system. By doing so it has created an opportunity for the central government to have strong control over the local entities. As Palabyk and Kabucu (as cited in, Çakır, 2019, p. 69) point out that: Interferences by the central government, specially imposing of resource management restrictions by the central authorities have resulted in local government incompetence and service delays, which undermine public satisfaction and trust. Pro. Dr. IpekSayan, professor at the Ankara University (as cited in, Çakır, 2019, p. 69) in her book “Türkiye’de İdari Sistem ve Örgütlenme”

shares view the traditions in the administrative system of Türkiye as an obstacle on the way of the people to gain information from the central and local government authorities. She states that: the Turkish bureaucracy has a habit of keeping information about public concerns hidden and non-disclosed due to traditional reasons. As a result, the availability of information has been an issue in the field of local administration. Despite efforts to encourage transparent democracy and openness through newly enacted laws like the Freedom of Information Law of 2004, openness and transparency remain the exception in Türkiye's public administration. Therefore, Sezen (as cited in, Tan, 2018, p. 116) reported that in order to promote service delivery, Transparency, and improve local and central government relations some decentralization reforms were implemented under New Public Management (NPM) project.

2. CHAPTER TWO: STUDY OF THE CASES

2.1. Case Study 1- Afghanistan

After the US-led NATO invasion of Afghanistan, the rebuilding process of the country was started, in this process, the western powers established a western-style of local government in Afghanistan. Afghanistan got its most democratic Constitution in 2004. Articles 136 and 137 of the new Constitution of Afghanistan state that while the government should maintain the principle of centralism it should also provide necessary authority and power to the local administrative bodies so that they could provide better and timely services to the local people of the area. Similarly, it stresses on the participation of the people in the governmental decision-making process (Ayobi, 2018, p. 18). While the Constitution emphasizes the unitary type of government it also asks for certain decentralization measures to be taken by the central government. In Afghanistan's local government structure, the sub-national government is referred to as the local government authorities such as provinces, municipalities, districts, and villages. The country has 34 provinces, 387 districts, 165 municipalities, and almost 45,538 villages (A Roadmap for Subnational Reform, 2018, p. 3). This type of political system is modeled after the centralized US presidential system with the elimination of the federal system, which is in fact a new experience in Afghanistan in the last two decades. The efficiency of this experiment is the question to be answered in this paper.

2.1.1. Concept and Theory of The Local Government in Afghanistan

According to the article 136 and 137 of the Constitution of Afghanistan, the administrative system of Afghanistan is centralized. The article states that "the administration of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan is regulated by law based on the unit of central administration and local administrations. It goes on to say that the central administration is divided into a single administrative unit, headed by each of the ministers. The unit of local administration is the province (AFG Const., 2004, Article. 136 – 137). Therefore, it can be understood that the local governance according to the Constitution of Afghanistan refers to a set of departments and systems that are responsible for providing security, service delivery, accountability and transparency at the provincial level. Given that Article no. 137 of the Afghanistan

Constitution (as cited in, Their, 2020, p. 3) states that the province is the unit of local government, it may come to mind that the province, as the decision-making and executive body of the administrative system, takes the Afghanistan local government system out of its simplicity. The province as an institution, if elected and created by the people themselves, might take the administrative system out of its centralized form, but because the provinces are in fact a continuation of the central system and the governors are elected by the institutions and individuals in the center. Therefore, the administrative system remains centralized. On the other hand, the provinces do not have a separate legal personality from the central institutions. By maintaining the principle of centrality in order to accelerate and improve economic, social and cultural affairs and to involve as many people as possible in the development of national life, the government delegates the necessary competencies to the local administration in accordance with the provisions of law. The central government in accordance with the law has given necessary powers to the local authorities so that the people in the provinces do not have to come to the center for their governmental works. Furthermore, in another article the Constitution states that; Every province should have a provincial council. Representatives of provincial councils are appointed for four years by inhabitants of the province, proportionate to the population, in free, general, and public elections, according to law. One of the members of the provincial council shall be elected as President by the council members (AFG Const., 2004, Article 138). Many may argue that under Article One Hundred and Thirty-eight the Afghan administrative system provides for a provincial council whose members are elected by the residents of the province itself which may make the Afghan local government system as decentralized. However, Article no. 139 of the Afghanistan Constitution (as cited in, Saltmarshe and Medhi, 2011, p. 4) mentioned that; *“The provincial council is responsible for assisting the provincial administrations in achieving the state's development goals and improving the province's affairs in the way prescribed by law, as well as providing advice to the provincial administrations on related problems”*. The provincial council members shall carry out their duties with the support of the provincial administration”. Hence, it should be noted that the Constitution only gives the provincial councils the power to advise on provincial issues. They don't have executive authority. According to Article 141 of the Constitution, in connection with

the elections in Afghanistan, the Department of Urban and Municipal Affairs, the mayor and the members of the municipal council are elected through free, general, confidential and direct elections. (AFG Const., 2004, Article 141). However, municipal elections have not been held in Afghanistan so far, which may be due to the non-approval of the municipal election law in the lower house of parliament. In addition to these articles of the Constitution, from which the simplicity of the Afghan administrative system is inferred, Article 60 states that: "*The president is the head of the government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and exercises her powers in the executive, legislative and judicial spheres in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution.*" (AFG Const., 2004, Article. 60). The Afghan Constitution has solved the problem of overcrowding by anticipating local institutions such as the province and has changed the administrative system from complex to simple, but the problem of concentration of power remains. This is one of the serious problems in the administrative system of Afghanistan.

2.1.2. History of The Local Government in Afghanistan

The history of local government in Afghanistan could be divided into three periods:

- 1) Medieval era,
- 2) Post Independence era,
- 3) Post NATO invasion of Afghanistan.

2.1.2.1. The Medieval Era

The country was predominantly ruled by Turk and Mongolian monarchs until 1747, when Afghanistan became an independent state. The development of an Afghan state founded on hierarchical principles that renounced ordinary federal institutions in favor of a certain intellectuals resulted in the takeover of power by Pashtun tribes. After that the invasion of the country by foreigners in the 19th century ushered in an era of political turmoil. While Afghanistan's rulers became more reliant on armed militias to maintain their authority, the Amirs' unwillingness to share authority or favor with these forces resulted in a period of instability (Saltmarshe, and Mehdi, 2011, p. 13). This process came to an end during Abdur Rahman's leadership between the years

1880 to 1901, when he fiercely insured that no one could challenge his position or dominance. Throughout the 20th century, the form of administration he established has remained largely unchanged, with Pashtun rulers retaining nearly total control. This was continued by the election of Pashtuns as rulers in non-Pashtun regions in order to quell prospective anti-Kabul uprisings. By forming a regular military and establishing a more effective government that enhanced taxes regulations, as well as businesses, roadways, and primary education, the king established the foundation for the modern Afghan government. He restructured the state bureaucracy and expanded it beyond the capital by splitting Afghanistan into six provinces, and then small regions and divisions, each led by government representatives loyal to the kingdom. Instead of displacing local political formations, Abdur Rahman's government attempted to enter them. Judges kept their jobs, but they were now paid and controlled by federal authorities. Local agents “ARBABS” acted as middlemen between elected provincial officials and community councils and tribal assemblies. In return for their collaboration, wealthier landowners, community authorities, and the ulema were given extensive independence (Ibrahimi, 2009, p. 3-5).

2.1.2.2. Post-Independence Era

After the independence of Afghanistan, under the kingdom of Amanullah Khan municipalities and provincial councils were established. Farmers and traders were taxed directly by King Amanullah. He also implemented regular accounting and budgeting reforms. However, his efforts to implement these reforms through the state administration, were met with hostility by religious conservatives and tribal chiefs. Which in the end resulted in the breakdown of his government? After the assassination of Mohammad Nader Shah in the year 1933, his son, Zahir Shah took power in hand. During this time, the country's administration remained centralized, with income taxes on major agricultural exports such as qaraqul, cotton, and fruit providing the required funding. Tax collection from rural areas had decreased dramatically by the 1950s, and revenue barely met municipal expenditures. In 1953, Daud Khan became the first prime minister of Afghanistan after a successful coup he did against the kingdom of the king Zahir Shah. The new ruler opened a new chapter in the political history of Afghanistan by changing the government system from

monarchy to democratic republic. During his reign, local administrations became more efficient. Governors, commissioners, and district governors led the country's local administrative bodies. Districts became the country's most important administrative units, and the only administration with which most inhabitants had a connection. Cities with populations of more than ten thousand inhabitants were allowed to elect municipal council members and mayors every 4 years as a step toward greater public participation (Evans, Manning, Osmani, Tully and Wilder, 2004, pp. 1 - 4). Despite his achievements, which included cultural and educational changes, Daoud was ill-equipped to undertake any of the much further reforms and goals that he had plans for. Afghanistan's governance model in 1964 was that of a unitary state. Provincial and district institutions were branches of and entirely subordinate to the government in Kabul, and all units of the state were bureaucratic in nature. Provinces “Wolayat”, districts “Uluswali”, sub-districts “Alaqadri”, provincial municipalities “SharwaliWolayat”, and rural municipalities “SharwaliUluswali” were the five kinds of subnational government bodies recognized under the 1964 Constitution act. Under this system, the provinces had very little official influence on decisions about their organization, administration, and personnel. The president chose the governor and senior personnel, including senior provincial-level government officials and district leaders. In addition, the 1964 Constitution asked for the establishment of elected provincial assemblies to aid and advise regional governments. From 1996 to 2001, the Taliban administered Afghanistan with clear top-to-down control from the capital, headed by an Amir al-Mu'minin who wielded far more control than the present president. While certain bargains for decentralization were negotiated to co-opt commanders and territories, power ultimately flowed from the Amir's central leadership of the Taliban "The Shuras," or consultative councils. Only two provisions articles 83 and 84 of the Taliban's 1998 draft Constitution, addressed sub national units, declaring that the Sharia council and the Amir would establish provinces, districts, and local municipalities. After 2001, the Taliban prioritized unit and commander proliferation over centralized authority before their full expansion on all of the Afghanistan. However, as the insurgency's authority has increased, so has the Taliban's administration in the areas under its jurisdiction. They started to appoint candidates to shadow government at the province and district levels and establish

policies centrally (Their, 2020, p. 3-4). While the Taliban, like all Afghan leaders, had to accommodate local leaders and local demands, there was no sign that the Taliban's earlier priorities for centralized leadership, rigorous policy, and command over the group's philosophy had changed.

2.1.2.3. Post NATO Invasion of Afghanistan

After the invasion of Afghanistan by NATO forces and removal of the Taliban regime in the country in 2001, Afghanistan got its most democratic Constitution in 2004. Articles 136 and 137 of the new Constitution of Afghanistan talks about the governance and administration. It states that while the government should maintain the principle of centralism it should also provide necessary authority and power to the local administrative bodies so that they could provide better and timely services to the local people of the area. Similarly, it stresses on the participation of the people on governmental decision-making process (Ayobi, 2018, p. 18). According to Article one hundred and thirty-two of the Afghan Constitution, the government have to maintain the status of centrality in order to improve economic, social, and cultural affairs; however, as more people participate in the development of national life, submission is required for the organization and management of provincial offices in accordance with existing law (AFG Const., 2004, Art. 132). Based on this article the Independent Directorate of Local Governance was established in year 2007 in order to strengthen the relationship between central and local government. The office's objectives include improving local administrations, increasing transparency, providing the opportunity for citizen involvement, and ensuring that local offices actively participate in implementing national development projects to support the Afghan people's socioeconomic wellbeing (Habib, 2013, p.5). The IDLG has been the central independent organ of the afghan state that is managing the provinces and their administrative affairs. It has released a burden on the central government in Kabul

2.1.3. Type and Structure of Local Government in Afghanistan

The structure of the Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan is based on the state's Constitution consists of three branches (executive, legislative and

judicial) headed by the President of Afghanistan. Afghanistan's current political leadership is a centralized presidency (AFG Const., 2004, Article, 136 – 137). In Afghanistan's government structure, the sub-national government is referred to the local government authorities such as provinces, municipalities, districts and villages. The country has 34 provinces, 387 districts, 165 municipalities and almost 45,538 villages (A Roadmap for Subnational Reform, 2018, p. 3). This type of political system is actually modeled after the centralized US presidential system with the elimination of the federal system, which is in fact a new experience in Afghanistan in the last two decades. Hague and Harrop (as cited in, Şahin, 2006, p. 199) reported that in a centralized presidential system, political power is unified and undivided, which controls both the whole country geographically under a single political center, and functionally concentrates political power in government institutions. After the fall of the Taliban and the establishment of a new political order, Afghanistan was in a critical situation. Developments in Afghanistan, the region and the world were accelerating. The western powers were all in favor of a strong centralized state led by a powerful the president. The establishment of independent directorate of local government and the launch of the 2010 local government policy are among the key achievements in the development of local government. But in practice, local government representatives do not have much power. Only governors have vast powers and are directly accountable to the presidency. In the same way, the departments in the districts act as offices under the provincial administration. The main control over the resources and facilities related to the local sectors is in the hands of the ministries. The power of provincial councils is also limited, and these councils are primarily accountable to the administration of local organs. Despite all this, Local Governance 2010 also outlines a strategy for defining the position of local representation institutions and the transfer of authority from the center to the local, to meet the needs of the local people (Saltmarshe and Medhi, 2011, p.4).

2.1.3.1. Independent Directorate of Local Governance (IDLG)

Before 2007 it was the ministry of interior that managed the issues relevant to local government in Afghanistan however, based on the presidential decree No. 1047 in August 2007 the local government administration was separated from the ministry of

interior and transferred to a newly established entity by the name of Independent Directorate of Local Governance (idlg.gov.af, 25.07.2021). IDLG now reports to the President on behalf of all governors and mayors. It suggests governors and mayors to the President to administer all subnational organizations (A Roadmap for Subnational Reform, 2018, p. 3). Independent Directorate of Local Governance's objectives comprise enhancing provincial structures, increasing transparency, providing opportunities for citizen involvement, and ensuring that local agencies actively participate in strengthening various service initiatives to promote the Afghan people's socioeconomic prosperity. The agency recognizes that each province, district, and community is distinct from one another, and that planning process must account for obstacles and opportunities in each district. All employees in local government are employed by the central government and are managed through their respective ministries. The budgets of linked ministries also cover provincial expenses. People participation is the key to good governance. Therefore, IDLG has taken some practical steps to improve the public involvement in the decision-making process. The main step which was taken by the IDLG is to establish people councils in all levels of the local government such as Provincial councils, district councils and village councils (Habib, 2013, p. 4-5).

2.1.3.2. Provinces

Afghanistan is divided into 34 provinces. Depending on their population and ecological characteristics, each of these provinces has been classified as a class I, II, or III provinces under the act of sub national governance. Every province is led by a governor who is the direct representative of the central government. There is a tremendous degree of variation in provincial management when it comes to governance. On the one hand, governors in some provinces have a lot of power. Governors in many other provinces occasionally serve as liaisons between different entities. According to Provincial Council Act, appointed provincial councils serve as a check on governor acts. By the end of 2019, the Kabul administration will modify the Regional Administrative Act to formalize the acts of Provincial Governors and other provincial executive entities. The essential roles for provincial governors, district rulers, and village Qariyadars shall be outlined in this document. The draft Council act

will be supplemented by this legislation (A Roadmap for Sub national Reform, 2018, p. 6).

2.1.3.2.a Provincial Councils

During 2005, the first democratic local level public institutions, known as province councils, were founded. Provincial councils are chosen by the people for 4 years in every province, which is a constituency. They were established to collaborate with the local administration to provide advice and carry out its responsibilities. In fact, the provincial councils are the first elected bodies in the Afghanistan administrative system. The provincial council is made up of representatives who are proportional to the population of each province. Nevertheless, because the provincial council aims to ensure female participation, a quarter of the positions on the provincial council are designated for women by law. As previously stated, provincial leaders have had limited influence over how money is distributed within their regions. Kabul's central ministry provides funding to provincial line ministries in the form of regular program appropriations (Cookman and Wadhams, 2010, pp. 13-16). This is worth mentioning that this council does not have any executive authority and its only there to advice and collaborate with the local administrative bodies for a better local government.

