



Bu Proje Avrupa Birliđi tarafından finanse edilmektedir.
This project is funded by the European Union.



**YEREL YÖNETİM REFORMU
PROJESİ (YR III)**
LOCAL ADMINISTRATION REFORM
PROJECT (LAR III)

Impact Assessment Final Report

12.05.2020

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| Component | Component 2: Capacity Building for New Metropolitan Municipality Model and Inclusive Local Governance Processes |
| Activity | 2.1.1. Impact of the Implementation of Municipality Legislation on Local Administrations |
| Output | Impact Assessment Final Report |

Local Administration Reform Project Phase III (LAR-III) is funded by the European Union under the IPA Funds. The beneficiaries of the Project are the Republic of Turkey Ministry of Interior and Ministry of Environment and Urbanization. The Central Finance and Contracts Unit is the contracting authority of the Project. Technical assistance for the implementation of the Project is provided by the United Nations Development Programme. The content of this report does not reflect the official opinion of the European Union and UNDP. Responsibility for the information and views expressed in the report lies entirely with the authors.



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Abbreviations

| | |
|----------------|---|
| EU | European Union |
| AYKOME | Infrastructure Coordination Centre |
| MM | Metropolitan Municipality |
| MDM | Metropolitan District Municipality |
| DSI | General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works |
| E-Municipality | Republic of Turkey Ministry of Interior, Municipal Information System |
| GDP | Gross Domestic Product |
| SWOT | Strengths-Weaknesses-Opportunities-Threats |
| ILBANK | Bank of Provinces Cooperation |
| KPSS | Public Servants Selection Examination |
| LAR3 | Local Administration Reform Support Project Phase III |
| OGM | General Directorate of Forestry |
| SSI | Social Security Insurance |
| SOYBIS | Social Assistance Information System |
| NGO | Non-Governmental Organization |
| WSA | Water and Sewer Administration |
| TAKBIS | Land Records and Cadastre Information System |
| TGNA | Grand National Assembly of Turkey |
| WPI | Wholesale Price Index |
| CPI | Consumer Price Index |
| TURKSTAT | Turkish Statistical Institute |
| UKOME | Transport Coordination Centre |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme |
| YIKOB | Investment Monitoring and Coordination Department |
| YIKOM | Investment Monitoring and Coordination Centre |

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report addresses the impact assessment of local administration reforms that are performed under Local Administration Reform Support Project Phase III implemented by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) with funding from the European Commission. Its beneficiaries are the Ministry of Interior and Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, and it aims to assess the impacts of the legislation and practices about MMs and generally the local administration system in the last 15 years.

The report drew from the results and findings of activities such as the survey of local administration managers and households, focus group discussions, face-to-face interviews, workshops and from the analysis of the data on local administrations and the relevant literature. The analyses are presented in two parts. Chapter I “Quantitative Analyses” examines general trends with macro data while Chapter II “Qualitative Analyses” benefits from face-to-face interviews, focus group discussions, workshops and the literature in addition to the relevant data, and assesses the impacts on the relations between administration levels, fundamental elements and principles of administration, services, and offers some recommendations in the light of these assessments.¹

Chapter I Quantitative Analyses

Macro trends and views of metropolitan municipality (MM) managers and households on reform:

The Law No. 6360 revised the formula on the apportionments transferred to local administrations from general budget tax revenues and enlarged the apportionments pool, but the increase in own revenues remained limited. Changes in the sub-items after 2014 for the consolidated expenses of local administrations are interesting and it is accordingly considered that this can be associated with the generalization of MM model, and the mode of operation of the new model may have changed in order to deliver services to the expanded geography. For example, compared to the period before 2014, the maintenance and repair expenses of vehicles and construction equipment remain almost the same while rental expenses increase, school expenses for maintenance, repair and furnishing decrease, and the payments to consulting firms and individuals increase.

The changes in per capita quantities of water and wastewater are interesting as the indicators of those services for which local administrations are among the primary agents for which data have been regularly collected for 10 years though not signifying any result of the impact per se of local administration reforms. Said indicators are positively distinguished in 14 new MMs compared to 51 non-metropolitan municipalities since 2014 and come closer to the higher results of other 16 MMs.

¹ A separate study will be presented later which will develop those recommendations more strategically and include a framework for monitoring the reforms.

It is observed that abolishing legal personalities of villages and towns in the places where MMs were established and transforming them into neighbourhoods did not cause population change in these settlements that could be defined as rural neighbourhoods. Villages and neighbourhoods that had the same names were matched and thus the trends in the rural neighbourhood population were examined annually across 30 MMs as of 2014, but they did not change remarkably after 2014.

In the questionnaire administered to mid-level and senior managers in MMs and through which assessments on local administration reforms and especially on the Law No. 6360 were received, the most favourable opinions on the fundamental administration principles were about effective service delivery while the most unfavourable opinions focused on human resources. While the key reform areas under the Law No. 6360 and reforms in MM bureaucracy are generally assessed favourably, the transformation of villages into neighbourhoods is assessed unfavourably. In the assessments on services, the issues of agriculture and animal husbandry, which can again be associated with rural areas, are frequently cited among unfavourable ones.

It is observed that assessments of citizens on the Law No. 6360 are generally favourable. In this context, key reform areas of the Law were assessed, which included transformation of villages and towns to neighbourhoods, abolition of special provincial administrations (SPAs), expansion of MMs and metropolitan district municipalities (MDMs) to the boundaries of civil administrations so as to include villages and towns and assigning them with the responsibility of supporting agriculture and animal husbandry. Positive perceptions are a little higher in rural neighbourhoods. Rural neighbourhoods find it more favourably compared to the perceptions in urban neighbourhoods on the same issue that villages were transformed into neighbourhoods and MM was expanded to the entire province so as to cover villages and towns. When a comparison is made between 16 provinces which were already MMs before the Law No. 6360 and 14 provinces where MMs were established for the first time, positive perceptions are higher in 16 provinces.

