

A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF METROPOLITAN GOVERNANCE IN TURKEY

Adem Esen

Faculty of Political Sciences, Istanbul University, former mayor of Selçuklu-Konya Municipality

Introduction

Turkey is located between Europe and the Middle East and covers an area of 774.815 km². According to the address based population registration system, Turkey's population is 77 million people approximately. Per capita income is 11.000 USA \$, and per capita reel GDP (purchasing power parity indicators) is 18 800 USA \$ approximately.

After the Ottoman Empire, in the Republic of Turkey since 1923, the public management system as well as the legal system has been a restructuring process.

During this period, the provincial administration, special provincial administrations, and villages laws have been launched; Village Law (1924), Civil Servants Act (1926), Wage Act (1927), Provincial Administration Law (1929), Law on Civil Servants' combining and equalization of salaries, (1929) and Municipal Law (1930). They remained in force for a long time, and some of them have been changed a very short time ago.

Census years	The number of		
	Provinces	Districts	Villages
1975	67	572	35 228
1997	80	873	35 151
2014	81	919	18340

The Village Law is still in force.

Administrative structure

As for central administration units, Turkey is divided into provinces which are subdivided into districts and down into villages. This table shows the number of provinces, districts, and villages.

The governors in the provinces and sub-governors in the districts are appointed by the central government.

There are also local governments as well central

Years	The number of municipalities		
	Non-metropolitan	Metropolitan	Metropolitan district
1980	1725	-	-
1985	1703	3	43
1990	2032	8	55
1993	2462	15	76
1995	2519	15	76
2014	848 (Provincial municipalities 51, non-metropolitan districts 400, town municipalities 397)	30	519

administrations. As shown below, the number of municipalities is;

Source: <https://www.e-icisleri.gov.tr /Anasayfa /MulkiIdariBolumleri.aspx>

Provinces and districts are both administrative units of central government and territorial units of local government. On the one hand representatives of central government (governors for provinces and sub-governors for districts), on the other hand local government bodies (provincial local governments and municipalities) work in the same areas, but carry out different duties. It should be noted that the jurisdiction of the provincial local government covers the whole province, whereas the working area of municipalities covers only municipal areas excluding rural areas (e.g. villages).

Local administrations are regulated in Article 127 and 123 of the Constitution. According to the Constitution, the administration is an aggregate organization with its functions, and its establishments, and regulated by law. Local government is determined by decentralization

principles. To deliver public services, central and local governments should work together in harmony and coordination. The tutelage of the central government has been introduced for this purpose.

Evolution of Big Cities (Metropolises)

Although the management model of large urban areas configuration initiative had been started in the 1970s, the attempts of the Metropolitan Service Union Bill (1972), Istanbul Metropolitan Service Union Law Draft (1975), and the Metropolitan Service Association Law Proposal (1976) and, Big City Union Law Draft (1978-1980) were failed. Another important initiative was to establish the Ministry of Local Administration in 1978. To make integrated plans in great urban areas, coordinate, and provide the capacity to produce services for the whole city, another initiative was the law draft of the big city union prepared by the Ministry of the Construction and Housing Ministry in 1980. However, this proposal did not find the possibility of adoption (Yazıcı). Thus, the uniform

municipal system for large and small towns was available in Turkey until 1984.

With Article 127 of the Constitution of 1982, it has been set "special forms of government by law can be brought to the larger urban centres". First, with Law No. 2561, municipalities and villages around the city with the population of 300,000 were connected to central cities, so it was decided a step to the metropolitan model. The first law (No. 3030) on big municipality (metropolitan governance) was published in 1984; Ankara, Istanbul, and İzmir Metropolitan Municipalities were established. In the following year, in 1986, Adana; in 1987, Bursa, Gaziantep and Konya; Kayseri in 1988; in 1993, Antalya, Diyarbakir, Erzurum, Eskişehir, Izmit, Mersin and Samsun; and in 2000 Sakarya metropolitan municipalities were founded. In this, population of 500,000 or more, the city centre has been configured as a metropolitan municipality. Here, also the district municipalities have been established. Some new district municipalities within the great municipal boundaries were established. Lower-tier

municipalities are given non-municipal districts established name. As shown in the above table 2, Metropolitan municipalities' (i.e., big cities number and duties) have increased in the last thirty years. In order to regulate the legal status of the municipal administration and to carry out planning of services effectively and efficiently the Law No. 5216 was issued in 2004, and with this Law, the jurisdiction was adopted as the administrative boundaries, in both Istanbul and Kocaeli provinces. Being metropolitan local government, provincial population should be 750 thousand or more.