2.1.3.2.b Districts

The 34 provinces in Afghanistan are split into 387 districts. The district management arrangements are similar to those in the center of province. Furthermore, because the central ministry confirms district employment assignments, provincial officials have comparably less authority in respect to districts. The provincial governor, on the other hand, usually nominates the district governor or other high-ranking officials to be appointed by the central government. The district rulers are directly appointed by the central government and are the direct representatives of central government. Despite his or her restricted official authority, the district administrator (Woluswal) is an important individual who acts as a guardian to government programs, particularly in the sphere of law. District administrations also have an executive officer in charge of managerial tasks, a sectoral representative in

charge of communicating and overseeing ministry work in districts, and an officer in charge of fiscal administration in addition to the Woluswal (Saltmarshe and Medhi, 2011, p. 7).

2.1.3.2.c Municipalities

Municipalities (SHARWALI) are established to provide services for the common welfare of the citizens. Municipalities are governmental, administrative, and legal bodies having specified territorial and physical boundaries. Municipalities are established to "administer city matters," according to Article 141 of Afghanistan's 2004 Constitution. Furthermore, a municipality may stand below a province or between a district and a village in the governance and bureaucratic structure. In fact, the provincial structure for municipalities does not appear to be organized vertically. Despite the fact that municipalities are free to collect and maintain their own taxes, the IDLG accepts each municipality's employment counts and expenditures. Municipalities are governed by a combination of the municipal laws of 1957, 2000, and 2003; however, there is a strong demand inside IDLG and the global community to develop a new law on municipalities to clarify regulations and transparency. Municipalities currently gather income from internal sources and rely entirely on these funds to operate and provide services. Municipalities will begin to receive central transfers under the Sub national Governance Policy. This could indicate that municipalities will boost revenues in the coming years, which will compensate for liabilities in the annual budget (Habib, 2013, pp. 9-10). In opposed to the provincial and district levels, the Afghanistan Constitution establishes elected municipalities in the country's urban regions, giving citizens control over the public domain. According to the Constitution, the mayor and representatives of city councils in each of the country's 153 municipalities should be elected in independent, democratic, private, and open elections. However due to some political and legal issues within the Afghan government, still the mayor and other employees of the municipality are elected by the Independent Directorate of Local Government in line with the presidential order (Boex, Buencamino and Kimble, 2011, p. 7). There is a strong need for locally elected mayor in Afghanistan because so far, the mayors elected by the central government

could not prove to be beneficial to the local government in Afghanistan. They have worked for their own benefits rather than the benefits of the local people.

2.1.4. Local Government Democracy in Afghanistan

Local government democracy in Afghanistan is going to be evaluated based on three factors such as; administrative autonomy, fiscal autonomy and public participation.

2.1.4.1. Local Government Administrative Autonomy

Afghanistan is indeed a unitary country. The provinces are not separate bureaucratic units in either lawful manner, and they play a very minor influence in official decisions about their own organization, senior staff employment, foundation scale, and personnel composition. In essence, every province is a group of decentralized ministries from the national state. The home ministry makes all decisions on provincial employment units in Kabul, in consultation only with OAA, and under the supervision of the IARCSC's director. The governor has the authority to elect junior level staff recruitment and their transfers, but the relevant minister has the authority to recruit employees from categories 3 to 5, and the president appoints top executives. District employment allocations are determined by the central government ministry in Kabul, therefore provincial authorities have very little control in this regard. Whereas Kabul maintains the statutory ability to hire personnel in above categories, this official authority is regularly evaded in provinces having powerful governors or provincial leaders. Several top officials in provinces governed by militias and commanders owe their jobs, and thus their allegiances, to local elites instead of the national government. All regional governors in Herat, for example, were said to be in their posts as they had fought alongside the regional warlord Ismail Khan during the jihad against soviets (Evans, Mang, Osmani, Tully and Wilder, 2004, pp. 94 - 97). Warlords' control on provincial recruitment frequently hinders skilled and suitable officials and skilled workers from being appointed. A common issue has been the lack of qualified staff as well as the existence of significant numbers of unskilled former soldiers in public jobs. The existence of these problems since 2001 when the new democratic government was formed has been the fundamental issue and reason for corruption, slow local development process, most importantly it distanced the local

people from the central government. The local officials were not working for the benefits of the nation but instead they were serving the interests of local warlords. The central government couldn't implement the policies and projects in the local areas unless it had the agreement of the local warlords. This led the national government towards a total destruction.

2.1.4.2. Local Government Fiscal Autonomy

Both expenditures and income must be considered when assessing the fiscal connection between both the central government and local governments, or the level of financial centralization. The distribution of revenues presents a more comprehensive picture of financial decentralization, even outside national government, the one and only financial autonomy available in Afghanistan has been at the local level, and even that is limited. All revenue and charge rates are determined in Kabul; however, the revenues stay in the municipality and are used to support all local expenses. The provincial departments of central government ministries are subsidiary financial entities that obtain allocations at the consent of the main financial entity, whereas central government ministries and bodies are main budgeting entities with particular budgets specified by law. Articles 8.2 and 8.3 of the Afghanistan Budgetary Law states as "local institutions of central government" are allowed to draft a plan that incorporates lending as a resource, but even this drafted plan must be reported to the central authorities as part of the budgeting process. Government-owned businesses, on the other hand, appear to be permitted to lend. Districts are lower secondary budgeting entities, making them much more reliant on government decisions; their financial allocations are determined by decisions taken by the Central departments' appropriate provincial level agencies. In Afghanistan, municipalities seem to be self-sustainable institutions that are accountable for supplying certain functions such as waste disposal, leisure, and parking services as well as accumulating modest income via local level service charges and commercial licensing participation (Evans, Manning, Osmani, Tully and Wilder, 2004, pp. 70 - 71). The fiscal autonomy in Afghanistan government is almost to nothing, every decision regarding the revenue and expenditure is taken in Kabul. Local officials are almost completely unauthorized in taking decisions regarding their provincial budgeting and expenditure. The only thing left for them is to

send their proposals to the central authorities in Kabul, if accepted then only they can implement their projects and policies at their areas of jurisdiction. This policy hasn't yield anything but distancing the nation from the central government. The corrupt authorities in the central government are able misuse their authorities and rub the wealth of the local governments thanks to the strongly centralized government system. The only institutions that are relatively independent are the Municipalities. But they are revenue and expenditures are strongly manipulated by the corrupt official and mayors elected by the central government.

2.1.4.3. People Participation in The Local Governance

Citizens' participation in political decision-making is a completely new phenomena in Afghanistan, as people of this country have almost always been refused a such right. The new Constitution, on the other hand, has highlighted some of these issues by putting significant checks on the official's powers and also 2 layers of government: national and regional levels. Citizens must be at the core of decision-making processes for public engagement to be effective. This is an essential part of democratization since the fundamental and basic principle of democracy is "government of the people." As a result, democratic countries define themselves by giving people the opportunity to make decisions that affect their lives. In reality, political participation necessitates citizens' effective participation in the county's public affairs. As a result, the quest to promote democratic participation in Afghanistan and make participation a key aspect in the administration of government issues has become a major subject in Afghanistan's governmental debates. Articles 6, and 35 of Afghanistan's new Constitution involve democratic values and public participation among some of the principles and values of governance in the country it also contains all state bodies and organizations, and also high - ranking officials, as a result of this, and in acknowledgement of prolonged struggles for political reforms in the preamble (AFG Const; 2004, Article, pp. 6-35). Providing individuals with the freedom to make political decisions, particularly during elections, is critical to the consolidation of democracy. This right to liberty of choice allows them to create a responsible and responsive government whose mandate is extended on a regular basis, depending on how well it has ruled in keeping with the wishes of the people. As a result, residents

will obediently obey the law if the relevant government executes the rule without distinction. For the most part, Afghan people have indeed been denied this privilege throughout the country's history. The 2004 Constitution, on the other hand, marks a break with the past; it paves the way for a fresh start in many ways. It establishes a new governance framework and, in particular, a devolved form of government in which citizens can effectively engage in governance decision-making. As a result, in order to have a better future, all Afghan nationals must uphold the Constitution's essential democratic principles. In Afghanistan the provincial governors are directly appointed by the President, they are central governments representatives in the local level. The governor nominates the district administrators to the independent directorate of local government in Kabul, The IDLG then appoints the low-level officials, the high-level authorities' appointments need the president confirmation, the president takes the final decision on appointment of them. In response to the question on how much influence do the people in Afghanistan have over the local authority's decision-making process. It can be said that the only local government body that is elected by the people are provincial councils. The provincial council members are proportional according to the population of the province. However, the provincial council are only advisory bodies and do not have any executive authorities. They can only provide advises to the local authorities (Habib, 2013, pp. 6-8). The provincial councils were created to be a channel between the people and authorities of the local government in Afghanistan. Not being able to make decisions on issues related to their people's lives is indeed limiting people's influence over the authorities to a lot extend. According to a survey conducted by democracy international, 76% of the Afghans showed willingness to vote and participate in the 2014 elections (A Survey of Public Perception on Elections and Civic Education Afghanistan, 2013, p. 3). While according to another report 9.6 million voters registered their names in order to vote for 2019 presidential elections which shows a significant decrease in the number of voters compare to 2014 elections (Cookman, 2020, p.15). This significant difference is due to lack of public solidification from the central government. The central authorities specially, the power circles in the Afghanistan presidential palace kept all of the power at their own hands and manipulated the power for years. This behavior distanced the people from the government Not being able to have a say in the decision-making

process at the local level has itself persuaded the people on leaving the government side which empowered the Taliban movement which consequently led to the fall of the Afghan government at the hands of the Taliban.

2.1.5. Reforms and Decentralization

On the paper Afghanistan is one of the highly centralized countries in the world, yet it is also one of the most atomized in practice. For the past century, this conflict has molded much of Afghan history. The majority of the Afghan citizens has always remained distant from the center, and the local government structure and institutions in place to enforce high degree of control have always been inadequate. The lack of inclusive, responsible administration continues to be a source of violence, and there are few viable solutions for governing Afghanistan's diverse community. Since the establishment of a democratic and independent Afghanistan, the state's building approach has been centralism. The Islamic Emirates of Afghanistan's 1998 Constitution preferred a highly centralized governance with very little administrative or bureaucratic authority given to the local authorities. Now even after the Taliban regime Kabul appoints provincial administrators and senior ministry employees, and central ministries in Kabul determine local expenditures (Thier, 2020, pp. 1-2). The article 137th of the 2004 Constitution determines a highly centralized system of government but at the same time asks for the village, district and municipal mayors to be elected by the local people (AFG Const; Article-137). However, the municipal elections are yet to held. While it's agreed that decentralized system of government is neither in interests of Afghanistan, nor the country has the budget, capacity and logistics to form a decentralized system of governance at the moment. The government of Afghanistan has taken some practical steps and implement some reforms in order to improve the local governance in the country. The most important step in this regard is the establishment of the Independent Directorate of Local government. IDLG objectives comprise enhancing provincial structures, increasing transparency, providing opportunities for citizen involvement, and ensuring that local agencies actively participate in strengthening various service initiatives to promote the Afghan people's socioeconomic prosperity. Apart from the management of the provinces the IDLG is also responsible for middle and low level of employments of the local

government authorities. It has taken a crucial step as a reform to engage the local people in the decision-making process by establishing people councils, such as provincial councils (Habib, 2013, pp. 4-5). The establishment of IDLG has helped the local governance in Afghanistan to a lot extend. Even though it couldn't completely vanish the nepotism in the staffing of the local officials and corruption in the expenditure of the local resources, it helped in decreasing the level of corruption, and nepotism. Afghanistan has historically had a central government on paper, but in fact none of the central governments have been able to implement their policies properly in local areas. The main reason for this was the local opposition, in which the tribes living in those areas were ideologically opposed to the central government's view of local programs made by a limited number of individuals. Centralized governance is a viable option in the current context for Afghanistan, but it can only succeed if it gives local governments more decision-making powers. The governors and mayors should be elected by the same people, and the provincial councils should have a decision-making role and be elected by the local people. The decentralized type of government in the current situation, although compatible with the structure of our multinational society, but its implementation requires several important things that we have lost due to years of war. First, it's in dire need of localization, with the exception of large cities and none of the provinces with a local structure and economy are sufficient to meet local needs of the local people in there. Which, in order to purify those needs, in some cases even provides the ground for the intervention of foreign countries in Afghanistan. Secondly, we need experienced local cadres, which, unfortunately, Afghanistan is seriously facing a shortage of it. Third factor is logistics, which, from a structural point of view, none of the provinces have the logistic and resources in order to implement a decentralized type of government in there. Consequently, one can say that there is a need of a unitary government with some levels of decentralization. This could be done by giving the public assemblies such as provincial councils decision making authority rather than just an advisory role which they currently have.

2.1.6. Challenges and Solutions

After the invasion of Afghanistan by NATO in 2001 the Bonn agreement was concluded which determined a unitary form of government in Afghanistan that was led

by a strong centralized government in Kabul (Roth et al., 2004, p.8). Hence, even after the 20 years of state building efforts by the western countries, Afghanistan is still counted to be one of weak countries in the world. There could be multiple reasons for this. However, the most important reason is their effort to build a westernized system of governance that was not compatible with the social and cultural structures of the Afghan society. As a result, Afghanistan local government system is facing some major challenges such as; Centralized authority, Lack of public participation, Warlords Bureaucracy and Professional inefficiency (Shaheen, 2019, pp. 146-153).

2.1.6.1 Centralized Authority

The structure of the Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan is based on the state's Constitution consists of three branches (executive, legislative and judicial) headed by the President of Afghanistan. Afghanistan's current political leadership is a centralized presidency (AFG Const., 2004, Article, 136 – 137). This type of political system is modeled after the centralized US presidential system of government with the elimination of the federal system, which in fact has been a new experience in Afghanistan in the last two decades. In a centralized presidential system, political power is unified and undivided, which controls both the whole country geographically under a single political center, and functionally concentrates political power in government institutions Hague and Harrop (as cited in, Şahin, 2006, p. 199). After the fall of the Taliban and the establishment of a new political order, Afghanistan was in a critical situation. Developments in Afghanistan, the region and the world were accelerating. The western powers were all in favor of a strong centralized state led by a powerful the president. The establishment of independent directorate of local government and the launch of the 2010 local government policy are among the key achievements in the development of local government. But in practice, local government representatives do not have much power. However, governors have vast powers and are directly accountable to the presidency. In the same way, the departments in the districts act as offices under the provincial administration. The main control over the resources and facilities related to the local sectors is at the hands of the ministries. The power of provincial councils is also limited, and these councils are primarily accountable to the administration of local organs. Despite all this, Local

Governance 2010 also outlines a strategy for defining the position of local representation institutions and the transfer of authority from the center to the local, to meet the needs of the local people (Saltmarshe and Medhi, 2011, p. 4). The system of administration, which was directly copied from the western countries, has not been able to produce positive outcomes in Afghanistan and the reason for this is because it is not compatible with the social and economic conditions of this country. The centralized system of government has been the source of problems for the local institutions in Afghanistan. The whole power is at the hands of certain circles in the center. Everything is decided in the center and local authorities are not given adequate authorities to take decisions regarding the area of their jurisdiction. The authorities in the center have prioritized some provinces because of their ethnical connections with those provinces which has resulted in unequal distributions of funds and implementation of development projects. In addition, corruption has made civil services a source of money for certain central government employees. As a result, the civil service system that forms the bureaucracy and the basis of the public administration system are no longer efficient enough to serve the local people (Gostonie, Fedaa, and Kohlar, 2017, p. 12).