Perceptions on the reforms are most influenced by the governance perception² on the MM from which service is received and it takes precedence over other factors such as satisfaction with services, satisfaction with living in the city, age, income, adequacy of income and whether the place of living is an MM.

Chapter II Qualitative Analyses

Highlights in the context of impact on relations between the central government and local administrations:

² The variable of governance perception consists of nine questions. These are, with the main headings, about the performance of municipalities on knowing the rules that they are obliged to implement and taking appropriate actions, equality of citizens in their behaviours, providing accurate and sufficient information to citizens, participation of citizens and NGOs in decision-making processes, having personnel in adequate numbers and capacity, using the resources efficiently, concluding services in a reasonable time, seeking the public good and developing new solutions and ideas to enable citizens to live better.

- It is assessed that the central government does not regularly and sufficiently use consultation and participation methods and tools which consider experience and preferences of the key stakeholders, especially municipalities, in legislative amendments concerning/affecting local administrations.
- It is stated that making amendments in the local administration legislation in a manner giving the impression that frequent and sufficient preparation and impact analysis are not performed, not allowing adequate time to the relevant institutions for adaptation to the new legislation and not planning transition processes with all aspects lead to significant problems in practice.
- It is criticized that some of the duties and powers entrusted to local administrations by reforms are returned to the central government itself or provincial organisations of the central government, at least making them more open to their intervention.
- It is considered as a positive development that the apportionments from general budget tax revenues to local administrations increased with the Law No. 6360, and especially MMs had the opportunity to produce more services and make more investments.
- It is observed that the Investment Monitoring and Coordination Department (YIKOB), which is established in 30 MMs under the Law No. 6360, could not be appropriately positioned at functional level in the administrative structuring in terms of central and local relations.
- Cooperation and coordination among central government institutions and municipalities are not at the desired level.
- It is an important issue of complaints that such actions as permits, approvals and allocations between MMs and some central government institutions spread over a very long time and contain some uncertainties.
- There are deficiencies in data and information sharing among administrations.
- It is requested that some exemptions and privileges, which are granted to central government institutions as of the public institution identity, should be granted to the municipalities as well.
- The deficiencies in the implementation of the constitutional principle requiring that local administrations shall be provided with revenues proportional to their duties are expressed especially in the context of unfunded obligations

Impact of reforms on relations between MMs and MDMs:

- The expansion of MM boundaries to provincial civil administration boundaries and MDM boundaries to district civil administration boundaries with the Law No. 6360 brought some similar advantages and disadvantages (in terms of the obligation to deliver services to a wider area, planning of the transition and adaptation period, services intended for rural areas and agriculture) both for MMs and MDMs.
- On the other hand, increasing powers and responsibilities of MMs in the new model compared to MDMs are assessed in two different ways. According to the assessment most common among

MM representatives, the new system made it possible to schedule and execute local investments and services from a single source at the provincial level, thereby increasing efficiency and providing an opportunity for benefiting from economies of scale. However, according to the second opinion which is mostly supported by the managers of MDMs, division of powers and responsibilities of the current system is quite problematic and it is necessary to review this model which has such elements as defunctionalizing MDMs, taking centralization to the local levels, preventing effective operation of the system in a holistic way.

- Considering that the existing approach of “*shared powers and duties*” regarding municipal police services, social assistance, road networks and parks caused a series of problems in practice, it is requested that for each service, an exclusive authorization and assignment should be made only at one level.
- It is observed that the flexibility provided for transferable services between MMs and MDMs has not been adopted sufficiently in practice. It is frequently stated that a new regulation should be made on Article 7 of the Law No. 5216 in order to eliminate the conflicts and problems regarding '*transferable services*' (terminals, wholesale markets, slaughterhouses, cemeteries, cleaning and numbering services) between MMs and MDMs which arose after the provision made by the amendment to the Law No. 6360.
- It is considered that financial transfers and the regulations about apportionments between MMs and MDMs affect the relations between local administrations adversely, and it is necessary to subject relevant provisions in the existing legislation to a comprehensive review so as to clear the system from such practices as the revenue sharing/transferring and offsetting.
- It is observed that there is significant deficiency of coordination and cooperation between MMs and MDMs, and serious need for improvement and potential for development in this regard.

Impact on the status of neighbourhoods in the new MM system and their relations with municipalities can be summarized as follows:

- Although it is intensely criticized by the experts, it is observed that abolition of SPAs and towns in the MMs by the Law No. 6360 was not subject to a serious and widespread objection and criticism by the practitioners in the field.
- The number of municipal managers disapproving abolition of village legal personalities is very high.
- Services delivered to rural neighbourhoods increased with the introduction of new MM system.
- Municipalities that have focused on the delivery of urban services have adaptation difficulties in relation to support agriculture and animal husbandry and the delivery of rural infrastructure services.
- It is thought that the system introduced by the Law No. 6360 underwent the most difficult process in the issues of planning and land development.

- It is observed that neighbourhoods and masters (mukhtars) need to improve their relations with municipalities.
- Although rural neighbourhood residents have positive perception on the reforms, this situation is affected by the exemptions and exceptions provided to rural neighbourhoods.

There are two highlights in the context of relations between municipal bodies:

- Although the status of council has been strengthened especially through the reforms initiated in 2004-2005, a sustainable checks-and-balances relation has not been achieved between council and mayor; the power division between council and mayor has increasingly tilted in favour of mayor.
- The establishment and functioning of MM councils (for example, election method for councillors, qualifications of councillors, ensuring fair representation in distribution by districts and population) is the subject of serious discussions.