Some arrangements have been made about the metropolitan municipality with Law No. 5747 in 2008. Although integrated with the boundaries of Istanbul and Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipalities' provinces, it was considered 50, 30 and 20 km radius in other provinces. Some municipalities participated in another municipality (e.g., Eminönü Municipality of Istanbul attended the Fatih Municipality), some within metropolitan municipality borders transformed into status of

villages taken out of the metropolitan boundaries, then 275 first-tier municipalities of the legal entity were removed because legally the presence of first-tier municipalities within the metropolitan municipality borders has ended. Some articles of this law that ended the legal personality of the 862 municipalities, population of which were under 2000 were annulled by the Constitutional Court in 2008. According to this decision, some municipalities are closed. Although numerous small municipalities reacted to this closing-decision, there has not been considerable public reaction. Indeed, the ruling party has maintained its strength in the later local elections in 2009.

When considering the symposium organized by the Union of Municipalities of Turkey, on the occasion of the 25th Anniversary of Big Cities' Municipalities; representatives of the central government, such as staff of the Ministry of Interior have stood on the shortcomings of the control on the local governments; local authorities, such as mayors have stood on the transfer of resources from central government to

local governments; and metropolitan and district municipalities were approached in terms of the powers between them (The Union of Municipalities of Turkey (UMT), Review, June-July 2010.)

New regulations in the metropolitan governance

Also on March 30, 2014 Turkey's local elections held with an application covering almost two-thirds of the boundaries, the metropolitan governance has been expanded in the entire province boundary. Thus, metropolitan municipalities' responsibilities and effects increased recently. As the local provincial administrations and villages were abolished in these provinces, it has switched to dual unified municipal building¹. Hence, it is applied in Turkey, consolidated two-tiered government system.

According to the Law No. 6360, last year, all of the entire provincial boundaries were made municipal borders in 30 provinces. Metropolitan municipality was established in the provinces

¹ There are four formats of metropolitan government; fragmented government, consolidated government, two-tier government and voluntary cooperation. (UCLG. Gold III 2014.)

where its population is more than 750.000. In more provincial centres, 43 new districts and municipalities were established. Again, district jurisdictions are expressed in the territorial boundaries of these districts. Special provincial administrations and provincial councils were removed in them. The primary task of the metropolitan municipality is to ensure coordination between district municipalities. Covering metropolitan areas, metropolitan municipal services (transport, water and sanitation, planning, waste storage etc.) have carried out by metropolitan municipality. With the new law, the towns, villages and forestry villages were converted into parishes. Thus, the ratio of the population living in metropolitan cities in Turkey was close to eighty percent.

Some criticize the establishment of large urban areas in terms of the 'geographical location' (Karagel). In fact, according to the Constitution, "in terms of central administrative structure, Turkey is divided into provinces on the basis of geographical situation, economic conditions, and

public service requirements; provinces are further divided into lower levels of administrative districts" (Article 126). Some examples of areas of the metropolitan municipality are; Istanbul 5 661 km², Ankara 25 615 km², Izmir 11 811 km² and the largest Konya 40,824 km². With the last regulation, the conclusion jurisdictions were expanded. For example, İzmit Metropolitan Municipality's service area, while only 32 km² is extended to 3 505 km² i.e., the service area has increased by about 110 times. Comparison with the number of people at the same location service to 1.635 million people from 202 000, a rate of about 800% increased. (Yazıcı; Bingöl et al.)

When we evaluate the metropolitan municipalities according to the population, it appears that the biggest is Istanbul 14.377 million; the second is Ankara 5.150 million; the third is Izmir 4.113 million, the number of metropolitan municipalities between 2-3 million is 4; 13 metropolises have between 1-2 million; and 10 have 750 000-1 million.

In addition, the economic levels of the metropolitans are very different.

Assessment of the recent history

In 30 metropolitan cities, special provincial administrations are covered by the new law; in other 51 provinces, they maintain their presence in rural areas. These administrations are to make three types of tasks; direct tasks, tasks that they perform on behalf of the central government and complementary tasks. Local services (such as rural planning) that fulfilled directly by these administrations, will be fulfilled by the metropolitan and district municipalities anymore. The services, made on behalf of the central government such as road maintenance and repair services, education and health investments will be done by the "Investment Monitoring Coordination Presidency" headed by the governor. Thus, this unit has been substituted for the provincial government. Previously, these services are performed by the heavy local nature

of the special provincial administrations, now became the central nature of the weight.

The protection of personal rights of workers and civil servants in different status in the closed administrations is important. But, it is also undoubted that there are some problems in the transition process. In addition, it is important, in terms of the requirements of the service that the immovable properties of closed administrations transfer related to central and local administrations (Esen; Ateş; Ünal).