2.1.6.2. Lack of Public participation and engagement

In Afghanistan the provincial governors are directly appointed by the President, who are central governments representatives in the local level. The governors nominate the district administrators to the independent directorate of local government in Kabul, The Independent directorate of the local government then appoints the low-level officials, the high-level authorities' appointments need the president confirmation, the president takes the final decision on appointment of them. The only local government institution that are directly elected by the people are provincial councils. The provincial council members are proportional according to the population of the province. However, the provincial council are only advisory bodies and do not have any executive authorities. They can only provide advises to the local authorities (Habib, 2013, pp. 6-8). The local public are indeed not practically engaged in the decision-making process of the local government. They have no meaningful role in the bureaucratic process. Therefore, there is a significant need for some decentralization

practices in the Afghan local government system. Another key challenge is the lack of district and village councils enshrined in the Constitution, and the inability to use existing structures. Due to the lack of meaningful distribution of powers to the provinces or lower levels of government, it is difficult to link the planning of local development councils with the planning and allocation of resources at the large level, because the planning processes of the budget is too centralized. Despite correspondence between local development council programs through districts and provinces to the center, the program planning at the community level has not yet been reflected in central planning and budgeting (Gostonie, Feda, and Kohlar, 2017, p. 12).

2.1.6.3 Warlords bureaucracy and Professional inefficiency

After the invasion of Afghanistan by the US led western coalition. The United States of America started a policy of integrating not state actors into the architecture of Afghanistan government, specially at the local government structure. These none state actors were none other than those warlords who fought against the soviets during the Afghan Jihad. Their engagement in the emergency Loya Jirga (Grand assembly of the people) in 2002 and taking part in the parliamentary elections in 2005 had undermined the credibility of the bureaucratic process in the country. Their Integration into the political process has added to their power and influence in the local areas. This has paved the way for the creation of power islands in the country which consequently limited the central government's power and influence in the local areas. For example, in the northern Afghanistan the governor of Balkh province Atta Mohammad Noor and in eastern Afghanistan the governor of Nangarhar province Gul Agha Sherzai, had the direct support of the coalition forces which made me them powerful enough to challenge central government authority in their areas (Mukhopadhyay, 2009, pp. 8-10). Whereas Kabul maintains the statutory ability to hire personnel of the local government, this official authority is regularly evaded in provinces having powerful governors or provincial leaders. Several top officials in provinces governed by militias and commanders owe their jobs, and thus their allegiances, to local elites instead of the national government. All regional governors in Herat, for example, were said to be in their posts as they had fought alongside the regional warlord Ismail Khan during the jihad against soviets (Evans, Mang, Osmani, Tully and Wilder, 2004, pp. 94 - 97).

Warlords' control on provincial recruitment frequently hindered skilled and suitable officials and skilled workers from being appointed. This situation resulted in a significant lack of professional employees in the local level. The local officials were not performing their duties for the benefits of the nation but instead they were serving the interests of local warlords. The central government couldn't implement the policies and projects in the local areas unless it had the agreement of the local warlords. The ignorance of this issue by the central authorities created a distance between the government and local people. Consequently, leading towards the total breakdown of the government at the hands of Taliban group.

2.2. Case Study 2 - India

Local government in India refers to an administration by democratically appointed local staff who are given the power, to exercise and implement local policies yet remain under the management of the central administration (Chakrabarty, 2016, p. 9). Inspired by the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi the Parts IX and IX A of the Indian Constitution, named 'The Panchayats' and 'The Municipalities,' respectively, Panchayats are the local governing bodies in rural areas, while Municipalities are the local governing bodies in urban areas (IND Const., 2020, p. 95). A three-tier Panchayati Raj structure of local administration was advocated for rural communities after independence. In accordance with the 73th amendment of the local government in India all states adopted a uniform 3 tier local government structure. Gram Panchayat, Mandal Panchayat and Zilla Panchayat (Baumann, 1998, p.10). India as a large democratic country having a traditional style of local government which is socially, historically and culturally very different from Afghanistan and Türkiye therefore, it can be an interesting and informative case to be compared with the two other cases.

2.2.1. Concept and Theory of The Local Government in India

In India local government is referred to government by democratically elected local authorities that are vested with the power, authority, and responsibility to practice and execute those powers and responsibilities while remaining subject to the central administration's dominance (Chakrabarty, 2016, p. 9). In the process of development and modernization of the local government India, relies on its ancient history and long-standing political traditions it has been a successful model of combining tradition and

modernity in shaping of the power structure in this country and the development of a unique model of local government in line with the cultural and social characteristics. Inspired by the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi the Parts IX and IX A of the Indian Constitution, named 'The Panchayats' and 'The Municipalities,' respectively, Panchayats are the local governing bodies in rural areas, while Municipalities are the local governing bodies in urban areas (IND Const., 2020, p. 95). The emergence of popular associations such as Panchayats in various political strata in Indian society also has played a very important role in promoting political equality, institutionalization and popular participation in this country. Such institutions are not the only ones that have prevented political disintegration, but also the way of dealing with disputes and conflicts. They are also connected to national interests in cluster layers, eventually, it has been a good support for the implementation of government decisions process by promoting people participation in the national as well as the local level. Overall, India is an example of the validity of many theories' challenges political development. In this country a lot of people live in the countryside and economic poverty creates many issues in people's daily lives. A social system based on class inequality has also provided a good ground for the formation of authoritarian governments in this country. However, the political structure in India is more populist and people actively participate in the government decision making process, its more open and participatory than in many other developing countries. One of the main reasons for this is that political modernization in this country, unlike many other newly independent countries, is not merely external and imported, but partly due to indigenous changes and a revision of previous values (Nayak, 2016, p.3). Indian political elites have combined these western political patterns with style and traditions of Indian political system, which has long been practiced, and has also been very successful. In fact, they have been able to make the system equally westernized with long-standing Indian traditions that replace human beings in hierarchical categories in society; reconcile and despite the hierarchical system in the social arena, a kind of equality achieved social opportunities through political opportunities. Thus, India is a good example to show that it is a single political system. It is not made of structures and institutions, but contains a set of styles thoughts, beliefs and behaviors that are rooted in the cultural background of that society. Also, it can be seen that tradition is

not necessarily an obstacle to progress and sometimes it can pave the way for the advancement of new programs in communities.

2.2.2. History of The Local Government in India

With its vast geographical spread in South Asia, India is the seventh largest country in the world in terms of size and the second largest in terms of population. India is currently the third largest research power in the world and the first among developing countries and is one of the most powerful countries in the world in many fields of science such as biotechnology, information technology, nuclear energy, medical sciences and agriculture. India has thirty-five large cities with a population of over one million, the most important of which is Mumbai with sixteen and a half million population. India gained independence on August 15, 1947 from Great Britain. The Constitution of this country was approved on November 26, 1949, and the Government in India is a democratic government formed by the people's assembly and consists of a central government and state governments (Alami, 2012, pp. 14-33). Local government in India has a very long history but it was the British government that put the foundation of local government in India. The traditional name for the local government in India is "Panchayat". Before being included in the Indian Constitution, the Panchayat had a long history in India. The importance of the institution has been documented throughout Indian history. It is not a figment of the imagination, but ancient Indian history has documented the presence of village Panchayats, which were made up of 5 unofficially appointed older people who were responsible for resolving disputes in the village (Hatti, Neelambar; Hoadley, Mason, 2015, p. 72). The history of local government in India can be divided into three eras.

2.2.2.1. The Medieval Era

The central government in medieval era gained momentum, and the centralized bureaucracy became more prominent. Local institutions suffered a setback when Muslim control came to India, as they could not have the same dignity and independence as they did have during Hindu kingdom period. The Mughal administration was very centralized, with the crown making all of the government decisions. Local leaders and Zamindars (Land Owners) were recognized by the Muslim monarchs as custodians of local government. In the development of the

Panchayat system in India, the medieval era was very calm. During Mughal control, the institution was essentially unsuccessful; aside from Akbar's reign, no other Mughal king have provided the Panchayats much prominence.

2.2.2.2. The British Era

With the formation of local civil courts, judicial system, taxation and security organization during the early years of British rule, the Panchayats' autonomy was steadily eroded. The British invaders, on the other hand, were fully aware of the importance of self-governing organizations at the community level. Under British rule, the development of local administration in India can be split into four periods. The first stage is thought to have come to an end in 1882, when lord Ripon published his popular declaration on local government. The second stage spans the years 1882 to 1919, when additional authorities were devolved from the center to the provinces, and the decentralization committee's 1907 proposals, among other things, advised certain reforms in local self-government. The Indian taxation inquiry panel of nineteen twenty-five looked into municipal taxation issues as well as central and local level funds during the 3rd stage, which lasted until nineteen thirty-five. By urging stringent state supervision over local governments, the Simon committee of nineteen thirty interrupted the decentralization. The 4th stage involved events up to nineteen forty-seven. During this period, the fight for freedom became more intense, and with the establishment of provincial independence in 1937 and the emergence of congress ministries in several regions, local bodies, especially village Panchayats, improved and local administrative agencies were democratized (Egyankosh, 1992, "Unit-2 local self-governance in India" pp. 24-25). Since the formation of these municipal government organizations until the era of provincial sovereignty, there has been no discernible development. In addition to provincial administrations' administrative failures, bureaucratic and nationalistic activities erupted in the 1940s, which had an outstanding role in making the people in rural areas to participate in the democratic process. People eventually became increasingly excited about freedom and self-rule. Local officials likewise turned their attention away from their basic municipal responsibilities and into national political issues.

2.2.2.3. Post-Independence Era

Majumdar and Kataria (as cited in, Nayak, 2016, p. 11) reported that despite Gandhi's efforts to build Panchayats as the basis of democracy in Indian society, the initial draft of India's Constitution, published just after mahatma's death on January 30th, 1948, made no mention of it. prompting debate and discussion simultaneously outside and inside the Legislative Assembly to include the Panchayets into the Indian Constitution, leading to the passing of an amendment presented by on November 25, 1948, Under the 5th entrance of the state list of the 7thSchedule, the Indian Constitution gives state governments the authority to regulate the powers of local officials for the intent of autonomy at the local level. The suggestions of the Balvantray Mehta Commission in 1957, marked a turning point in the formation of local government in Indian History. To promote public participation and the effectiveness of the local development project, it advocated a three-tiered Local Government system (Mehta, 1957, p. 11). Due to the extreme disinterest of state governments and political authorities towards these organizations, the earlier idealism around PRIs (Panchayati Raj Institutions) has gradually faded. As a result, the Ashok Mehta Committee was formed in 1977 to assess the situation and offer appropriate suggestions. After the assessment the committee asked for the Panchayati Raj to be enshrined into the Indian Constitution. The Gunapati Venkata Krishna (GVK) Rao board, established by the Task Force in 1985, looked into many elements of PRIs. It was also of the opinion that PRIs should be formed and given the necessary support in order to become successful organizations for dealing with people's issues. It was noted that following independence, the urban Local Government did not receive the attention it deserved. The Commission initially dedicated focus to the issue of urbanization and local management for the first time in the Third Five Year Plan between 1961 and 1966 years. It suggested that improving local management was the key to solving the entire urban issue (Third Five Year Plan, 1961, p. 690). Despite the appointment of a number of committees to recommend methods to revive local administrative institutions, these entities were unable to achieve the stature and dignity of functional and responding people's bodies. This is dependent on a number of factors, such as the lack of consistent elections, insufficient participation of marginalized groups such as scheduled tribal, castes and women, inadequate decentralization of authorities, and a

lack of funds. Local authorities were viewed with distrust by state governments and political elites, which contributed to their collapse. In this context, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was motivated by a desire to provide the citizens with a democratically elected local government. During nineteen eighty-nine, he presented the 64th Constitutional amendment act with the goal of reviving local administrations. This bill was succeeded by the 65th bill, which attempted to empower urban local administrative branches, such as municipalities and town Panchayats with administrative authorities similar to those intended to be ceded to rural Panchayats (Roadmap for the Panchayati Raj, 2017, p.3). Despite being passed by the Lok Sabha, neither bill received the needed Constitutional majority in the Rajya Sabha. The 73th and 74th Constitutional amendment bills were passed in nineteen ninety-nine by the congress. The consistent pattern of Constitution of municipalities and Panchayats in all states was one of the key features of these two amendments. State governments are working to transfer responsibilities, and funding to local authorities in line with mentioned bills, so that they can perform efficiently. The central fiscal committee has issued recommendations in this regard from time to time. The 13th economic board suggested that states be rewarded for devolving duties and finances to local administrations (Nayak, 2016, p. 14). As a result, there is a constant process in India of redesigning local authorities by providing them with the much-needed space to rule localities. In a country like India which is wide and populated with so many different castes and classes of the people who have diverse religious, cultural and social ideologies from each other using the traditional methods of local administration called Panchayats have proven to be very successful in many ways. Panchayets have been the central point of Indian local governance through its long history. The era of modernization has brought many challenges that could not be tackled using the traditional methods only for this reason there is a need to reform and modernize the Panchayat system as well.

2.2.3. Type and Structure of Local Government in India

India has a democratic government, which is created by the parliament, chosen by the people directly. The central government in India supervises 28 states and five metropolitan districts. Each state enjoys relative autonomy in the management of

internal affairs, with a Chairman, a Council of Ministers, and a State Assembly with the authority to handle their state's matters. The 3 branches that make up this nation's structure are the executive, legislative, and judicial. The dual assemblies of Luke Saba and Rajia Saba elect the president, who is only a ceremonial figure. Luke Saba's parliament has 545 seats, and the prime minister is appointed by the party that received the most votes in the election, and the cabinet is formed by coalition parties (Alami, 2012, p. 33). The Panchayat was indeed the aspiration for India, the so-called "village republics" extolled by English apologizers like Duff since the mid-nineteenth century.

The name Panchayat which means local government is taken from the ancient assembly of 5 wise men that used to talk and try to sort out the problems regarding the social issues (Hatti, Neelambar; Hoadley, Mason, 2015, p. 72).

2.2.3.1. Panchayati Raj

A three-tier Panchayati Raj structure of local administration was advocated for rural communities after independence; consequently, several states, such as Gujarat and Maharashtra, embraced the structure of elective local governments. In accordance with the 73th amendment of the local government in India all states adopted a uniform 3 tier local government structure. Gram Panchayat, Mandal Panchayat and Zilla Panchayat (Baumann, 1998, p.10).

2.2.3.1.a Gram Panchayat

By declaration, the government proclaim any village with a total population of approximately two hundred to be a Gram Sabha region. It is responsible for the following duties: -

- 1) To endorse the yearly budget and development plan, as well as to evaluate the yearly account balances and yearly status update;
- 2) To aid in the planning and implementation strategies related to the; and
- 3) To define recipients for the planning and implementation strategies related to the.

Gram Panchayats are the bottom or village level institutions of the local governance in India. Gram Panchayats are administered by village administrators named as SARPANCH (Punjab Act, 1994, pp. 15-21).

2.2.3.1.b Mandal Panchayat

The intermediate level of Panchayati Raj Institutions is the Panchayat Samiti It is also famous as Taluka and Block Panchayats. It connects the Gram or village Panchayat with the district level Panchayat. Elections for Panchayat Samiti legislative seats are not held in these areas. The block assembly is composed of all the Sarpanches out of each village Panchayats, as well as representatives of the legislative assembly, parliamentarians, associate members, and representatives of the district administration. Representatives of the Gram Panchayat designate their Sarpanch and Upa Sarpanch from among their ranks, as well as the chairman and deputy. The Operations Manager is in charge of the Panchayat Samiti's management department (The Bihar Panchayat Raj Act, 2006, pp. 37-40).

2.2.3.1.c Zilla Panchayat

The 3rd level of the Panchayats is the District Panchayat, often called as the District Council or Zilla Parishad. The district level local government (Panchayat), like the Gram Panchayat, is a democratically elected institution. It is represented by the Chairpersons of Block Samitis. The MP and MLA, such as the Block Panchayat, are representatives of the district Panchayat. The Chief Executive Director, along with the National Account Executive, the Planning Officer, and one or maybe more Vice Secretariats that deal directly underneath the managing director and support him/her, is appointed by the central government to administer the district Panchayat. The district Panchayat's bureaucratic leader is the Zilla Parishad president (The Karnataka Panchayat Raj Act, 1993, pp. 96 -101). The major purpose of having a 3-tier government is to improve democratic involvement, effectively express community needs and objectives, and guarantee more productive use of available resources, as well as improved transparency and accountability.