Impact on fundamental elements and principles of administration:

- Regulations made in recent years are generally assessed favourably from the strategic planning perspective.
- Assessments on intra-institutional, intra-units coordination included in the MM managers' questionnaire are less in numbers but mostly favourable. However, the picture obtained by focus group discussions, face-to-face interviews and workshops show that duty, power and responsibility overlaps/conflicts between some central government institutions and municipalities and between MMs and MDMs make it an open-ended question or a problem by what kind of organization and at which level the predominantly local services should be delivered.
- It is assessed that the flexibility framework offered by standard job positions, which determine the organizational scheme of local administrations, should be reviewed. Although it is considered critical to employ experts and technical personnel for standard job positions in municipalities, some main problems about human resources still continue in practice.
- Although the regulations on modern public financial management contributed to the institutionalization of municipalities, and the expanded scale of MM contributed to the effective use of resources from a single source, it is thought that the resources are not enough to discharge the increasing responsibilities.
- Although a modern framework was provided in the field of audit with the reforms made in the early 2000s, there are still problems in practice.
- The opinions expressed in the studies about transparency conducted under the project are few in number but seem relatively appropriate.
- The situation seems a little different in terms of the participation principle. It is observed in the studies conducted under the project that the regulations and changes in relation to local

administrations in recent years have some positive features enabling the increase in participation. Another issue about the participation is that the municipality model in MMs abolished small municipalities and legal personalities of villages and combined them, which caused increasing physical distance between the municipal administration and the public.

In short, in the questionnaire administered to MM managers, it is seen that the MM model envisaged by the Law No. 6360 receive assessments that are favourable and effective, and this opinion is also supported in the meetings and interviews.

Highlights in the context of impacts of local administration reforms on local services:

- High level of favourable assessments about transport services in the questionnaire of MM managers are also confirmed by interviews and focus group discussions as well.
- Most of the favourable assessments made in the field of water and sewer are about delivery of services from a single source at provincial level by the help of Water and Sewer Administrations (WSAs).
- It is observed that the favourable assessments on planning and land development are mainly associated with “the possibility of making holistic plans from a single source at provincial level”.
- In the regions that were transformed from villages to neighbourhoods with the Law No. 6360, the urban problems experienced in planning and land development are repeated and some specific problems occur as well.
- It is considered that MMs and MDMs being able to take part in any kind of activities and services for the purpose of supporting agriculture and animal husbandry with the Law No. 6360 caused municipalities to encounter planning and service delivery in an area of responsibility that is beyond the classical/traditional urban services.
- At this point, it can be said that two main opposing trends stand out in the opinions about the system introduced by the Law No. 6360 on supporting agriculture and animal husbandry. According to the first opinion, authorization and assignment for agriculture and animal husbandry services are highly broad, open-ended and a limitation and specification should be introduced in this regard. According to the second view, provisions of the relevant legislation provide a flexibility to the municipalities to prioritize and deliver their services and activities in the field of agriculture and animal husbandry according to the needs and facilities of the province/district, and it should be preserved as it is. In any case, it can be said that there is broad consensus among municipal representatives about the difficulties posed by the new system.
- It is reported that the new MM system made important contributions to the improvement of road and asphalt services.
- It is stated that the structure created in the field of waste management following the entry into force of the Law No. 6360 allowed effective operations indeed.

- It is observed that a significant expansion and diversity emerged in the last 15 years with the social services and assistance delivered by municipalities.
- It is frequently stated that coordination deficiency and duplication in social services and particularly social assistance constitute a serious obstacle to the use of available resources more efficiently.
- It is reported that the investments in park, garden and green area services have increased in the new system but there are still some deficiencies.
- It is argued that the formation and development of standards in the field of municipal police services is at a considerable level following the entry into force of the Law No. 6360, but MMs have not reached the desired level regarding the organization and efficiency in the surrounding districts and rural areas, and the license inspections in the settlements that were transformed from villages to neighbourhoods have remained highly inadequate.
- It is stated that there is a confusion of powers on business licenses regarding the licensing services, and the licensor should also have the inspection responsibility.
- It is stated that gathering fire services at one source is a positive aspect of the new MM system and this situation has contributed to increasing quality and quantity of the fire platoons and increasing the efficiency in services.
- It is stated that funeral services have developed and the standards have improved in recent years, but it is recommended that cemeteries be transferred to district municipalities.

As a result of the study, it stands out as a reasonable option to generalize the MM model to other provinces, after assessing comprehensively the impacts on the practice and making necessary changes in regulations for improvement. In the light of the acquired information and observations, we can talk about three trends (/views) on this matter. According to the extent of agreement among practitioners those views can be listed as follows:

- The practice should be generalized to all provinces provided that the existing system is improved, some key deficiencies and problems are eliminated and such processes as the preparation, transition and transfer and liquidation are planned well.
- Not all elements of the existing model, but only some (for example, more apportionments from general budget tax revenues to WSAs and similar organizations, transferring a certain part of the taxes collected in one place to the relevant municipalities) should be generalized to other provinces.
- It is not correct to roll out this model, whose “design and operation are highly problematic”, to other provinces.

INTRODUCTION

This report was prepared in relation to the study on the impact assessment of local administration reforms conducted under Activity 2.1.1 of Local Administration Reform Project Phase III (LAR3); the project is implemented by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) with funding from the European Commission and its beneficiaries are the Ministry of Interior and Ministry of Environment and Urbanization.

The purpose of the study is to assess the impact of the legislation and practices of MMs and generally the local administration system in the last 15 years.