Factors influencing the adoption of the new metropolitan law are as follows (Güngör ; Bingöl et.al.) :

- The problem of scale economies : small-scale income generation essence of municipal power are very limited, almost the entire share of the overall budget goes to personnel and other expenses. These specialist staff required by the municipal services as they are not able to employ machine parks. Thus, many services cannot fulfil the task given by the law in most small municipalities.

•Ensuring planning and service integrity: in the existing government structures, there are many administrations (i.e. special provincial administrations, metropolitan, district and town municipalities, villages and the unions, which provide services to the villages) has and there is weakly coordination between them. The services to be executed for a single source in the province are carried out in part. This situation is causing serious problems in the provision of local services such as planning.

•Lack of adequate and qualified personnel employed: Small municipalities in particular architects, civil engineers, environmental engineers, city planners, qualified as veterinarian, little or no employment experts and technical staff of the technical staff.

•Raising the standard of local services : local service delivery to the diversity of financial resources and their undersized material resources of small municipalities is related to effective use, but it can cover the administration costs. Indeed, it is seen that a large part of

municipalities to borrow significantly from both the public and private sectors.

•Development of local democracy: this can provide with the strong and accountable management. The provincial council are chosen by popular vote, but was under the influence of the governor as officer of the central government. Villages were not doing their duties without unions that serve them. It is also common that there has been a waste of public resources with nepotistic relationship. Everyone living in the neighbourhood with the new law provinces, the opportunity to have a say in the county and municipal management are provided.

In the world, in some applications, the establishment of a new governance structure activity or equality rule was very influential political initiative (UCLG. 240). The situation is not different in Turkey. Unfortunately, there is a lack of the empirical research on the new metropolitan establishment. Indeed, not only is the study of the Kocaeli, where the new regulation has been generally successful. Satisfaction of the

people here has been observed. However, the county council has fallen into the background. The well-coordination is essential to success between metropolitan and district municipalities (Yazıcı; Bingöl vd.).

Metropolitan government

It was noted above that consolidated two-tiered government model (metropolitan and district municipalities) is received in Turkey. The metropolitan municipality is governed by a mayor, a metropolitan executive committee and a metropolitan council. A metropolitan council consists of district mayors and one-fifth of the members of the municipal council of the districts, belonging to the metropolitan municipality. The metropolitan executive committee consists of a metropolitan mayor, a secretary-general of the metropolitan municipality, and the directors of some metropolitan municipality departments, such as finance and public works. The metropolitan council and committee have the same roles as those in non-metropolitan municipalities.

Similarly, the district municipality consists of the mayor, the council and an executive committee.

Provision of the basic services

The municipalities do not have any general power to deal with matters of local interest; they exercise only the powers expressly devolved to them by law.

Until the local government elections in March of 2014, some local services carried out by provincial administrations passed to the metropolitan and/or district municipalities. Also, the services related to the central government began to be made through the coordination centre established in the provincial governorship.

In metropolitan areas, metropolitan and metropolitan district municipalities share duties. The metropolitan level carries out the following duties:

- public safety: fire protection
- cleaning: solid waste disposal
- public transportation
- water supply and sanitation
- public works: e.g. major roads maintenance (roads 14m. or more in width)

- preparation of master urban plans
- traffic management
- city-wide co-ordination of investment plans
- agricultural services: parks (30,000 square metres or more in area), veterinary services...

The duties of metropolitan district municipalities are:

- public safety: inspection of markets and maintaining public order related to municipal duties,
- cleaning : solid waste collection,
- public works: e.g. local roads maintenance (roads less than 14m. in width)
- agricultural services: parks (less than 30,000 square metres in area), veterinary services,
- environmental health,
- development issues.

To provide water and wastewater services, the water and sewerage administrations are established depending on metropolitan municipalities. Although these are separate from the municipality administratively, they are connected with the budget and their

managements are appointed by the Mayor of Metropolitan Municipalities. The Council of the Metropolitan is the general assembly. Water prices are determined by using the pay rules. However, for protecting low-income households and decreasing water waste, gradual tariff is applied. In addition, a separate tariff is applied to wastewater services. This fee is charged to customers on the bill.

Electricity and natural gas distribution services are carried out by private or public sector businesses. Company engaged in natural gas distribution in Istanbul, is still owned by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality.

Significant part of the revenues of local governments consist of the central government allocated share and self revenues.

Some public companies belong to the metropolitan and district municipalities. These companies are active in various local service fields. Their staff does not count as municipal staff.

The coordination of infrastructure services in the metropolitan area shall be performed by the

metropolitan municipality. By definition, AYKOME, the management of the so-called coordination centre infrastructure does this duty.