2.2.3.2. Municipalities

The 74th amendment act of the Constitution of India was introduced to reform and strengthen the Municipalities in the country. Municipal corporations, Municipal Assemblies, and Nagar Panchayats are the 3 kinds of municipalities established by the mentioned act (IND Const, 1992, 74th amendment).

2.2.3.2.a Municipal corporations: It is a local government body that controls and manages cities having demographic of more than 1 million inhabitants. The increasing rate of urbanization in numerous Indian cities necessitated the establishment of a municipal ruling body capable of acquiring taxes and specified grants from the state authority in order to provide essential community services such as health care, employment, accommodation, and transportation.

2.2.3.2.b Municipal Council: It is an entity that governs a city with a demographic of one hundred thousand or even more people. It directly communicates with the central state authority, while being officially part of the district in which it is situated. They are also found in minor districts and larger towns.

2.2.3.2.c Nagar Panchayats: Established after 1992. It is an institution in the process of transitioning from rural to urban, and a type of bureaucratic entity similar to a municipality. A Nagar Panchayat is an urban center having a population of more than twelve thousand but fewer than forty thousand people. Every Nagar Panchayat does have a council made up of ward representatives and a chairperson.

State per state, the quantity of municipalities varies. States with a large stretch of metropolitan regions have a larger proportion of municipalities, as is clear. Municipal corporations and Nagar Panchayats do not have any existence in some of the Indian states. This is because the metropolitan areas in these states do not meet the requirements for the formation of mentioned institutions. Generally, the municipalities mentioned above are carrying the responsibility of providing services such as public health service, Public works, Education, and Development services (Aijaz, 2006, pp. 8-11).

2.2.4 Local Government Democracy in India

Local government democracy in India is going to be evaluated based on three factors such as administrative autonomy, fiscal autonomy and public participation.

2.2.4.1 Local Government Administrative Autonomy

India has a federal system of government with a wide range of inter - governmental relations at the national level. As a result, in order to assure a thorough and accurate evaluation of Indian local government, one must completely analyze the Indian local government for each of the country's states, union territories, and the central capital region which is an impossible task to do. Thus, this study will focus on one specific Indian state, of Kerala. While Kerala's local governments have restricted effective control, the existence of genuine, elected local governments allows for a reasonable amount of bureaucratic development at the local level. India has indeed been administered in a somewhat centralized way following freedom, with both the central and state governments exercising the majority of national authority. Which created political problems for the state in terms of public involvement, in response 73rd and 74th amendments of the Constitution were passed, which delivered some power and authority to the states in India. The amendment urged state governments to give Panchayats the essential rights and authority to act as local self-government entities. The Constitution's 11th schedule lays out a range of 29 tasks that should be given to local administrations (IND Const; 11th schedule Art. 243G). Likewise, the 12 schedules were added to the 74th Amendment, which includes a list of Eighteen tasks that would be assigned to urban local authorities (IND Const; 12th schedule Art. 243W). Whereas the mentioned activities are sometimes described to as "transmitted tasks" or "delegated responsibilities," the Constitution does not require that entire duty for such activities be transformed to local government organizations. In reality, the Constitution simply directs that "plans be prepared" and "strategies be implemented" in certain functional departments be passed to local authorities. Only the duty for developmental projects has indeed been passed to the local government level in Kerala, as it's been done in many other Indian states. The ongoing delivery of regional services, like primary education, local medical services, agricultural production remains under the responsibility of the central authorities, with local authority entities

playing a significantly limited role here (Boex and Simantupang, 2015, pp. 51- 53). The delivery of powers and authorities to the local official resulted in improved service delivery and making local governments more accountable towards the general public as well as the national government. But not enough has been done to help the local governments improve and meet the needs of the local people.

2.2.4.2 Local Government Fiscal Autonomy

India is a federal government and in federated systems finances are prepared, approved, and implemented by local authorities. According to Williamson and Muwonge (2010), the great majority of local government income in India fall into four categories: Firstly, Distributions by the Finance Commission of the state. The Commission provides guidance for purposes or "nonplan" transfers. The grant allocation for these general-purpose distributions is calculated as a percentage of state income sources. Secondly, Programs that are supported by the local governments itself. These are payments made for special programs carried out by Local Self Governments (LSGs), and they include both traditional functions and transmitted entities. These grants sometimes are known to as "plan funds" because they are linked to certain sectoral programs. Third, Programs supported by the central government. The execution of specific central programs is directly linked to funding for centrally financed projects. There are two kinds of them. First, some revenue is provided directly by the Delhi government to local authorities, which is relevant to the execution of specified programs. Second, through the Local Self Government budget, certain central financing is supplied to local authorities, notably urban programs like the Combined Infrastructure and Slum Transformation Program. Finally, Resources produced locally. Own source earnings raised by local authorities, beneficiary payments, as well as other localized contributions are examples of locally generated assets (Boex and Simantupang, 2015, pp. 55 - 59). This shows that a better financial strategy and execution by the Government of India in the state of Kerala has resulted in extraordinary degree of local fiscal transparency and effective financial management at the local level.

2.2.4.3 People Participation in The Local Government

Whereas sub national government systems were at the heart of the independence seeking movement led by Mahatma Gandhi, they were not included in the top portion of the Constitution of India, acquiring only a mention in the directive principles of government policy. As a result, the state of Indian at that time failed to give particular consideration to the local government bodies. Indian government only functioned at two, levels Union and state. However, the 73rd amendment marked a turning point in this regard by bringing the local government in the core of Indian Constitution. Article 40th of the Constitution which has been provided a practical shape by the legislative body is part of the State Policy Directive Principles. It provides the Panchayati raj organizations legal standing. It has also obtained position in the main part of the Indian Constitution. Some of the key characteristics of the 73rd Amendment of the Constitution could be mentioned as; Firstly, At the village, intermediary, and district levels, Panchayats must be established in each and every state. Secondly, while all representatives of Panchayats would be elected directly at the local level, elections for the office of President will be held indirectly at the intermediary and district levels. The appointment of village chairman election has been left to the discretion of the state government. Every member, including the chairperson, will be able to vote. Finally, at each level, seats have been reserved in accordance with their population's size (Sheikh, 2014, p.4). It can be understood that the amendments have given the Indian citizens' rights to elect the authorities even at the lowest level of the Indian government. Every Indian can participate in the election and choose the leader of the local authority.

2.2.4.3.1. Gram Sabha and People Participation

The Gram Sabha is a local governmental institution at the village level that aims to put direct political authority in the hands of the people, bypassing elected politicians. It marks a significant shift from representative democracy to direct democracy. By giving the Gram Sabha a stronger role, several states have moved on to strengthen not only their locally elected authorities, but also their electorates. After the amendments of the Indian Constitution several state governments took advantage of the chance to bring in social reforms by establishing the Panchayat Raj Legislation, which included numerous measures for competing Panchayat elections. Aside from

reserving seats for the poor and women, some have enacted legislation to encourage small-family values, such as prohibiting those with more than 2 children from running for office. In the case of the Municipal Corporation of the state of Delhi, the 2-kid law also implemented to nominated representatives. According to chapter twelve of the state of Karnataka Panchayat Raj Rule. Only individuals who do have one child in their homes are eligible to run for Panchayat polls. Many of these rules have been affirmed by high courts. Even though, the intention behind such a rule is positive, it actually prevents poor people from contesting in the elections (Ramachandran,2020, pp. 12-14). Gram Sabha is structured in such a way that it includes all people of the community. The decisions are made collectively and are based on the efficient allocation of energy for the betterment of society. Gram Sabha meetings are held to guarantee that people's progress is ensured via their involvement and collaboration. The 74th Amendment to the Constitution Act of 1992 established Urban Local Authorities to enable for more public participation in urban growth. Due to a lack of frequent elections, lengthy supersession, and insufficient devolutions of powers and duties, local governments were weak and ineffectual. This Amendment established functional municipal organizations that represented the people of the municipality in metropolitan regions. Wards were to be established within the geographical authority of municipalities. Ward Commissions and Municipalities, on the other hand, have not yet been fully evolved as structures for citizen engagement. Several individuals, and occasionally entire sections of the population, are still barred from growth in India due to huge gaps in financial, societal, and political status. It is because of their race, gender, color, physical disability, and poverty (Egyankosh.ac.in, 02/09/21). It is critical that citizens in the Gram Panchayat have a comprehensive knowledge of the issues and activities taking place in their community. This may be a benefit of a village or ward over a town or city where the residents may have a say and influence over the developments. Keeping in mind that some persons are unable to participate in a single Gram Sabha for a number of reasons such as geographical, social, economic, or Covid-19 related issues, etc. (Sinha, 2020, p. 30). Growth must include everyone in community, so that everyone who is affected by the outcome of progress can participate and have an influence on the process. Once their potential is fully utilized, Gram Sabha Panchayat would then become essential means for widespread people

participation. This organization has mechanisms in place to ensure that all members of society are included in the decision-making and development processes. It enables the most efficient use of community resources, particularly human assets, for the development of local population capability. Inclusive involvement is essential for attaining equitable development, in which the benefits of the development process are shared at all levels. The mere act of including all assures that it is on the right track and that resources are being used to their maximum potential.

2.2.5 Reforms and Decentralization

During the 1990s, it became clear that Indian local government could not be effective lacking Constitutional authority. As a result, in 1992, the National Government introduced the 73rd Amendment to the Constitution that went into effect on April 20, 1993. The said act brought major reforms in the field of local government in India. It called for the decentralization of authorities to Panchayats for the planning and execution of strategies for sustainable growth and development of the issues mentioned in the 11th chapter of the Constitution (Mospi.nic.in, 06/09/2021). Democracy in municipalities was unstable as a result of insufficient Constitutional provisions for local government. Hence, many metropolitan local governments have become weak and unable to function efficiently. In this framework, the 74th amendment act of the Indian Constitution, which aimed to enhance decentralization, went into effect in June 1993. The primary requirements of the said act comprise Constitution and structure of municipalities, the Constitution of wards commissions, the booking of seats for representatives, the timeframe of municipalities, the role and responsibilities of municipalities, the budget; the economics committee; elections; district and metropolitan planning councils, and so on (Vaidya, 2009, p. 14). Within Indian law, the 73rd Amendment provides village, block, and district institutions the Constitutional recognition. The 73rd Amendment's "11th Appendix" outlines 29 sectors at which Panchayats can legally exercise their power. So many of them, include agriculture, minor irrigation, animal husbandry, fisheries, social forestry, small-scale businesses, and land reform, concentrate on specific areas of the local development. Some are largely concerned with the allocation and management of local infrastructure, like local housing, local electrification, transport, and

telecommunications services. In fact, the 73rd Amendment includes a lot of issues that would allow Panchayats to make better the lives and well-being of disadvantaged people. It also includes special requirements to ensure participation of historically oppressed groups like women, SCs, and STs, as well as accountability for local organizations like Gram Panchayats and Gram Sabhas (Johnson, 2003, p. 18). While there is some lack of agreement regarding to what degree the reforms have been executed, the common agreement is that the 73rd Amendment was a good move for Indian decentralization and the inability to effectively enforce the provisions of the 73rd Amendment is the only component trying to prevent effective decentralization. In a recent survey of about the decentralization in India aimed at reflecting the changes emerged by the implementation of the above-mentioned amendments of the Constitution. The survey states that the amendments brought many benefits with it. The benefits include, creating opportunities for minorities and less advantages groups like Women, SC, ST, OBC to participate in the political process and assume leadership roles. Bringing people and government closer to one another by spreading awareness about the rights among the people through direct democracy. Initially, it increased people influence on the government through micro planning strategies. In the second part of the survey, it talks about challenges and obstacles in the arena of decentralization. The very first obstacle emerged as State governments' lack of democratic will to decentralize Funding, Duties, and Political appointees to the Panchayati raj institutions. Secondly, not enough efforts to improve the capacity of the disadvantage groups. Finally, the most important issue as a challenge could be citizen engagement and accountability are not well-organized, and public politicians and administrators are not held accountable (Dogra, Malhotra, 2013, pp. 1-5). In order to sort out these issues there is a need to focus on four areas where stakeholders can help improving the decentralization. Those four areas include; Ministry of Panchayati Raj, State governments, elected public representatives and Civil society organizations. The ministry of Panchayati raj must strengthen Gram Sabhas, provide adequate funds and most importantly hold the state officials accountable for their duties. Elected leaders should help in increasing the engagements of communities in political processes. State government must give more power to district planning communities, ensure themselves about the proper implementation of policies. And civil society

organizations should monitor the activities of the relevant organizations and lobby for devolution.

2.2.6 Challenges and Solutions

In India, Panchayati raj bodies are made as a result of decentralization efforts at local level. The Country's economy is centered on agriculture, which is mainly carried out in the country's villages, and village growth is dependent on the democratic system and its implementation at the village level. As a result, a well-functioning Panchayat system is regarded as constructive progress. According to a case study analysis done by the International Journal of Science, Technology and Society on May 2019, the Panchayat raj institutions face problems such as:

- A) Lack of digitalized professionalism,
- B) Poor coordination among local bodies (Singh, 2019, pp. 29-32).

2.2.6.1 Lack of Digitalized Professionalism

Local digitalization which is said to be one of the challenges that the Indian government is facing could make Panchayats, increasingly effective and accountable, as well as boost local participation. On one hand, the assessment of local elections through un-digitized or traditional methods has made people skeptical of the PRIs activities. On the other hand, the communication problems between the local people in the remote areas and the Gram Sabha Panchayats has been a challenge for PRIs. In order to tackle these challenges, the Ministry of Panchayat Raj order for the e-Panchayat project. Under this project the Ministry proposed that a specified number of employees out of each level of the Panchayati raj get trained, with the other employees and Panchayat representatives being trained by them (Ghosh, 2014, pp. 3-5). The use of technology aids government agencies in performing their duties more quickly and productively.

2.2.6.2 Poor Coordination Among local bodies

PRI institutes have been seen to face difficulties when operating on the field due to a lack of coordination among several local authorities. Construction of roads, for example, necessitates coordination with the other agencies, such as the police force, as well as a poor attitude and suitable circumstances. The result is seen in the

form of activities being delayed and monies not being used on a periodic manner (Singh, 2019, p. 31). To solve this issue the Constitution of India in the Article 243 ZD, states that municipal organizations are required to cooperate and coordinate with the other local-government institutions (IND Const; 1975, Article 243ZD). Furthermore, the two other significant problems that the Panchayats have been facing in their day-to-day activities are the existence of parallel bodies alongside the PRIs and inadequate financial resources (Sethy, 2010, p.18).

2.2.6.3 The Existence of Parallel Bodies Alongside the PRIs

The parallel bodies such as Water User Groups, WUG and Joint Forest Management JFM came to existence by the central or state governments for various purposes created before 73rd amendment in India because of which their legitimacy is questioned frequently. Their activities alongside the Panchayat raj institutions are found to be posing serious threats to the effective functioning of the PRI institutions. These organizations have paved the way for the state bureaucrats to overpower the democratically elected organizations. Furthermore, lack of coordination and cooperation between PRIs and these bodies have created major challenges for the sustainability and overall development (PRIA, 2001, p.4). Rather than creating another structure in order to solve certain issues in the local government, it better to carefully examine the current legal bodies and fulfill the needs in order to increase the capabilities of the legal organizations in order to enable them to perform the relevant tasks.

2.2.6.4 Inadequate Financial Resources

There have been concerns about the sufficiency of the resources available to the PRIs. All of the commissions that have assigned by the government of India to investigate this issue had determined that the PRIs are indeed facing a lot of challenges on their way to performing of the duties that they are responsible for. It is also found that they do not have the freedom to use the resources made available for them by the central authorities in respond to this issue the government of India passed the 73rd amendment of the Constitution. The amendment on one hand enabled the PRIs to levy and collect appropriate certain taxes. On the other hand, it paved the way for the

devolution of power and responsibilities from central government to the Panchayat Raj institutions (Barnabas and Bohra, 1995, p. 4-5).