The following data sources were used while preparing the report:³

- a) Questionnaire for MM managers: It was administered online to mid-level and senior managers of MMs between 7 October – 14 November 2019; and 577 responses were received from approximately 1,600 mid-level and senior managers in 30 MMs and affiliated entities (secretaries-general, assistant secretaries-general and division heads in the MMs, deputy general directors and division heads in the affiliated entities, top managers of advisory and supervisory units in both institutions).
- b) Household Questionnaire: Questions about the views on the reforms were added to the household questionnaire conducted under Activity 2.3.1 of the Project and whose main topic was the awareness of disadvantaged group for urbanization and analysis of the needs of these groups for accessing urban services. The questionnaire was administered between 18 November – 30 December 2019 as face-to-face interviews in 10,382 households in the random sample that was determined by TURKSTAT based on the entire population in 30 MMs.
- c) Focus group discussions: Between December 2019 – January 2020, four meetings were held with the participation of representatives from the central government and municipalities. These meetings were held with the participation of 1) vice-mayors of MDMs, 2) MM councillors, 3) senior mayors, councillors and bureaucrats who are not in office, and 4) relevant managers on rural administration issues from MMs and MDMs. In the meetings attended by 197 people in total, the impacts of the legislation and practices about MMs and generally local administrations were questioned, positive aspects that were open to development were discussed.
- d) Face-to-face interviews: They were conducted between 21 November 2019 – 24 January 2020 with mid-level and senior managers from four MMs and its affiliated entities in Ankara, Konya, Manisa and Trabzon; six district municipalities (Municipalities of Ankara Polatlı and Yenimahalle, Manisa Yunusemre and Akhisar, Trabzon Ortahisar, Konya Meram) and T.R.

³ The list of face-to-face interviews, focus group discussions and workshops held for the preparation of the report, and question forms of the managers' questionnaire and household questionnaire are presented in ANNEX 2.

Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, T.R. Strategy and Budget Office of the Presidency, T.R. Courts of Accounts and T.R. Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry. A total of 104 people participated in individual and group interviews.

- e) Workshops: Three workshops were held in February – March 2020. The workshops aimed to discuss preliminary findings obtained from previous steps of the study and to continue receiving feedbacks about the selected topics.
 - a. The first workshop focused on the roles of municipal affiliated entities and municipal companies in governance and service delivery and it was held with the participation of representatives from relevant MMs and affiliated entities.
 - b. The second workshop focused on the impacts of reforms on social services, with the participation of MMs and MDMs.
 - c. The third workshop focused on generalization of the model to other provinces, with the participation of representatives from MMs, provincial municipalities and SPAs of non-MMs.
- f) The literature of the period after 2014, when all articles of the Law No. 6360 entered into force, was reviewed and findings about the impacts of legislation and practices were compiled.
- g) The trends about local administrations through financial indicators, population movements and various service indicators, the period before 2014 when the new MM model came into force, and the changes were analysed; the topics that the model might have influenced were examined.

The report consists of two chapters. Chapter I addresses the assessments of managers and citizens for the reforms in the context of the managers' questionnaire for MMs and affiliated entities and the household questionnaire; draws a general picture with population data, revenue and expenditure data and the data about services; and examines whether there are differences in the trends following the entry into force of the Law No. 6360. Chapter II categorizes the impacts of main legislation and practices about MMs and generally local administrations, and presents the findings obtained from the literature, interviews and discussions.

The study addresses these qualitative and quantitative data by reflecting the diversity of opinions about the impacts of legislation and practices for MMs and generally local administrations. Accordingly, the report presents findings by categorizing impact channels and includes findings and recommendations for the strategic areas that will enable beneficiaries to ensure effective and efficient functioning of the local administration system.

CHAPTER I. QUANTITATIVE ANALYSES

This chapter analyses the impact of local administration reforms on the service production and decision-making processes of local administrations, especially the expansion of the MM system with the Law No. 6360, with the help of quantitative data about local administrations. The analyses based on the indicators in this chapter make no pretensions to measure the impact of local administration reforms alone, which show a thematically great variety. In order to reveal the possible patterns about the impacts of said reforms, quantitative analyses should also be addressed in the report. Accordingly, the first heading presents the trends in revenues and expenses of local administrations and the changes in the local administration system in relation to their financial sizes between 2007-2019. Visible changes in the revenue and expenditure trends before and after 2014 when the Law No. 6260 came into force with its full content, are exposed on the basis of main items and sub-items. In the second heading, it was aimed to examine the quantitative changes in local administration services. Among the limited number of indicators that were compiled at national level so as to cover last 10-15 years and thus the change in the time could be examined and that had qualitative aspect, the data about the amount of treated water and wastewater per capita were examined in this heading. It is important for the analysis that the selected indicators are about water and sewer administrations (WSAs), which is one of the indicative features of the MM model. Accordingly, the change in the increasing trends of indicators before and after 2014 are examined. The third heading analyses the change in village population in the provinces of MMs and other provinces and examines whether the MM model has an impact on population dynamics. The fourth heading assesses the electronic questionnaire where the opinions are elicited from mid-level and senior managers of MMs and affiliated entities about positive aspects of reforms that are open to development. The fifth heading analyses the perceptions of citizens about the basic practices of the Law No. 6360 and the factors affecting these perceptions through the household questionnaire administered under the project.

1.1. Impacts on Local Administration Revenues and Expenses

The Law No. 6360 revised the formula regarding the apportionments transferred from general budget tax revenues to local administrations and increased the apportionment pool, but own revenues did not increase at the same rate. The apportionments, which were equivalent to 1.36% of the national income in 2007, increased to 1.98% in 2015 (Table 1). The apportionments constituted an average of 37.3% of the budget between 2007-2013, while they constituted 45.9% of the budget between 2014-2019 (Table 2). However, it is not possible to say that the own revenues of local administrations increased at the same rate. The own revenues fluctuating according to election years were equivalent to 2.06% of the national income between 2017-2013 on average while it was 1.95% between 2014-2019 (Table 1). The share of own revenues in total revenues decreased from 47.4% to 46% according to the averages of the same period. (Table 2)