Transportation coordination centre, called UKOME different institutions (metropolitan municipality, district municipalities, state highways, marine transport, metro, tram, such as traffic services) will ensure the coordination in the metropolitan area.

Education services are fulfilled by the public and private sectors. Municipalities can serve in the construction of schools, as maintenance.

In the organized Industrial zone, planning, water supply and wastewater treatment, electricity and natural gas are made by their provision of services.

So these services are separate from the related municipalities.

In addition, agriculture and animal husbandry, if necessary, the metropolitan and district municipalities have been given the task to support rural development activities.

In the metropolitan areas, water and sewerage services are offered with the Law 2560 ; in 1983

this law is applied to the newly established metropolitan law. These services in non-metropolitan provinces are fulfilled by municipalities. Thus the execution of water management in a province by a single source brings about possibilities such as dealing with a whole water budget in the entire city instead of a partial one, however a large number of general and specific problems regarding water and wastewater management come along with it (Keleş).

The metropolitan council is authorized to resolve the disputes between district municipalities, or district municipalities and metropolitan municipalities. Excluding Istanbul and Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipalities, the integration of spatial planning in the 28 municipalities with the transfer of the transaction file for reconstruction, has brought an intense study period (Unal, Ayşe). Metropolitan municipality has some special status areas, although the central authority of Housing Development Administration makes the plan itself, and organized industrial zones fulfils the

water and wastewater services. The river basin managements were also established across the country. This must significantly affect municipalities.

Fiscal structure

In Turkey, the share of municipalities' revenues is approximately 52 percent from the central government, and the rest are their self-incomes. This ratio of the scale of the municipalities varies according to the status and region. With the Law No. 6360, the share allocated to local authorities from the general budget was increased to 11.40 percent from 10.30 percent overall. Villages have brought some discounts on local services, offered to pay for the conversion around the neighbourhood, and urban property tax exemptions were introduced for a certain period of time for those with financial responsibility.

Conclusion

Metropolitan government in Turkey has gone through significant changes in the last thirty years. Almost 80% of the population was included in the metropolitan administration. 30 provincial

administrations and their villages have recently been transformed into metropolitan governments where consolidated two-tiered model is applied.

The theoretical starting point in combining the administrations under metropolitan governance has been the scale of economies, resource savings and efficiency.

References

- The Union of Municipalities of Turkey (UMT). (2010). Review. Juin-July.
- Yazıcı, Ersin. (2014) Analysis of the Civilian Border City Metropolitan Functionality Management Model : The Case of Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality. (Unpublished master's thesis). In Turkish : İl Mülki Sınıırında BüyükŞehir Yönetim Modelinin İşlevselliğinin Analizi : Kocaeli BüyükŞehir Belediyesi Örneği. (Yayınlanmamış yüksek lisans tezi) Kocaeli.
- Bingöl Y. ; Yazıcı, E.; (2013) Büyükakın T. The metropolitan model of the provincial jurisdiction : the case of Kocaeli (İl sınıırında büyükŞehir

belediye modeli: Kocaeli örneği.) Kocaeli Metropolitan Municipality publishment.

Turkish Statistical Institute. (2014) Address Based Population Registration System Results. www.tuik.gov.tr/IcerikGetir.do?istab_id=139

Esen, Adem; Güneş, A. F.; Ünal, Ü. (2014) *Problems and solutions related to the closure of special provincial administrations (İl özel idarelerinin kapatılmasına ilişkin sorunlar ve çözüm önerileri)*. BAT Provinces and Municipalities Magazine February. Issue: 790.

Güngör, Hayrettin. (2012) New metropolitan management and transition causes. (*Yeni büyükşehir yönetimi ve geçiş nedenleri*). October-November Issue: 774-775. P. 19-31.

Keles, Rustem. (2014) *6360 by the Water and Sewerage Administration Problems and Solutions* (Keleş, Rüstem. *6360 ile Su ve Kanalizasyon İdarelerini Bekleyen Sorunlar ve Çözümler*). BAT provinces and

municipalities Magazine. February. Issue : 790.

Ünal, Ayşe. (2014) Integration of spatial plans in new cities (Yeni büyükşehirlerde mekansal planların bütünleştirilmesi) BAT provinces and municipalities Magazine. February, Issue: 790.

Edited by : UCLG. (2014) Third Global Report on Local Democracy and Decentralization. Basic Services for All in an Urbanizing World. GOLD III 2014. Routledge.

Sağbaşı, İsa. (2003) Local Government Finance in Turkey: Theory and Practice of Municipal Revenues and Expenditures, Municipal Budgeting, Central-local Fiscal Relations. Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi publishing.

De jure regulations: the numbers of the Laws (2560, 3030, 5216, 5286, 5393, 5747, 6360)