2.3. Case Study 3-Türkiye

Local governments in Türkiye, is an organizational structure used to deliver local level services. They are distinct from many other organizations in Turkish republic in terms of decision-making and executive structure (Bayrakçı, 2002, p.91; Atmaca and Mecek, 2020, p.2072). The Constitution of Türkiye defines local government as a democratic institution with autonomy and public legal personality which is primarily established to meet the common needs of the local community (T.C. Const., Art. 127). Göymen (as cited in, Goktolga, and Ekici, 2016, p. 111) reported that Türkiye has a local government system where the central government is dominant, it does not trust local authorities, and the central government controls and manages the administration of the local governments. Constitution evaluated local governments in three different levels such as Provincial Special Administration, Municipality and Village (Mecek and Atmaca, 2020, pp. 20-70). Bilgiç (as cited in, Çiçek, 2014, p. 60) stated that local government in Türkiye is actually the modernized form of the local government remained from the Ottoman Empire and the country has been modernizing its local government system in order to meet the current needs of its people. Evaluation and comparison of Turkish local government which is indeed a modernized form of Ottoman empire administrative system, could lead us towards some interesting outcomes.

2.3.1. Concept and Theory of The Local Government in Türkiye

Local governments in Türkiye are regulated by legal and administrative texts, primarily the Constitution. According to the Constitution of the republic of Türkiye and related laws, Local government; is a democratic institution with autonomy and public legal personality which is primarily established to meet the common needs of the local community, the electorate directly elects the decision-making, administrative and financial bodies in according to the Constitution and related laws (T.C. Const., Article. 127). The Constitution goes further by explaining that local governments refer to

special provincial administrations, municipalities and village administrations. It is important to understand that the effect of judicial decisions on the formation of local governments is also insignificant (Özel İhtisasKomisyonuRaporu, 2014, p. 3). Göymen, (as cited in, Goktolga, and Ekici, 2016, p. 111) reports that Türkiye has a local government system where the central government is dominant, it does not trust local authorities, and the central government controls and manage the administration of the local governments. Provinces, municipalities, and towns are the three types of local government stated in the Constitution. The “Special Provincial Administration” (SPA) is the local government entity for all provinces except metropolitan cities. “Units of special provincial administration” means the provincial council, the executive committee, and the governor of the province; “Special provincial administration” means a governmental institution with administrative and fiscal sovereignty that is built to meet the needs of the people in the province and whose decision-making body is chosen by the voters. SPA is the service unit of the central government in the local administration. Special provincial administration has the authority to perform services which are relevant to the central government (Kartal, Tuncel, and Goktolga, 2015, p. 11). From the Ottoman times until the recent years more focus has been given to the participation of the people in the decision-making process of the Turkish local government system. People assemble and people days have been a common government practices in which the governors are made to listen to the voice of people. In 2004, the “5216 Law for Metropolitan Municipalities” was passed. It states that, citizens' opinions on participation in metropolitan municipalities should be sought through elections. The district is dealt with in Article 9 of the ‘5393 Law for Municipalities, adopted in 2005, and it is stated that the district headman (Mukhtar) points out the needs of the inhabitants by encouraging voluntary participation, and that the government values the common opinion of the residents of the area in the district’s decision-making process (Kocaoğlu, 2015,p. 34). Local government system in Türkiye is modernized type of Ottoman empire’s local government system. For example, Istanbul, was the first municipality in the Ottoman Empire, Şehremaneti was founded in 1855. Provincial special administrative organs, together with the regulations issued afterwards have become another institution providing local services. Another local service provider institution, which has preserved its existence since the establishment

of the Ottoman there have been villages that have remained unchanged. Ottoman empires local government system was based on power from above and intellectuals were only given the authority to take the decisions related to the local government the minority rights and the will of the public was not given the particular consideration and importance. Therefore, In the process of the transformation from classical local service institutions of Ottoman empire to modern local governments the most important change that has been made is the incorporation of the people's power in the decision-making process of the local government. This ideology of power by the people is indeed taken from the western system of local government and put into the new the local government system of the Turkish republic. However, the institutions offering local services in the Ottoman empire have developed parallel to the development of the modern local government institutions in the west. These institutions were integrated into the local government structure of the Turkish local government system (Güven and Dülger, 2017, p. 52). Consequently, one can say that the current local government system in the republic of Türkiye is built based on the structure of the local government system left by the Ottoman empire. However, the current local administration system of the republic of Türkiye has also integrated most of the important concepts such as people participation from the modern politics which is very essential for the bureaucracy of the current world. In fact, people participation is the central point of the current Turkish political system.

2.3.2. History of The Local Government in Türkiye

The history of local government in Türkiye can be basically divided into two periods. The Ottoman and the Turkish Republic.

2.3.2.1. Local government in the Ottoman period

Keleş (as reported in, Güven and Dülger, 2017, p. 45) reported that although, the Ottoman Empire had a codified local government status, a system of centralization was required, which necessitated settlement and, in particular, the political participation of minorities and ethnic groups as a result of other powers' demands to secure their rights. Therefore, On August 16, 1855, during Crimean war, the municipality was for the first time founded as a management mechanism for urban communities underneath the direct impact of foreign traders and diplomats, in Istanbul

in the second “Zilhijja” twelve seventy-one. Additional municipalities arose in the country's major coastal cities, subsequently spreading across the state. In order to provide governmental services in “Beyolu”, the Ottoman administration and the sixth division of the Municipality collaborated with “Galata”, a region with a high concentration of foreigners. They built it after the Parisian model. The 6th division of the municipality, which had a privileged funding, continued to operate effectively until the republic era. Specialized Provincial Management is a sort of local government that arose as a field government during the Ottoman Empire in the late nineteenth century. "Muhassillik assembly," "large council-small council," "country councils," and "state council-sanjak" began in 1840. Two ordinances dated 1864-1871 concerned with; the organization, election of members, tasks and competences of local assembly the specialized provincial management served as the foundation for the organization's structure, which was designed to safeguard it throughout the twentieth century. It was finally completed in 1913. It was initially published in 1864 that the fundamental reason for the legislative framework for the villages, also for national government, is to offer both protection and consistent revenue collection in rural communities. In the Provincial Rules, villages have regained their rightful place (Özel Ihtisas Komisyonu Raporu, 2014, pp. 5-6). Tortop, Aykaç, Yayman, and Özer (as cited in, Çiçek, 2014, p. 59) reported that Later, in 1924, a similar institution like Istanbul's municipal offices was formed. Likewise, Ankara City Hall Law No. 417 was passed, establishing a unique type of government in the city. It was agreed that Municipalities could be founded in areas with a population of more than 2000 people municipality law No. 1580, enacted in 1930, is one of the laws that has remained in place for the longest time of the republican era.

2.3.2.2. Local government in the Republican Period

Koçak and Ekşi, (as cited in, Çiçek, 2014, p. 59) reported that during the republic era, the specific provincial government, municipality, and village continued to exist. The understanding of local administration during the Ottoman period, as well as the establishment of the republic, remained unchanged. Local administrations were subjugated to the national government during the Republican era and were considered

as aiding and accreditation standards for the national administration's programs. With the idea that local administrations should have financial and administrative independence its unity and unique integrity had been at risk since the republic's declaration. Ökmen and Parlak (as cited in, Çiçek, 2014, p. 59) reported that the village Law, passed in 1924, it is among the republic's first comprehensive legislative rules. Villages were the subject of the first research on local governments during the Republican era. Village law No. 442, which is still in effect today was adopted in 1924. Since the Ottoman era villages have been as an independent unit in Turkish local government system. Structure of Municipality and Provincial Special Administration unit in Türkiye, was built after that of France local government system. It can be said that the villages arose as a natural response to social, administrative, and political necessities, similar to western communal administrations. The relocation of the Turkish capital from Istanbul to Ankara, which was only a piece of desert land in center of Anatolia, is the most notable indicator of urbanization during the first phase. Ankara was selected as the capital city not only for the security reasons, but also because the leadership wanted to break links with the old government (Tuncel, Kartal, Göktolga and Çeçen, 2015, p. 2). The 1950-1980 years saw a surge in rural-to-urban migration due to factors such as agricultural modernization, a growth in the number of vehicles, a reduction in land fertility, and so on. In 1984, huge progress in the field of municipal governance were made with the establishment of municipalities law number 3030 and the post-1980 municipality legislation aimed at increasing income, these laws were most recently replaced by Special Provincial Administration dated 1987 and revisions made in 2004 and 2005 (Çiçek, 2014, p. 59). Bilgic (as cited in, Çiçek, 2014, p. 59) illustrated that in the area of municipalities, the Municipality Law No. 5272 was passed in 2004, but it was then repealed due to its unconstitutional nature, in 2005 similar regulations were adopted by Law No. 5393. And so is the issue with neoliberal economic policies, the urbanization process after 1980 is characterized by capital organization practices in metropolitan areas. The fundamental parts of the change process of urban environments have been infrastructural and superstructure expenditures by large bodies like (TOKİ) the Housing Development Agency of Türkiye (Tuncel, Kartal, and Göktolga, 2015, p. 3). Currently the modernization of

local government in Türkiye is going on in a very fast manner. The digitalization of the government system has also helped in modernization of local government in Türkiye.

2.3.3. Type and Structure of Local Government in Türkiye

According to article 123 of the 1982 Constitution of the republic of Türkiye the administrative organization is a whole with its organization and tasks. The function and duties of the administrative authorities are made based on the concepts of state bureaucracy and local administration. Three key concepts, "administrative integrity," "centralized authority," and "decentralization," were approved at the Constitutional level with this article (T.C. Const, 1982, Article. 123). Local governments in Türkiye, is an organizational structure used to deliver local level services, are distinct from many other organizations in terms of decision-making and executive structure (Bayrakçı, 2002, p.91). Article 123 of the Constitution divided local governments in three different forms as Special Provincial Administration, Municipality and Village (Mecek and Atmaca, 2020, p. 2070).

2.3.3.1. Special Provincial Administration

The "provincial Special administration" is a local government entity founded at the local level in Türkiye to meet local common needs; the provisions related to all these administrations are assembled in depth in the provincial Special Administration Legislation No. 5302. Special provincial administrations are constituted immediately, without the need for further processing whenever a territorial unit is transformed into a "province" by legislation. In other words, when a "province (Provincial General Administration) "is founded, it is automatically accompanied by a" Provincial Special Administration ". Special provincial administrations in 30 provinces which are metropolitan cities were abolished by act number 6360. As a result, the number of existing provincial Special administrations in Türkiye has come to 51. According to the law no. 5302 SPA is consisted of Provincial General Assembly, Provincial Council, and Governor and it is made up of the General Secretariat, Financial Affairs, Health, Agriculture, Zoning, Human Resources, and Legal Affairs sections, However, by the decision of the Provincial General Assembly, it is possible to create other units, merge or abolish the established units. These units are established as directorates. In districts, a Special Administrative Organization of the district associated with the

district governor can be created to carry out the activities of the special provincial administration. It is responsible and authorized to perform services related to zoning, roads, water, sewerage, solid waste, environment, emergency assistance and rescue; support of forest villages, station, park and garden facilities outside the boundaries of the municipality (Mecek and Atmaca, 2020, pp. 2070-2076).

2.3.3.1.a Bodies of The Special Provincial Administration

The bodies of the Special Provincial Administration are the Provincial General Assembly, the Provincial Council and the Governor.

2.3.3.1.b Provincial General Assembly

The General Assembly of the province is the decision-making body of the Special Provincial Administration and consists of members elected by the voters of the province according to the principles and procedures specified in the relevant law. The number of members of the assembly varies according to the population of the province.

Some of the Provincial General Assembly's responsibilities and powers include:

- Developing a strategic plan, investment and work programs, provincial special administration operations, and discussing and deciding on staff performance criteria.
- Accept the budget and final account, with the Budget corporate code units transferring between the first decks of functional classification.
- Discuss and decide on zoning plans for areas outside municipal borders with the provincial environmental Order plan, save for urban municipalities that constitute the provincial boundary (Law on Special Provincial Administration, No. 5302, 2005, Art. 10).

2.3.3.1.c Provincial Committee

The provincial committee is also the executive body of the special provincial administration. It consists of ten members, headed by the governor. The provincial council consists of five members, one of whom is the head of the financial services

unit, and five members, whom the governor selects from among the unit chiefs each year, with five members to be elected from among the members of the provincial general assembly each (Çetin, 2009, p. 252).

Responsibilities of the provincial committee includes:

- Annual Work Program, Budget, and Final Account to analyze the provincial general and provide an opinion to the council.

- To make expropriation judgments and apply for employment that is part of the yearly Work program.

- Determine where the unforeseen expenses allowance will be spent.

- Transfer between the 2nd and 3rd tiers of functional classification in the budget.

- Impose legal penalties (Law on Special Provincial Administration, No. 5302, 2005, Art. 26).

- Taxes, artwork, and fees are not included, and the amount deciding the peace of conflicts is up to five million Turkish Lira (Law on Special Provincial Administration, No. 5302, 2005, Art. 26).

2.3.3.2. Municipalities

It was in the Ottoman Empire era when the first municipality was built in Istanbul in 1854. According to the legislation municipalities are free legal bodies of the public with administrative and financial autonomy. Municipalities are formed in communities with a population of at least 5 thousand inhabitants. Currently, there are 1390 municipalities in place in Türkiye (www.e-icisleri.gov.tr/12.03.2022). Mayors, municipal councils, and municipal executive committees are the decision-making bodies of municipalities. Mayors of the municipalities are directly elective authorities (Metropolitan Municipality Law No. 5216, 2004, Art. 17). Any settlement that is created newly and has a population of 5,000 or more can be established as a municipality by a decision of the President (Municipality Law No.5393, 2005, Art. 4). The municipal council is the municipality's general decision-making body, and its members are directly elective. The quantity of council members is determined by the demographics of the municipality. The council has the authority to decide on strategic

plans, investments and work programs, development plans, and amendments to these plans; to adopt the budget and final accounts; to implement municipal ordinances; and to approve lending, purchasing, and other choices. The municipal executive committee, which is made up of elected representatives, serves as the municipality's executive organ. Municipal income is divided into three categories: local resources, transfers from the federal government, and other revenue such as proceeds from selling land, etc. Municipal income is entirely made up of funds transferred from the national government (Ersoy, 2012, pp. 6-7). The metropolitan municipalities and provincial and district municipalities are the types of municipalities existed in Türkiye (5393, Municipality law). Duties and Responsibilities of Municipalities Among the main tasks of municipalities are urban infrastructure such as zoning, water and sewage, transportation; services such as environment. In addition to these services, cleaning and solid waste; police, fire department, emergency assistance, rescue and ambulance; and ensuring urban traffic order are also available. Among the priority tasks of municipalities should be the organization, protection and development of the green areas and cemeteries located within the boundaries of the municipality, reforestation, reproduction of parks and green areas and protection and maintenance of existing areas (Municipality law No. 5216, 2004, Art 7).

2.3.3.2.a Metropolitan Municipalities

Metropolitan municipality is a municipality created by law and with the aim of maintaining municipal services dec a healthy way and ensuring coordination between municipalities in crowded provinces divided into more than one municipality with a provincial center. According to the Law on the Metropolitan Municipality of the Republic of Türkiye, provincial municipalities with a total population of more than 750,000 according to the last census in settlements located within the municipal borders and no more than 10,000 meters from these borders can be converted into a metropolitan municipality by law. Its organs are the metropolitan mayor, the metropolitan city council and the metropolitan municipal council currently there are 30 metropolitan municipalities in Türkiye (Derdiman, 2012 pp. 51-62).

2.3.3.2.b Provincial and District Municipalities

Currently there are 37 provincial municipalities and 660 district municipalities in Türkiye (belediye.gov.tr). According to the Law No. 5393, the organs of the provincial municipalities are composed of the city council, the municipal council and the mayor. In the below level the headmen of the village and the assembly of the aldermen are the organs of the municipality (Municipality Law No.5393, 2005, Art. 9). In addition to the local level administrative authorities the people also take active part in the decision-making process of the municipalities and convey their views through assemblies and gathering or through Muhtar (Headman).