Table 1. Share of Local Administration Budget Revenues in GDP

| | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 | 2016 | 2017 | 2018 | 2019* | 2007-2014- Avg. | 2013 2019 Avg. |
|--|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| BUDGET REVENUES | 4.03 | 3.90 | 4.25 | 4.62 | 4.55 | 4.41 | 4.61 | 4.26 | 4.18 | 4.19 | 4.30 | 4.24 | 4.19 | 4.34 | 4.23 |
| Tax Revenues | 0.42 | 0.42 | 0.38 | 0.51 | 0.49 | 0.46 | 0.45 | 0.45 | 0.46 | 0.47 | 0.43 | 0.39 | 0.40 | 0.45 | 0.43 |
| Enterprise and Property Revenues | 1.02 | 0.92 | 1.06 | 1.03 | 0.99 | 1.02 | 0.99 | 0.88 | 0.89 | 0.91 | 0.90 | 0.82 | 0.79 | 1.00 | 0.86 |
| Donations and Special Revenues | 0.52 | 0.52 | 0.59 | 0.77 | 0.74 | 0.66 | 0.77 | 0.34 | 0.34 | 0.31 | 0.33 | 0.40 | 0.34 | 0.65 | 0.34 |
| Interest, shares, fines | 1.82 | 1.85 | 1.99 | 2.08 | 2.07 | 2.07 | 2.08 | 2.10 | 2.26 | 2.23 | 2.37 | 2.32 | 2.43 | 1.99 | 2.28 |
| <i>Apportionment transferred from GBTR</i> | 1.36 | 1.45 | 1.56 | 1.74 | 1.73 | 1.74 | 1.77 | 1.82 | 1.98 | 1.95 | 1.94 | 1.93 | 2.02 | 1.62 | 1.94 |
| Capital Revenues | 0.22 | 0.17 | 0.13 | 0.23 | 0.25 | 0.19 | 0.31 | 0.33 | 0.21 | 0.24 | 0.26 | 0.30 | 0.22 | 0.21 | 0.26 |
| Debt Recovery | 0.03 | 0.01 | 0.11 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.16 | 0.01 | 0.03 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.04 |
| Own Revenues | 2.14 | 1.93 | 2.10 | 2.11 | 2.08 | 2.02 | 2.07 | 2.10 | 1.86 | 1.93 | 2.03 | 1.91 | 1.84 | 2.06 | 1.95 |

Source: Data from the General Directorate of Accounts of Ministry of Treasure and Finance, and TURKSTAT, and analysis by the Project Team.

Note: The last quarter of budget revenue data in 2019 was completed by estimating the average share of the previous three years in total, and GDP for 2019 was obtained by using the annual growth rate announced.

Table 2. Breakdown of Local Administration Budget Revenue Items, %

| | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 | 2016 | 2017 | 2018 | 2019 | 2007-2014- Avg. | 2013 2019 Avg. |
|--|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| BUDGET REVENUES | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Tax Revenues | 10.4 | 10.8 | 8.9 | 11.0 | 10.8 | 10.4 | 9.8 | 10.6 | 11.0 | 11.2 | 10.0 | 9.2 | 9.4 | 10.3 | 10.2 |
| Enterprise and Property Revenues | 25.3 | 23.6 | 24.9 | 22.3 | 21.8 | 23.1 | 21.5 | 20.7 | 21.3 | 21.7 | 20.9 | 19.3 | 18.8 | 23.2 | 20.5 |
| Donations and Special Revenues | 12.9 | 13.3 | 13.9 | 16.7 | 16.3 | 15.0 | 16.7 | 8.0 | 8.1 | 7.4 | 7.7 | 9.4 | 8.1 | 15.0 | 8.1 |
| Interest, shares, fines | 45.2 | 47.4 | 46.8 | 45.0 | 45.5 | 46.9 | 45.1 | 49.3 | 54.1 | 53.2 | 55.1 | 54.7 | 57.8 | 46.0 | 54.0 |
| <i>Apportionment transferred from GBTR</i> | 33.8 | 37.2 | 36.7 | 37.7 | 38.0 | 39.4 | 38.3 | 42.7 | 47.3 | 46.6 | 45.1 | 45.5 | 48.1 | 37.3 | 45.9 |
| Capital Revenues | 5.5 | 4.4 | 3.1 | 5.0 | 5.5 | 4.3 | 6.7 | 7.7 | 5.0 | 5.7 | 6.0 | 7.1 | 5.3 | 4.9 | 6.1 |
| Debt Recovery | 0.7 | 0.3 | 2.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 3.8 | 0.2 | 0.7 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.9 |
| Own Revenues | 53.1 | 49.5 | 49.4 | 45.7 | 45.7 | 45.8 | 44.9 | 49.3 | 44.5 | 46.1 | 47.2 | 45.0 | 43.9 | 47.7 | 46.0 |

Source: Data from the General Directorate of Accounts of Ministry of Treasure and Finance, and TURKSTAT, and analysis by the Project Team.

There is no visible change in the budget expenditures of local administrations on the basis of main items after 2014. Budget expenditures of local administrations ranged between 4.1% and 4.9% of the national income in the period of 2007-2019. The averages of 2007-2013 and 2014-2019 remained stable (Table 3). On the basis of the sub-items, the share of personnel expenses in GDP and total expenses

decreased before and after 2014, while goods and services expenses increased (Tables 3 and 4). The decrease in this item, which is mostly composed of the salary payment of civil servants, contracted personnel and workers, is caused not by the reducing number of personnel but by lower real increase in the salaries compared to the increase in other items.