2.3.3.3. Villages

The management of the villages is in accordance with the Village Law No. 442 dated 1924 which is introduced from three different perspectives. According to the first of these, a settlement with a population of less than two thousand is a village. In addition, people living in collective and scattered houses with common goods such as mosques, schools, pastures and coppices people form a village with their vineyards, gardens and fields. Thirdly, a village is an entity in its own right, that is, a legal entity that owns goods that can or cannot be taken from one place to another and performs the work assigned to it by law (Village Law No. 442, 1924, Art. 1-3).

2.3.3.3.a Institutions at the village level in Türkiye

The Headman, the Village Association, and the Elderly Assembly are the three bodies that govern the village in Türkiye.

2.3.3.3.b The Headman (Mukhtar)

The village administration is led by the headman, also known as "Mukhtar." The Village Association elects him for a five-year term. The village headman also serves as a representative of the central authority in the community. In fact, the village law declares that Mukhtar is a state officer. The village headman, who is the legal entity's head after meeting with the council of elders, manages the village's activities and collects the money being spent on the village's concerns. Mukhtar also has the power to give instructions concerning village matters (Sayan, 2013, p. 16).

2.3.3.3.c. The Village Association

The village association is made up of all of the village's male and female voters. The Village Association elects' representatives of the village council and elderly council freely from among the farmer men and women.

2.3.3.3.d Elderly Assembly

The Elders' Council is led by the village headman. The Village Association elects' members to the Council of Elders. The imam and the village's teacher or head teacher are both natural members of the Assembly of the Elders. At least once a week, the ad hoc Assembly meets. The elders' council is summoned by the headman. The Council of Elders arranges the community tasks in order of importance, beginning with the most important, and once each one is completed, it attempts to ensure that everyone sees the peasant. If news or complaints are received that the upcoming health, road, or schoolwork has been left behind, it must first be done on the road indicated by the prefect or governor to whom the village is connected (Esen, 2014, pp. 207-209).

2.3.4. Local Government Democracy in Türkiye

Local government democracy in Türkiye is going to be evaluated based on three factors such as; administrative autonomy, fiscal autonomy, and people participation.

2.3.4.1. Local Government Administrative Autonomy

Bilgiç (as cited in, Çiçek, 2014, p. 60) reported that the strong central government model inherited from the Ottoman Empire continued to exist with its proclamation. The one-party regime that lasted until 1950 power was monopolized in the capital. The fundamental driving force behind all this was the need to maintain national unity and integrity while also safeguarding the Republic's founding principles. The need to properly defend the underdeveloped country's resources has forced the state into the spotlight. Devolution has also been aided by a scarcity of qualified employees. The Ottoman Empire's bureaucratic hierarchical organizational structure served as the foundation for ties between both the central and local governments in the

republican era. As a result, the 1930s regulation did not carry something new to the table, nor could it lead to a decline in the center's supremacy. Yazcolu, and Bilgiç (as cited in, Çiçek, 2014, p. 61) Turkish local governments have existed for more than a century, amid various political administrations like absolutism, Constitutional government, and republican, and they have always been under the tight dominance of the national government and therefore have not been permitted to establish independent policies beyond the central policies. After 1950, in Türkiye, there was a multi-party era. Local governments have been established as a result of the creation of municipalities. Despite a lot of reforms and modernization of the administrative sector in Türkiye, the centralized framework that controls local authorities stays in effect, and guardianship powers persist. Arslan (as cited in, Çiçek, 2014, p. 61) mentioned that In Türkiye, reforms have become one of the most widely discussed topics. The activities of government services, direct involvement of the public, satisfaction of people, and inefficiency are the reasons for these wide discussions. As already stated, since Republic's establishment, the inadequacies of the government and provincial organizations in delivering public services, as well as their inability to act and handle problems quickly have been the source of problems. Therefore, local government reforms were implemented in 2004 and 2005, with the goal of increasing efficiency and effectiveness in service delivery by shifting them to local governments. The major goal has been to deliver the needed function in the most convenient and suitable manner. Modifications were implemented in the way that people responded. Türkiye implemented local government improvements in 2004 and thereafter. It is working to reduce the centralized system, although it is still a working in practice, it can be felt that the centralized structure still has an impact. The local government improvements implemented in Türkiye "in 2004 and later are on their way to easing the current decentralized approach, although the decentralized structure's effect has still been felt in reality. Even after overriding viewpoints, this framework supported the easing of Institutional Research and developed for a benefit in quality of independence, which was implemented has provided new institutional structures, administrative and financial centers of local authorities have proceeded to rely on each other.

2.3.4.2. Local Governance Fiscal Autonomy

In republic of Türkiye Local governments' share of total government spending and income is growing. Law No. 5018 on public financial management and control gives the parliament taxing authority, and the ministers only have the authority to set the rate of tax only within boundaries of a law passed by the house of parliament (Public Financial Management and Control Law. 5018, 2003). In 2013, the Constitutional Court declared that municipalities have the authority to choose a tax rate within legal boundaries. The government enacted a law in 2014 that established min and max limitations for local revenues and gave municipality councils the authority to regulate the rate. Nevertheless, the regulation does not necessarily give local councils the authority to make decisions on their own. Municipal councils set municipal income rates and transmit them to the Ministry of the Interior, which shares them with the Ministry of Finance before submitting them to the Cabinet of Ministers for confirmation (Bozdoğan, Çataloluk, 2017, pp. 437 - 438). Municipalities in Türkiye are responsible for both compulsory and optional delivery of services. Local operations such as city development planning, sewer systems, urban transportation, zoning, regional and urban data management, are all mandatory duties. As a stability instrument, the central government in Ankara preserves wide ranging income and consumption taxation, as well as corporation taxes. In terms of global commerce, the central government is the sole body in charge of global trade taxes. The central government has the authority to impose import taxes. In the event of external shocks, the central government also serves as an insurance provider. Local governments generate about 40% of their money from their own means on median. There is, obviously, a significant distinction between municipalities and Special Provincial Administration (SPAs). Own-source income are insignificant for SPAs. Conditional transfers are extremely important to them. Own sourced income provides for over 50% of municipality earnings, with unconditional block allocations accounting for the other half. Conditional payments account for less than 1% of municipal income. Local governments are also authorized to take loans as long as they follow the rules that are supervised by the federal government (Yilmaz, Güzel, 2017, pp. 238-244).

2.3.4.3. People Participation in Türkiye

Local governments emerged with the abandonment of feudalism in Europe and gained power and prevalence in people with the desire for a libertarian, Democratic and pluralistic government. But this path, which should be on behalf of local governments could not be followed in Türkiye. Because in this country, local governments were defined as units that depended on the center and perform services in accordance with the orders they received, rather than carrying out the characteristics that democratic administrations have at the time of their emergence(Özer, 2000, p. 141; Çevikbaş, 2008, p.89).The legal qualification of local governments within the administrative mechanism has been realized by granting some rights to local units and providing mutual benefits in terms of getting rid of the bureaucratic weight of the Centre. Until the 1960 military intervention, local governments were seen as a provincial organization of the central government. With the 1982 Constitution, the inadequacy of the local units in terms of resources was noticed and the way of providing resources in proportion to their duties was preferred. However, the practice of local administrations without having the necessary plan until this period brought many issues with it. The understanding of municipalism, which was adopted after the 1960s, continued until the 1980 military intervention. The removal of all local units from politics and the dissolution of local assemblies by the central authority shook the trust of the people in local units and kept them away from participation. As in the countries where military coups are effective in the disturbing the administration, coups in Türkiye also caused the interruption of democracy and participation and the alienation of the people from local governments (Çevikbaş, 2008, pp .89-91). But in the modern era things have changed to better in Türkiye. In the Municipal Law enacted on March 13, 2005, In the law on Special Provincial Administration dated March 4, 2005, Metropolitan Municipalities Law dated 1 January 2005and the Law on Local Administrative Unions dated 11 June 2005 all emphasizes on the participation of the people in the decision-making process. It says that; Participation produces positive effects on the process of urbanization. It is citizens moral and national responsibility to get involved in the political process and help the improvement of the bureaucratic system (Özkiraz and Zeren, 2009, p.231). In Türkiye, people's councils, people's days, in which local governors listen to people's requests and concerns, are very common

administrative practices. The "Special provincial administration" is a local government entity founded at the local level in Türkiye to meet local common needs; It is consisted of Provincial General Assembly, Provincial Council, and Governor and it is made up of the General Secretariat, Financial Affairs, Health, Agriculture, Zoning, Human Resources, and Legal Affairs sections, However, the Provincial General Assembly, is the most important authority in SPA because it is the decision-making body of the Special Provincial Administration and consists of members elected by the people of the relevant province according to the principles and procedures specified in the relevant law (Esen, 2014, p. 136-142). It can be understood that people of the local areas in Türkiye are the ones choosing their representatives from among themselves who will be given the administrative authority and power by law to take decisions related to the local governance. Koseck and Sagbas(as cited in, Celik Turk and Kus, 2017, p. 238) reported that the results of a survey show that citizens in Türkiye have a really low level of local awareness about local public participation, and the reason for this is that, despite dissatisfaction with local authorities, citizens do not react to the situation because they think nothing will change as a result of the complain to be made. Furthermore, factors such as poor public participation and low level of interest in local government policies, is because of the lack of open channels for participation, and a lack of accurate representation of local people in local elections which limits the development of local consciousness in Türkiye. Despite of having a well-structured and people based local government system, still some people in Türkiye do not give particular consideration and importance to the public participation, which is because of the inaccurate representation of the authorities elected by the people.

2.3.5. Reforms and Decentralization in Türkiye

Eryilmaz (as cited in, Çetin, 2010, p. 26) reported that in the republic of Türkiye some decentralization reform efforts have been implemented to shape central government-local government relations, improve local government authority as well as involvement of the local people in the decision-making process, and encourage better service delivery. The foundation of the reforms in public administration in Türkiye is based on the "*New Public Administration Management*" approach. This approach predicts an anti-bureaucratic structure and prefers a new understanding of rationality

based on market mechanisms instead of an understanding of rationality based on bureaucracy. In addition, it creates its own institutions based on principles such as participation in management, openness and accountability, strategic planning and localization. Although, the principle of decentralization was previously introduced in Art 123 of the Türkiye Constitution of 1982 as a foundation for the structure and operation of local bodies, but the article created duality in the Turkish public administration. Therefore, Türkiye underwent a reforming phase in its public administration during the accession negotiations in effort to match the Copenhagen requirements, the declaration that determines whether a government is qualified to join the European Union (Çakır, 2018, pp. 65-66).

Sözen (as cited in, Çakır, 2018, pp. 65-66) reported that the goal of these reforms was to address faults in the state administration framework, making it more efficient, functional, and up to date with modern government, which concentrates on citizens' needs instead of government demands. In 2004, the "5216 Law for Metropolitan Municipalities" was passed. The district is dealt with in Article 9 of the '5393 Law for Municipalities, adopted in 2005, and it is stated that the district headman (Mukhtar) points out the needs of the inhabitants by encouraging voluntary participation, and that the government values the common opinion of the residents of the area in the district's decision-making process. Finally, with the enforcement of the law no. 6360 that resulted in the establishment of Metropolitan Municipalities in 14 Cities also the emergence of Twenty-Seven new districts. The legislative titles of villages and small towns were abolished, with villages becoming districts and small towns becoming areas related to the city. City municipalities have taken on the position of tutelage administrators (Kocaoğlu, 2015, p. 34). Urban development, civil public utilities, water system, drainage, and waste management are currently the key decentralized tasks of local authorities, and in particular municipalities. The most important decentralization reform in recent years was the devolution of urban management to municipalities, which includes the authority to issue construction licenses. However, the reform is generally viewed as a failure. During the last few years, two new spheres of activity for municipalities have emerged. Firstly, the development of economy which is based on the municipality law no. 5393. Secondly, facilitating Education development in the country. Although the second one was state's

duty but due to the ministry's inability to meet all requirements, some municipalities have taken on the maintenance and equipment of elementary and secondary schools on their jurisdiction in recent years. This, however, was not legal. The new special provincial administration law, No. 5302, is, focusing on services relating to trade and industry, as well as microcredits for the needy. Although SPAs have been performing this role for so many years, the new legislation on municipalities has given them this new authority (Marcou, 2006, p. 6). Tesev (as cited in, Çetin, 2010, p. 25) reported that in order to make service delivery better at the local level, the improvements at the general administrative level of the republic of Türkiye was necessary. Public administration in Türkiye is largely not based on merit and participation, basic principles of effective and contemporary management such as transparency, accountability and strategic planning. It exhibits an appearance that includes management practices that lack qualifications. Within this framework, many public opinion surveys have shown that citizens, are not satisfied with the quality of the services in the field of public administration. For example, the result of the research of the public institutions throughout Türkiye reveals that the satisfaction received from the services is extremely low. Bilgin (as cited in, Çetin, 2010, p. 26) reported that following the rapid changes in the world in the 1990s Turkish public administration failed to adopt to the changes. It is clear that with the current structure, many problems cannot be solved, restructuring of public administration is inevitable. Thus, both society's trust in the state will be increased as well as more efficient and effective use of public resources will be provided. The new public management approach is indeed a realistic and up to date approach towards the new complicated era of administration. It provides us with a new understanding of surrounding realities around us that are based on rationality. Thus, Helping making the administrative system more equivalent to the needs and demands of the current world.

2.3.6. Challenges and Solutions of the Local Governance in Türkiye

In broad sense, the principal components of Turkish public administration continue to fall short of public expectations and European norms. Despite a deterioration in ties with European states as well as the possibility of Turkish membership in the European Union, the Turkish government continues to prioritize the

adaption of a Western concept of administration and excellent governance. Türkiye must yet overcome a number of obstacles in order to attain this goal.

2.3.6.1. Centralized Authority

According to article 123 of the 1982 Constitution of the republic of Türkiye the administrative organization is a whole with its organization and tasks. The establishment and duties of the administrative authorities are made based on the concept of state bureaucracy. Three key concepts, "administrative integrity," "centralized authority," and "decentralization," were approved at the Constitutional level with this article (T.C. Const, 1982, Article. 123). Polatoğlu (as cited in, Çakır, 2018, p. 66 - 67) reported that this article discusses the decentralization concept as a foundation for the operation and management of local governments, as well as the centralization concept, primarily applies to the activity of central govt. Although, the article is trying to create a balance between central and local authorities by stating that the public administration must act in unity and coherence in order to protect the integrity of the entire national government, comprising provincial and local administrations In Turkish public administration, the goal of having a balance amongst strongly centralized state and independent local governments has resulted in a dualism (Çakır, 2019, p. 67). Palabyk, Kabucu, (as cited in, Çakır, 2019, p. 69) reported that the idea of protecting the "administrative integrity" has provided the central government a power to have strong control on the local entities. Interferences by the central government, specially imposing of resource management restrictions by the central authorities has resulted in local government incompetence and service delays, which undermine public satisfaction and trust. To tackle this issue decentralization some laws have been passed. For Example, law number 5302 passed on 4th March 2005 and the new law number 5227 of public administration reform also put into force in 2005. This law did actually provide for a fundamental reform of Türkiye's government administration, and it had been developed after extensive negotiations, including with opposition parties. It includes both central and local government and includes general public management norms and concepts (Marcou, 2006, p. 38).

2.3.6.2. Lack of Openness and Transparency

Sayan (as cited in, Çakır, 2019, p. 69) disclosed that Turkish bureaucracy has a habit of keeping information about public concerns hidden and non-disclosed due to traditional reasons. As a result, availability of information has been an issue in the field local administration. Despite efforts to encourage transparent democracy and openness through newly enacted laws like the Freedom of Information Law no. 4982 of 2004, openness and transparency remain the exception in Türkiye's public administration.

2.3.6.3. Lack of Public Participation

Koseck and Sagbas (as cited in, Celik Turk and Kus, 2017, p. 238) reported that according to a recent survey that has taken place in Türkiye in regards with the public participation Turkish people living in local areas have comparatively low level of local awareness about local public participation. Because despite dissatisfaction with local authorities, citizens do not react to the situation because they think nothing will change as a result of the complain to be made by them. Furthermore, factors such as poor public participation and low level of interest in local government policies, is because of the lack of open channels for participation, and a lack of accurate representation of local people in local elections which limits the development of local consciousness in Türkiye. In order to tackle this issue and promote people participation law no 2972 on elections of local government, village headmen and elderly assembly were issued in 1984. Despite of having a well-structured and people based local government system; still some people in Türkiye do not give particular consideration and importance to the public participation, which is because of the inaccurate representation of the authorities elected by the people.

3. CHAPTER THREE: ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

3.1. Foreword

Comparative research is a process for analyzing phenomena's and evaluating them to identify elements of difference and similarities (MokhtarianPour, 2016; Miri and Shahrokh, 2019, p.25). As stated above the main intention of the comparative analysis research paper is to find out the similarities and differences between the cases in order to obtain the intended result of the research paper. Having studied the concept, history, structure, local democracy, challenges and solutions of the local government in Afghanistan, India and Türkiye in chapter two. The current chapter intends to provide a comparative analysis of the local government in the aforementioned countries by scrutinizing each one of the above-mentioned issues individually in order to determine the similarities and differences between the mentioned cases on the bases of the relevant issues.

3.2. Findings

3.2.1. Concept of the Local Government

Based on the study in the chapter two of this research paper, the experiment of the western style of the local government system is a new concept in Afghanistan. According to the country's Constitution the local government is a branch of the central government that has limited authority to take decisions of its own. Article 136 of the Afghan Constitution calls for centralized system of governance in the country. Apart from the members of the provincial council all of the local authorities are elected by the central government. Article 137 of the Constitution calls for the election of the provincial members by the free and democratic elections. However, the provincial council members do not have any executive authority and the Constitution calls for the advisory role of the provincial council. It is concluded that the current local government system that has been copied from the western countries hasn't proven to be beneficent due to its incompatibility with the traditions and ancient practices of the country which used to provide the local people the power to take decisions of their own.

In India meanwhile, the concept of the local government is found to be a developed form of the ancient practices. It is found that the local government in India is referred to government by democratically elected local authorities that are vested with power, authority and responsibility to practice and execute them while remaining subject to the central administration's dominance. Local government in the country is named after its ancient traditional name "Panchayats". According to the part IX and IX A of the country's Constitution, Panchayats are the local government bodies in the rural areas. The study observed that India has been able to use its traditions positively. The use of the ancient populist structures such as the Panchayats has not only promoted political equality in the class-based society of India, but it also helped in the development of the institutionalization and people participation.

The concept of the local government in Türkiye is inherent in the Turkish public administration since the times of the great Ottomans. According to the article 127 of the Türkiye's Constitution, local government is an institution which is primary tasked to provide services to the local people in order to meet the needs of the people residing in the local areas. Special Administrative Unit (SPA) is the main organ of the local government in Türkiye. The SPA is consisted of the governor, Executive committee, and provincial council. It's worth mentioning that SPA has the relevant executive power to take decisions regarding the local affairs. It is indeed a service unit of the central government responsible for the local administration. The study found that in the process of the modernization of the structure of local government that is left to the republic from the Ottoman Empire the only local government organ that hasn't been changed are the Villages. However, it's observed that unlike the Ottoman periods when only the elites were given the authority to take relevant decisions regarding the local affairs and people were kept in sidelines, the modern local government system of the republic emphasizes more on the public engagement and participation in the local decision-making process. The headman who is traditionally called as "Mukhtars" are chosen by the people. The headman in accordance with the opinions of the local people points out the needs of the local people and reports them to the relevant authorities.

While in Afghanistan the concept of local government is to be organizations at the local areas that are under direct dominance of the central government and the elected bodies like provincial councils are left without any executive authority. On the other hand, In India and Türkiye the concept of the local governance is to be locally elected organs that are vested with the relevant authorities to take decisions on their own. Unlike, Afghanistan the two other countries developed their ancient local governance bodies as in India the local governance is called Panchayats and in Türkiye the local governance is called Special Provincial Administration (İl Özel idaresi).

3.2.2. History of The Local Governance

According to the chapter two Afghanistan's local government history is divided into 3 periods. The medieval era. The post-independence era and the modern era. The study has found that the most important event in the medieval era for the local government in Afghanistan was the period of Amir Abdul Rahman Khan's rule 1880 to 1901. In order to protect his dominance in all over Afghanistan, the king built a strong centralized system of government. He was the founder of centralism in Afghanistan. In the post independent era Afghanistan remained strongly centralized until 1953 when the former president Daud Khan did a successful coup against kingdom of Zahir shah and changed the government system from monarchy to republic. The president then brought many reforms in order to regulate and decentralize the power by allowing the cities with 10.000 populations to elect their mayors and provincial councils. From 1964 until 2001 Afghanistan again experienced a unitary form of government where all the power was vested in the center. In the modern era (2001-Present) Afghanistan has experienced a western style of local government. The Study illustrates that due to incompatibility of the western style of local government with the culture and traditions of the country, which hasn't proved to be very successful. It states that the only improvement was the establishment of the Independent Directorate of Local Government (IDLG) which is an independent body responsible for the management of the local government in the country.

Similarly, the history of local government in India is also divided into 3 parts. The Medieval Era, the British era and post independent era. It's observed that alike Afghanistan during the medieval era India also experienced a centralized form of

government which had become prominent in the country. This was because both the Muslim and Mughal who used to rule the country during the medieval age did not give particular importance to the Panchayats. All of the decisions regarding local governance were taken by the crown in the center. The British invaders were fully aware of the importance of self-government organizations at the community level during their rule in India. Therefore, they implemented some reforms and devolved some powers from centers to provinces. In the final years of their rule in the country the establishment of the provincial independence in 1937 resulted in the improvement of local administrative bodies and democratization of the Panchayats. After the independence India experienced problems such as service delivery and low level of public participation in its local administrative system. Therefore, it appointed several committees such as Balvantray Mehta Committee 1957, Ashok Mehta Committee 1977, and GVK Rao task force 1985 in order to investigate the issues and provide their recommendations to the government. All of the committees had come to the conclusions of providing more power and authority to PRIs and advocate a 3-tier local government system in the country. Despite of these efforts the issues remained unsolved because the reforms didn't have Constitutional support. Therefore, it forced Indian authorities to make some important amendments to the Constitutions. The 73rd and 74th amendments of the Indian have been noted to be the most important occurrences after the independence in India. The mentioned amendments paved the way for more decentralizations as well as giving the needed autonomy to the PRIs in India.

The history of local government in Türkiye is basically divided into two periods. The Ottoman Era and the Republic Era. Just like Afghanistan and India, the system of local government in the Ottoman period was heavily centralized. The ottoman empire had taken some initiatives in order to meet the needs of the local people, especially the minorities. It is found that most the current local administrative institutions of Türkiye have indeed been founded during the Ottoman empire period. The first municipality was established in year 1855. Special Provincial Administration was established in 1840 and various councils such as provincial councils, large-small council and country councils were established by the Ottoman rulers. Local government during the republican period has observed to be the same as Ottoman

empires period but with a difference of giving importance to the public participation against the elite's bureaucracy of the Ottomans. The most important event was the relocation of capital to Ankara. This is found to be due to two reasons such as security and intentions to break ties with previous administration. Rural to urban migration due to modernization of agriculture system and neoliberals economic policies such as TOKI the Housing Development Agency of Türkiye which were adopted in 1980 are the significant events of the republican era.

It is scrutinized that all of the mentioned cases experienced a centralized form of government in their early ages. In Afghanistan the Amir Abdul Rahman Khan, in India the Muslims and Moghuls and in Türkiye the Ottomans were the founders of centralism. Moreover, it was found that in India the British empire was the one establishing and promoting decentralization based on the deep understanding of the efficiency of the ancient local bodies like Panchayats in the multi class country like India. In the modern era India and Türkiye has been one step further from Afghanistan. In India many commissions had been assigned in order to evaluate the local government and provide their recommendations. In Türkiye also many efforts have been done to promote public participation and power sharing for instance the preferring people engagement over elitism in the local level. Oppositely, in Afghanistan nothing essential has been done in this regard.

3.2.3. Structure of the Local Governance

According to the chapter 2, Afghanistan has a centralized system of government which is divided into three parts below.

- The executive
- The legislative
- The judiciary

Furthermore, chapter two indicates that the local government in Afghanistan is consisted of the below institutions.

- The province
- The provincial council
- The districts

- The villages
- The Municipalities

The province is headed by a governor who is directly elected by the president of Afghanistan. The provincial council is the only local government body whose members are chosen by the local people, but their role is advisory. The districts are supervised by the district governors who are the central government representative. Furthermore, Municipalities are noted to be the service delivery bodies in the cities. Although, the Constitution of Afghanistan asks for the mayors to be elected by the people yet due to some political reasons the central government appoints the mayors.

It is found that previously it was the ministry of interior that managed the local government affairs but in order to enhance the local government system and provide better services and cut other agencies interferences in the local government affairs the Kabul government established the Independent Directorate of Local Governance. The IDLG is an autonomous organ which administers the local government's affairs and reports to the president. The president appoints governors based on the suggestions of the IDLG.

India, on the other hand is observed to have three tier system of government. According to the chapter two, Indian government in the center is elementally divided into three branches.

- The executive
- The legislative
- The judiciary

It is noted that India has 28 states, and each state is made up of the below authorities.

- The Chairman
- Council of Ministers
- State Assembly

Local government in India is divided into two main branches as below.

- Municipalities
- Panchayats

The municipalities are local government bodies responsible for urban population. They are divided into three categories.

- The Municipality Corporations
- Municipal councils
- Nagar Panchayats

Corporations are found to be established for areas with over one million population. Municipal councils are made for the regions with one hundred thousand populations and Nagar Panchayats are municipal organs responsible for the areas with no more than twelve thousand inhabitants. It is worth mentioning that according to chapter two Municipalities are headed by municipal commissioners who are directly elected by the central government. The Panchayats are local government institutions tasked with rural areas in India which are also divided into three sections.

- The Zilla Panchayat
- Mandal Panchayat
- Gram Panchayat

At the apex it is the Zilla Panchayat or district Panchayat directed by a president who is appointed by the state government. After that comes the Mandal Panchayat which is primary responsible to connect the Zilla Panchayat with Gram Panchayat. It is consisted of heads of gram Panchayats, legislative assembly and parliamentarians and members of district administration or Zilla Panchayat. At the bottom level are Gram Panchayats. They are established to administer and provide services to the areas with less than 200 people. Gram Panchayats are guided by village leaders also known as Sarpanch.

Türkiye, according to its Constitution has a centralized system of administration and the Constitution divides the local government of Türkiye into three below parts.

- Special Provincial Administration
- Municipality

- Village

Special Provincial Administration is made of the three government organs below.

- The General Assembly of Province
- The Provincial Executive Committee
- The Governor

The general assembly is the decision-making organ of the province which's members are elected by the people through elections. Provincial Executive Committee is consisted of general assembly of the province, and the governor. It performs the resolutions of the general assembly of province. The governor is elected by the president is the head of special provincial administration and general assembly. It is noted that municipalities are autonomous legal organs of the government in Türkiye. Municipalities are established in regions with minimum of 5000 populations. They are headed by a mayor who is elected by the local people. Municipalities in Türkiye are consisted of two branches mentioned below.

- Municipal council
- Municipal Executive Committee

Municipal council is the decision-making body of the municipality. Villages are the smallest administrative units of public administration in Türkiye. It's noticed that Villages are given particular consideration in Türkiye's local government system. They are headed by headmen also named as Mukhtar who is elected by the villagers and are counted to be central government representatives in the village. Villages in Türkiye are made up of Mukhtars, Elderly Assembly and the village association.

The study observed that in India and Türkiye the local administrative bodies enjoy freedom while taking decisions about the issues related to the areas of their jurisdiction. In India for example the Panchayat raj institutions at all levels are elected democratically and has their fiscal and administrative autonomy. In Türkiye also the Special Provincial Administration is said to be an institution with complete autonomy. The provincial general assembly is the decision-making authority of the local government in the province has been provided with relevant executive authority to

decide on their own. In contrast Afghanistan the local government authorities are directly elected by the central government and are observed to under direct control of the central government. They do not have administrative and financial autonomy. While in Türkiye the provincial council is the decision-making authority of the province in Afghanistan the same council is elected by the people, but it only has advisory role.

3.2.4. Local Government Democracy

The local government democracy is found to be the autonomy of local officials to take decisions in regards with the local government issues. In the chapter two the local government democracy in the three cases is evaluated based on their administrative financial autonomies and level of people participation in those countries.

3.2.4.1. Administrative Autonomy

Afghanistan is observed to be unitary state where the central government controls everything regarding the local administrative affairs. Whereas the local officials have limited authority to make some decision, their autonomy to take large scale decisions or either restricted or directly controlled by the central authorities. Although Governor has the authority to appoint junior level staff but it's the central government ministers to recruit from 3 and 5 categories. Although, the establishment of independent directorate of local government to administer the local government in the country has been an improvement, yet the central government has strong influence over this organization which deducts from its capability to act on its own. Furthermore, the study has found that in Afghanistan the local warlords usually act as state bureaucrats and force local authorities to serve their benefits. Their actions behaviors have become a significant obstacle for the central government to exercise its authority and implement its policies in the local areas.

India, on the other hand has a decentralized system of government with a wide range of power devolution between central and local authorities. Based on the findings of the chapter two the 73rd amendments of the Constitution of India have resulted in a massive improvement in the Indian local government system. The amendment urges

the government to provide the PRIs the required authorities to act independently on the local matters. Likewise, in the 74th amendment of the Constitution provided the local government with a list of 18 tasks that could be performed by the local authorities. The study concluded that the delivery of power and responsibility resulted in improved service delivery.

Türkiye, has a strong centralized model of government that is inherited from the Ottoman Empire. Turkish local administrative system has existed for more than a century. Amid various political administrations like absolutism, Constitutional government, and republican the local authorities have always been under tight control of the national government. Regardless of the strong centralized structure, the country has implemented some reforms such as 2004 and 2005 laws that has given the local authorities to take decisions on their own and be autonomous.

Although, its observed that all of the mentioned countries are relaying on the structure that is left for them from the past governments India and Türkiye have used the structure in a positive way by implementing some reforms. The 73rd and 74th amendments of the Indian Constitution and modernization of Turkish local administrative system under new public management laws of 2004 and 2005 are the examples for it. But in Afghanistan throughout its history the local government authorities haven't been so keep to share their power with the local authorities.

3.2.4.2. Fiscal Autonomy

The chapter two states that level of fiscal autonomy in Afghanistan local government is minimum. Local government institutes do not have their own budget. Every decision regarding the financial expenditure and revenue is taken by the relevant ministries in Kabul also financial allocations are determined by the central government. The only power that the local authorities have is to prepare their proposals and send them to the relevant departments in the central government in order to be approved. On the other hand, Municipalities have been found to be self-sustaining institutions that have their own income sources through providing services to the locals, but they are also under strong control and influence of central authorities.

India has a decentralized financial system where local government authorities have their budget, and finances prepared, approved and implemented by the local authorities. It is observed that the majority of local government income falls into three categories. Firstly, distribution by the finance commission of the state. Secondly, the programs that are supported by the local government itself. Finally, programs that are funded by the central government. Unlike Afghanistan the government of India has initiated better financial strategies that have resulted in extraordinary degree of fiscal transparency and accountability.

In the Republic of Türkiye, the Constitution provides the parliament with the power to determine tax rates in the country. Municipal councils of the country set municipal income rates and send them to the ministry for interior for approval. Municipalities in Türkiye have autonomy to use the available funds and decide on where to use them. They have their own source incomes as well as conditional transfers by the central government.