Table 3. Share of Local Administration Budget Revenues in GDP

| | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 | 2016 | 2017 | 2018 | 2019* | 2007-2014- 2013 Avg. | 2014-2019 Avg. |
|-----------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| BUDGET EXPENDITURES | 4.47 | 4.62 | 4.83 | 4.50 | 4.38 | 4.41 | 4.84 | 4.12 | 4.26 | 4.65 | 4.86 | 4.93 | 4.65 | 4.58 | 4.58 |
| Personnel Expenses | 0.85 | 0.91 | 0.95 | 0.89 | 0.81 | 0.78 | 0.75 | 0.65 | 0.63 | 0.63 | 0.57 | 0.54 | 0.64 | 0.85 | 0.61 |
| SSI Premium Expenses | 0.13 | 0.13 | 0.15 | 0.16 | 0.14 | 0.13 | 0.12 | 0.11 | 0.10 | 0.10 | 0.09 | 0.09 | 0.10 | 0.14 | 0.10 |
| Goods and Services Expenses | 1.34 | 1.44 | 1.55 | 1.55 | 1.59 | 1.67 | 1.75 | 1.59 | 1.77 | 1.87 | 1.89 | 1.88 | 1.96 | 1.56 | 1.83 |
| Interest Expenses | 0.07 | 0.09 | 0.15 | 0.12 | 0.09 | 0.09 | 0.08 | 0.09 | 0.08 | 0.09 | 0.11 | 0.14 | 0.21 | 0.10 | 0.12 |
| Current Transfers | 0.19 | 0.21 | 0.26 | 0.25 | 0.17 | 0.15 | 0.16 | 0.15 | 0.14 | 0.14 | 0.14 | 0.14 | 0.15 | 0.20 | 0.14 |
| Capital Expenditures | 1.79 | 1.75 | 1.53 | 1.41 | 1.42 | 1.49 | 1.86 | 1.40 | 1.40 | 1.60 | 1.92 | 2.01 | 1.47 | 1.61 | 1.63 |
| Capital Transfers | 0.04 | 0.02 | 0.07 | 0.03 | 0.08 | 0.05 | 0.03 | 0.03 | 0.04 | 0.05 | 0.04 | 0.04 | 0.05 | 0.05 | 0.04 |
| Lending | 0.06 | 0.06 | 0.17 | 0.09 | 0.08 | 0.07 | 0.10 | 0.10 | 0.10 | 0.16 | 0.11 | 0.09 | 0.07 | 0.09 | 0.10 |

Source: Data from the General Directorate of Accounts of Ministry of Treasure and Finance, and TURKSTAT, and analysis by the Project Team.

Note: The last quarter of budget expenditures data in 2019 was completed by estimating the average share of the previous three years in total, and GDP for 2019 was obtained by using the annual growth rate announced.

Table 4. Breakdown of Local Administration Budget Expenditure Items, %

| | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 | 2016 | 2017 | 2018 | 2019* | 2007-2014- 2013 Avg. | 2014-2019 Avg. |
|-----------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| BUDGET EXPENDITURES | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Personnel Expenses | 19.0 | 19.7 | 19.7 | 19.8 | 18.5 | 17.7 | 15.5 | 15.8 | 14.8 | 13.5 | 11.7 | 11.0 | 13.7 | 18.5 | 13.4 |
| SSI Premium Expenses | 2.9 | 2.8 | 3.1 | 3.6 | 3.2 | 2.9 | 2.5 | 2.7 | 2.3 | 2.2 | 1.9 | 1.8 | 2.2 | 3.0 | 2.2 |
| Goods and Services Expenses | 30.0 | 31.2 | 32.1 | 34.4 | 36.3 | 37.9 | 36.2 | 38.6 | 41.5 | 40.2 | 38.9 | 38.1 | 42.1 | 34.0 | 39.9 |
| Interest Expenses | 1.6 | 1.9 | 3.1 | 2.7 | 2.1 | 2.0 | 1.7 | 2.2 | 1.9 | 1.9 | 2.3 | 2.8 | 4.4 | 2.1 | 2.6 |
| Current Transfers | 4.3 | 4.5 | 5.4 | 5.6 | 3.9 | 3.4 | 3.3 | 3.6 | 3.3 | 3.0 | 2.9 | 2.8 | 3.2 | 4.3 | 3.2 |
| Capital Expenditures | 40.0 | 37.9 | 31.7 | 31.3 | 32.4 | 33.8 | 38.4 | 34.0 | 32.9 | 34.4 | 39.5 | 40.8 | 31.7 | 35.1 | 35.5 |
| Capital Transfers | 0.9 | 0.4 | 1.4 | 0.7 | 1.8 | 1.1 | 0.6 | 0.7 | 0.9 | 1.1 | 0.8 | 0.8 | 1.2 | 1.0 | 0.9 |
| Lending | 1.3 | 1.3 | 3.5 | 2.0 | 1.8 | 1.6 | 2.1 | 2.4 | 2.3 | 3.4 | 2.3 | 1.8 | 1.5 | 1.9 | 2.3 |

Source: Data from the General Directorate of Accounts of Ministry of Treasure and Finance, and TURKSTAT, and analysis by the Project Team.

The changes in sub-items of some expenses after 2014 are interesting and may be associated with the generalization of the MM model.

The leasing model is adopted for vehicles and construction equipment. When the averages of 2007-2013 and 2014-2019 are compared, the share of maintenance, repair and purchase expenses of vehicles and construction equipment in total expenses and their share in GDP remained almost the same while leasing expenses significantly increased. This situation can be considered as a sign that municipalities are increasingly using the leasing method in order to provide services to the expanded geography (Table 5).

Payments to consultant companies and individuals have doubled compared to real prices. Considering service procurement and capital expenditures, the share in total expenses and in GDP increased by approximately 50% alongside the real increases. Almost the entire increase in the goods and services purchase expenses, as shown in Tables 4 and 5, is due to the payments to consulting companies and individuals. It is understood that the municipal system, which was rationalized by reducing the number with merging and expanding the remit, frequently procures services in the service delivery (Table 5).

Expenses of local administrations for maintenance, repair and furniture of schools have recently decreased. The said expenses decreased by half compared to the averages of 2007-2013 and 2014-2019. The reason can be offered as the impacts on priorities because of the expanded remit (Table 5).

Even though the real increases in personnel and premium expenses remained lower than the increases in other expenditure items (Tables 3 and 4), the real increases in social benefits and wages of civil servants and contracted personnel are remarkable. Expenses related to these items increased by approximately 30% in terms of their share in total expenses and in GDP, and approximately 70% in real prices. In the new model, it can be argued that MMs and MDMs have made improvement in social benefits and wages of civil servants and contracted personnel, with the contribution of the growing scale and therefore the increasing revenues.

Table 5. Comparison of Some Expenditure Sub-Items between 2007-2013 and 2014-2019

| Expenditure Item | 2007-2013 Avg. (GDP per thousand) | 2014-2019 Avg. (GDP per thousand) | 2007-2013 Avg. (Expend. percent) | 2014-2019 Avg. (Expend. percent) | 2007-2013 Avg. (real, thousand TRY) | 2014-2019 Avg. (real, thousand TRY) |
|---|--|--|---|---|---|---|
| Vehicle Purchase and Repair Expenses | 0.31 | 0.30 | 1.91 | 1.85 | 3,298,947 | 4,151,182 |
| Vehicle Leasing Expenses | 0.40 | 0.62 | 0.87 | 1.34 | 1,502,955 | 3,004,967 |
| Construction Equipment Purchase and Repair Expenses | 0.27 | 0.27 | 0.59 | 0.60 | 1,015,939 | 1,344,604 |
| Construction Equipment Leasing Expenses | 0.14 | 0.23 | 0.31 | 0.49 | 532,036 | 1,096,915 |
| Payments to Consulting Companies and Individuals | 5.04 | 7.75 | 11.1 | 16.9 | 19,164,681 | 37,880,814 |
| Maintenance, Repair and Furniture of Schools | 0.20 | 0.10 | 0.43 | 0.23 | 749,274 | 504,980 |

| | | | | | | |
|--|-------|------|------|------|-----------|-----------|
| Social benefits and wages (civil servants and contracted personnel) | 0.94% | 1.27 | 2.10 | 2.77 | 3,624,195 | 6,188,801 |
|--|-------|------|------|------|-----------|-----------|

Source: Data from the General Directorate of Accounts of Ministry of Treasure and Finance, and TURKSTAT, and analysis by the Project Team.

Note: The first comparison in the Table shows the share of expenditures in Turkey's Gross Domestic Product per thousand, the second comparison shows the share in total local administration expenses per hundred, and the third comparison shows 2020 prices obtained by using public investment program external money deflator and the averages of the periods.

Decrease in revenues is an issue mentioned by representatives of municipalities, which became MDMs especially after 2014, in the meetings held under the project. This situation is not an unanticipated conclusion but relates to the design of the new model. After the establishment of MMs and WSAs in 2014, these municipalities do not provide water services, which is a regular cash flow item. The apportionments transferred from general budget tax revenues, which is an important revenue item for the said municipalities, also decreased due to the division of powers and responsibilities of the model among MMs, WSAs and district municipalities⁴. According to the simulation, it is estimated that this decrease was 47% per capita for the new MMs. According to the same simulation, per capita apportionments of the old MDMs remained almost the same while the apportionments of provincial, district and town municipalities increased. Per capita apportionments of all municipalities except for the MMs in the system decreased by 5% (Table 6).

Table 6. Change of Per Capita Apportionments Transferred from General Budget Tax Revenues in Metropolitan District, Provincial, District and Town Municipalities

| | Before 6360 (TRY) | After 6360 (TRY) | Change |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|--------|
| MDM (Old) | 107 | 108 | 1% |
| MDM (New) | 261 | 137 | -47% |
| Provincial Municipalities | 226 | 313 | 39% |
| District Municipalities | 297 | 344 | 16% |
| Town Municipalities | 299 | 414 | 38% |
| Total | 166 | 157 | -5% |

Source: Prepared with the simulation data forming a basis for the study of Koyuncu (2012)

Note: Said simulation was prepared according to the population and financial values in 2011. The results of the simulation on the basis of municipalities in relation to the change of apportionments can be obtained from the address in the references.

⁴ The Law No. 5779 on Apportionments from General Budget Tax Revenues to Special Provincial Administrations and Municipalities regulates the general budget revenues shared with local administrations. According to the Law, 1.50% of the total general budget tax revenues is shared with the municipalities which are not within the MM boundaries, 80% of this share is distributed according to the municipal population and 20% according to the development index. 4.50% of the total general budget tax revenues is allocated to the district municipalities in MMs; district municipalities allocate 30% of this share to the MM, 10% to Water and Sewer Administrations according to the Law No. 2560 on Organization and Functions of Water and Sewer Administration of Istanbul, which all WSAs are obliged to implement.

1.2. Impacts on Local Administration Service Indicators

The amount of treated water and wastewater per capita diverges from 51 non-metropolitan municipalities in favour of 14 new MMs. The design of new MM model includes a decrease in the need for coordination among institutions with the expanded geographic scope and abolition of small municipalities and SPAs and therefore receiving favourable results on the services. There are two key sets of statistics from which periodical and historical data can be obtained, among the services provided from local administrations. These are water and wastewater statistics⁵. The number of water and wastewater treatment plants, their capacities and amount of treated water can be obtained from the indicators compiled by TURKSTAT every two years. Accordingly, the indicators were compared for 16 provinces where MMs delivered services to a large part of the population though not the entire province; 14 provinces where MMs were first established so as to provide services to the entire province following the entry into force of the Law No. 6360; and 51 provinces where local administration services were provided by SPAs, provincial, district and town municipalities. Figures in cubic meter of the treated potable/non-potable water and wastewater in the province were normalized to the population of province and analysed whether there was a differentiation between provincial groups over years. Accordingly, while the relevant indicators increased in all provinces over time, 14 new MMs differentiated from 51 provinces after 2014 and the increase in treated wastewater and potable/non-potable water per capita became faster (Figures 11 and 2). Although the investments in treatment plants are associated with the guidance by the Ministry, IIBank, EU Operational Program Environment, municipal access to other external loans, prioritization and resource utilization capacity; this distinction is remarkable after 2014. It seems possible to assert that WSAs which were established in 14 new MMs, embracing the issue and putting it on the agenda, developing the enterprises of their facilities, using the unutilized capacity and creating new capacity contribute to this field. Especially for treating wastewater, 50% of the energy expenses have been met from the central budget since 2010. It is seen that this incentive made the increase in indicators of 52 provinces, whose financial resources are more restricted, closer to the increase in 14 provinces but although all treatment plants benefited from this incentive, 14 provinces where new WSAs were established has favourably differentiated since 2014.