Afghanistan and Türkiye both have centralized system of administration. In Afghanistan every financial decision relevant to the local government is taken by the central authorities. However, in Türkiye in accordance with the law no 5018 passed in year 2005 the local government organizations such as municipalities and Special provincial administration has the autonomy to decide upon the financial issues and use of relevant fund. On the other hand, in India where the system of government favors decentralization the 73rd amendment of the Constitution of India has provided the local government institutions such as Panchayats with the relevant autonomy in regards with the financial issues of the local government.

3.2.5. People Participation

The chapter two illustrates that the direct or indirect engagement of the people in the government decision making process is said to be people participation. The public participation is essential because it brings the government close to the nation and provide the government with needed the legitimacy.

In Afghanistan people participation is a new phenomenon throughout its history the people of Afghanistan have not been given the right to influence the decisions of

their rulers. After the establishment of a democratic government in 2004 a constitution was concluded for the country. The new Constitution in the article 6 and article 35 emphasizes on certain values one of which is people participation. The study in the chapter two has observed that people have minimum influence in the local government decision making in Afghanistan. This is due to the lack of power and authority in the local government to the public representatives in the local government structure. The only organ of the local government that is democratically elected is provincial councils however it only has advisory role not executive one thus, decreasing public influence in the decision-making process.

Inspired by the teachings of the Mahatma Gandhi the Indian Constitution after the 73th amendment brought the Gram Panchayat /Village administration at the core of Indian Constitution. It has provided every Indian with the right to elect their authorities. While members of the Gram Panchayat are elected by the people the president is appointed by the central government. The structure of Gram Panchayat is observed to have been constructed in such a way that allows every member of the community to take part in the government decision making process. Although the Constitution emphasizes on the importance of village level participation the apex levels of the Indian local government system is also elected by the people only chairman of the district Panchayat is appointed by the central government.

In Türkiye the approach towards the issue of people participation is comparatively similar to India. While during the Ottoman Empire it was the elites that used to take decisions regarding the local issues. In the modern era the things have changed, and republicans emphasized on village level participation of the people to be essential in this country. Just like the gram Panchayat in India, there are village councils and elderly councils in Türkiye with a difference that in India the head of the Panchayat is elected by the government, in Türkiye the headmen/Mukhtar is elected by the people of the village. In both cases the president of the village is the official central government representative. In Türkiye the Special Provincial Administration which is made of governor, General Assembly of the Province and Provincial Committee is an administrative authority responsible for the local governance in the country. The

members of the mentioned councils are elected by the people of the province and enjoy administrative authority.

While India and Türkiye have observed to have alike approaches towards the issue of people participation and laws in both of these countries have provided the people with relevant rights to have a say in the bureaucratic process. In Afghanistan meanwhile, the villages have not been given the required importance and at the same time the only elected local body which is provincial council has not been provided with the executive authority which resulted in extreme centralization and decreased the people engagement that had ultimately distanced the locals from the government.

3.2.6. Reforms and Decentralization

Chapter two explains reforms to be initiatives or policies that are implemented by the governments in order to promote democracy, increase efficiency in the service delivery, and meet the needs of their people. Most of the reforms in the modern era have been implemented to gain the ultimate goal of devolution of power and authority through decentralization. Similarly, decentralization is found to be a collection of state reforms aimed at transferring of authority, duty and resources from upper level to lower levels of state administration.

According to the finding of the chapter two, Afghanistan has always had a centralized system of government throughout its history. It is detected that since its independence the approach of state building in the country has been based on centralism. Article 137th of the 2004 Constitution of the country determines the system of administration to be centralized, however it asks for the villages and districts, and municipal mayors to be elected by the local people but to some unknown reasons the mentioned authorities are still appointed the central government. The most important reform that has been implemented by the Afghanistan government is the establishment of Independent Directorate of Local Governance, but the agency is still under tight control and influence of the central government.

Although India has a decentralized system of government but in 1990 it was detected that the local government in India lacks Constitutional authority and recognition due to which it could not be prove to be effective. As a result, two years

later in 1992 the national government introduced the 73rd amendment to the Constitution. Furthermore, the Indian government introduced 74th amendment aimed at democratic stabilization in the municipalities. The mentioned amendments have been proving to be efficient initiatives in promoting decentralization and providing local government with the adequate level of power and authority. However, state government will decentralize funding, appointments and duties. Lacks of efforts to improve the capacity of disadvantage groups, and ill organization of citizen engagement and accountability have been found to be obstacles towards implementations of the reforms in India.

Despite having a centralized form of government, the republic of Türkiye has implemented some decentralization reforms to shape central-local government relations, improve local government authority as well as involvement of the local people in the decision-making process, and encourage better service delivery. In year 2004, laws No. 5216 regarding metropolitan municipalities was passed and in the following year law No. 5393 for municipalities were adopted. The mentioned law states that village administrator or Mukhtar points out the needs of the village inhabitants and report to the relevant authorities. Furthermore, the enforcement of the law No.6360 resulted in the establishment of metropolitan municipalities in 14 cities also the emergence of 27 new districts in the country. Some laws such as municipality law No. 5393 was seemed to be unclear regarding the duties of municipalities. However, Special Provincial Administration Law No.5302 is much more specific and it focuses on the services relating to the trade and industry and meeting the needs of the people. It's worth mentioning that most of the current reforms in Türkiye has been implemented under the new public management approach, it predicts an anti-bureaucratic structure and prefers new understanding of rationality based on market mechanism instead of understanding it based on bureaucracy.

Although Afghanistan and Türkiye both have centralized forms of Administration the level of decentralization in Türkiye is found to be more than Afghanistan. The governments in the history of Afghanistan have always been greedy for the power and have never wanted to share their powers with the local authorities. Türkiye unlike Afghanistan has implemented several decentralization reforms in order

to make it up to the requirements of the modern era and meet the needs of its people. The New Public Management (NPM) policy by the government of Türkiye could be an example for it. In India on the other hand the 73rd and 74th amendments at the result of which the local government institutions got their Constitutional recognition and the needed authorities to make their own decisions could be mentioned as reforms that the Indian government initiated in order to bring efficiency in its local government. It can be understood that Constitutional recognition is an effective approach in case of devolution of power because the level of risk in the manipulation of law for the benefit of certain political groups and individuals are decreased to a lot extend.

3.2.7. Challenges and Solutions

Facing challenges and obstacles while trying to implement government policies at the local areas are natural for every country. Afghanistan India and Türkiye all have been observed to have faced challenges too. In the below part of this paper firstly, a review of the chapter two's findings in regards with the mentioned cases challenges will be done after that their approaches to solving the local government challenges will be comparatively analyzed.

Afghanistan is observed to have faced major challenges such as; centralization of all power and authority by the central government, lack of public participation and warlord's bureaucracy. Unfortunately, since the last two decades nothing in particular has been done to solve the mentioned problems by the Afghan government. In a minor move the central government established a namely independent directorate of local governance that actually was under tight influence of the central authorities.

India is examined to have faced obstacles such as; lack of digitalized professionalism, lack of effective coordination among local government organs, existence of parallel bodies alongside the constitutionally recognized institutions of the local government and inadequate financial resources were the problems on the way to implementing its policies and meeting the needs of the people. Chapter two states that the Indian government has taken some steps in order to fight the mentioned problems. Firstly, in order to tackle the issue of lack of digitalized professionalism the Indian government ordered for the implementation of E-Panchayat project under which a group of the Indian local governance staff used to get trainings with other employees

get trained by them. Secondly, in order to sort out the issue of poor coordination among the local bodies law No. 243ZD was that made cooperation and coordination mandatory between the local government institutions. Thirdly, the existence of the parallel organizations that were headaches for the official local government organs yet in order to help them out this situation nothing in particular has been found to be done by the Indian authorities. Finally, in order to solve the problem of inadequate financial resource in the local government, the Indian government passed the 73rd amendment of the Indian Constitution that provided the local government authorities with the needed autonomy to use available funds and also implement some strategies to generate income at the local level.

In Türkiye, the strong centralized state structure, lack of openness and transparency, lack of public participation are the main problems on the way to implementing local government policies. Firstly, to solve the issue of power concentration inside the central governance in Ankara, the government of Türkiye passed some decentralization laws such as law No. 5302, 5227 and 6360. The mentioned laws provided the local organs with the adequate level of power and authority to implement their policies. Secondly, lack of openness and transparency that is found to be inherent in Turkish local government system due to traditional reasons. Therefore, the government in Ankara passed the law no. 4982 on freedom of information in year 2004 which made it comparatively easier for the people to get needed information from the officials. However, the study detected that the problem of openness and transparency still exists in all levels of the government in Türkiye. Finally, to tackle the challenge of the people participation the central government passed and enacted law no. 2972 on elections of local government, village headmen and elderly assembly. This law enabled the local people especially those living in the villages to actively take part in elections and choose their representatives.

While India and Türkiye both have implemented certain policies and enacted a series of laws that have proven to be efficient in tackling the relevant challenges in the field of local governments. For instance, the 73rd and 74th amendments of the Constitution by the Indian government and passing of the municipality law No.5302 by the government of Türkiye. However, the governments in Afghanistan have

observed to have never taken minimum initiatives in order to solve the challenges their local government organs are facing.

TABLE 1: Local Government Comparison of Afghanistan India and Türkiye

PARAMETERS	AFGHANISTAN	INDIA	TÜRKİYE
Administrative Model	Heavily Centralized	Decentralized	Centralized
Authorized Organs	Powerful President, Governor.	Panchayati Raj Institutes	Provincial General Assembly, Provincial Committee
Election	Elected by the IDLG, Independent Directorate of Local Government	Apart from the CEO and other High-level authorities of only the Zilla Panchayat, Gram and Mandal Panchayats including all other authorities are elected by the local people vote.	Provincial Assembly is elected by the local vote. Provincial committee is consisted of locally elected and centrally appointed members.
Authority	Central	Local	Local and partially Central
Number of Municipalities	217	State per state, the quantity of municipalities varies.	1390
Municipality Elections	Elected by the Central government	Elected by the Local Vote	Elected by the Local Vote
Municipality Service Area	Narrow	Wide	Wide
Local Participation	Average	High	High
Local Engagement and Influence	Very Low	High	High

CONCLUSION

This research has done a comparative study of the local government systems in three countries namely as Afghanistan, India and Türkiye. Firstly, Local government systems of the mentioned countries have been studied based on their concept, history, structure, reforms and decentralization, local government democracy and problems and solutions of the local government issues in these countries. Secondly, a comparative analysis of the local government in the aforementioned countries are provided by scrutinizing each one of the above-mentioned issues individually in order to determine the similarities and differences between the mentioned cases on the bases of the relevant issues. In the case of Afghanistan, the concept of the local government has found to be central government institutions in the local areas that do not have their enough authority and power to act on their own. While in India the concept of the local government is built based on the ancient local level administrative practices which is named as Panchayat. India is found to have been very successful in utilizing the ancient populist local structures by regulating and providing them with the enough autonomy to act on their own. In Türkiye the concept of local government has remained from the times of Ottoman empire where the elites were authorities to carry the local government related affairs and obey the sultans however in the modern Türkiye a significant change has been brought into this idea by giving priority to the local people and removing the system of elitism. While in the course of history of local government both Afghanistan and India have experienced heavily centralized government systems while being ruled by Mughals and Muslims. The things for India however were changed as the English imperialists stepped in into the country. The British understood the importance of populist's administrative structures at the local level in India. Therefore, they put the base of the decentralization in the country by improving the Panchayat system. On the other hand, in neighboring Afghanistan in order to protect his dominance the emir of that time Amir Abdul Rahman khan put the base of strong centralized government, this trend has unfortunately been continuing until now. In Türkiye meanwhile the history of local government illustrates that since the republicans got into power and the elitism was abolished and populism through public participation were promoted and improved. In order to achieve this goal, SPAs

were established, and they were provided with full freedom and authority to carry on their duties. The study observed that in India and Türkiye the local administrative bodies enjoy freedom while taking decisions about the issues related to the areas of their jurisdiction. In India for example the Panchayat raj institutions at all levels are elected democratically and has their fiscal and administrative autonomy. In Türkiye also the SPA is said to be an institution with complete autonomy. The provincial general assembly is the decision-making authority of the local government in the province has been provided with relevant executive authority to decide on their own. In contrast Afghanistan the local government authorities are directly elected by the central government and are observed to under direct control of the central government. They do not have administrative and financial autonomy. While in Türkiye the provincial council is the decision-making authority of the province in Afghanistan the same council is elected by the people, but it only has advisory role which is the key difference between the two government systems. In terms of local government democracy, it has been illustrated that Afghanistan has a heavily centralized system of government and local institutions does not have decision making authority. An interesting fact about Afghan local government democracy is that mostly in this country the local warlords act as state bureaucrats which eventually undermine the central government dominance in the local areas. Unlike Afghanistan, India has very decentralized form of government and the country has successfully amended its Constitution in order to provide the local authorities with the relevant authority to decide on their own. The 73rd and 74th amendments of the Indian Constitution are seen to be the milestones that helped the Indian local government system get the freedom it needed in order to perform their services efficiently. Türkiye on the other hand just like Afghanistan is found to have a strongly centralized system of government but unlike Afghanistan the Turkish government has brought certain reforms and issued certain laws such as 2004 and 2005 laws on the local government which gave the local government institutions with the adequate authority and power to freely take their own decisions. Fiscal autonomy is the second factor that has been investigated to examine the level local government democracy in the relevant cases. At the result of this it has been concluded that Afghanistan has heavily centralized government that controls every aspect of the local government affairs including the local government finances.

The central government decides on where to use the local budget and local authorities along with the provincial councils only advisory roles have. India meanwhile has a decentralized type of local government where the local officials have sufficient fiscal authority. In Türkiye the parliament has the taxing authority and municipal councils set municipal income rates and send them to the ministries for approval. Local authorities in Türkiye specially the municipalities also have enough fiscal freedom. While India and Türkiye have observed to have alike approaches towards the issue of people participation and laws in both of these countries have provided the people with relevant rights to have a say in the bureaucratic process. In Afghanistan meanwhile the villages have not been given the required importance and at the same time the only elected local body which is provincial council has not been provided with the executive authority which resulted in extreme centralization and decreased the people engagement that had ultimately distanced the locals from the government. It is normal for every government to face challenges in their local administrative system but the efficiency of the approaches they take is factor to be focused on. Just like the rest of the countries Afghanistan, India and Türkiye have also faced several challenges. Afghanistan has always had the problems centralization of power, low level of local people participation and engagement and recently the country have faced the issue of warlord's bureaucracy on its way to implementing its local policies. India on the hand has faced the challenges of lack of digital professionalism and lack of effective coordination among the relevant agencies in the local government. Finally, the republic of Türkiye has faced the issues of strong centralism, transparency and low level of public participation. While India and Türkiye both have implemented certain policies and enacted a series of laws that have proven to be efficient in tackling the relevant challenges in the field of local governments. For instance, the 73rd and 74th amendments of the Constitution by the Indian government and passing of the municipality law No.5302 by the government of Türkiye. However, the governments in Afghanistan have observed to have never taken minimum initiatives in order to solve the challenges their local government organs are facing. Although Afghanistan and Türkiye both have centralized forms of Administration the level of decentralization in Türkiye is found to be more than Afghanistan. The governments in the history of Afghanistan have always been greedy for the power and have never

wanted to share their powers with the local authorities. Türkiye unlike Afghanistan has implemented several decentralization reforms in order to make it up to the requirements of the modern era and meet the needs of its people. The New Public Management policy by the government of Türkiye could be an example for it. In India on the other hand the 73rd and 74th amendments at the result of which the local government institutions got their Constitutional recognition and the needed authorities to make their own decisions could be mentioned as reforms that the Indian government initiated in order to bring efficiency in its local government.

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CURRICULUM VITAE

Shamsuddin JALALI was born in Kunduz province of Afghanistan. He completed high school education in Habibia High School located in Kabul Afghanistan, after that, he went to India and started undergraduate program in Savitribai Phule Pune University Department of politics and completed the undergraduate program in 2016. To complete Master of Public Administration, he enrolled to Karabük University.