⁵ Not all wastewater treatment plants are operated by local administrations, but non-local administrations such as Organized Industrial Zones and Free Zones also provide treatment of wastewater within their boundaries.

Figure 1. Amount of Treated Wastewater in Wastewater Treatment Plants (Per capita M3/Year)

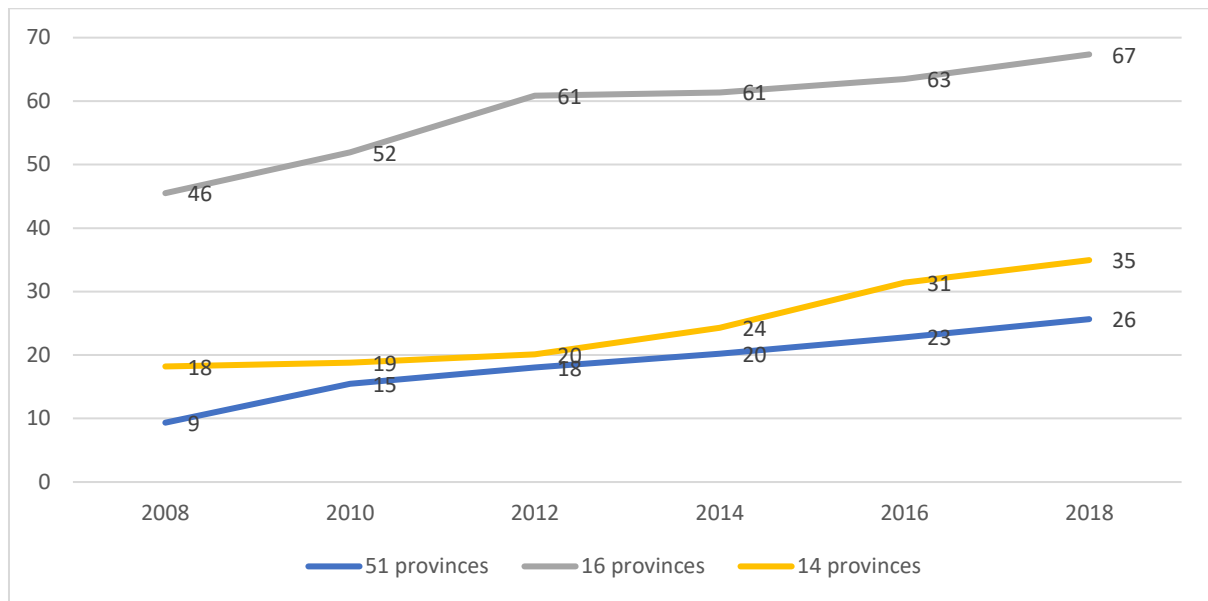
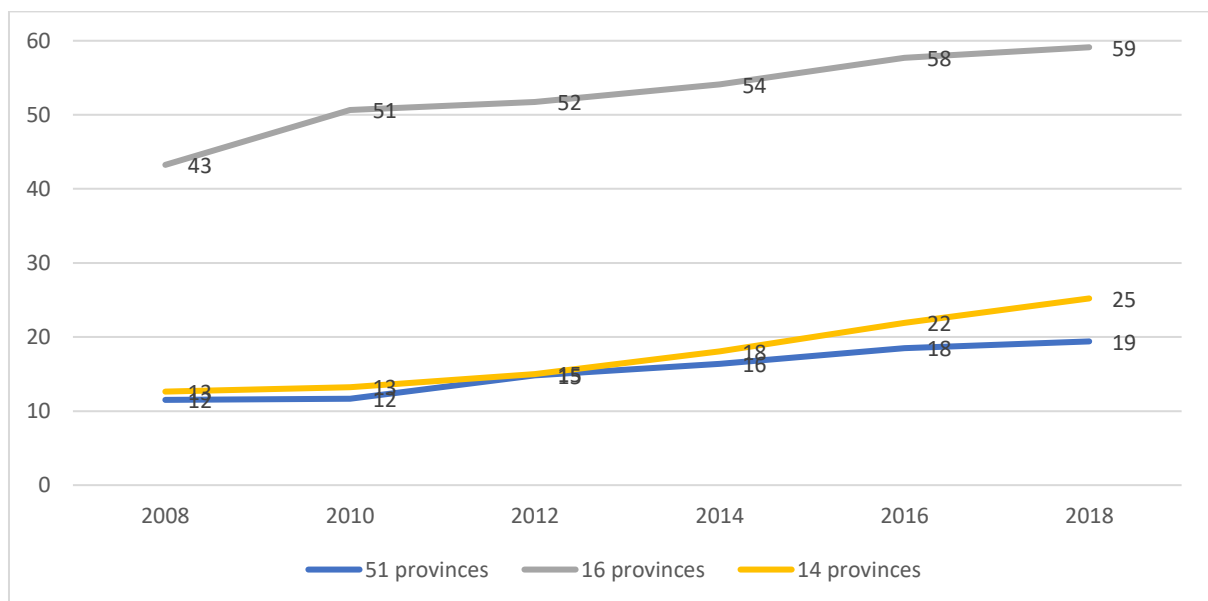


Figure 2. Amount of Treated Water in Potable and Non-potable Water Treatment Plants (Per capita M3/Year)

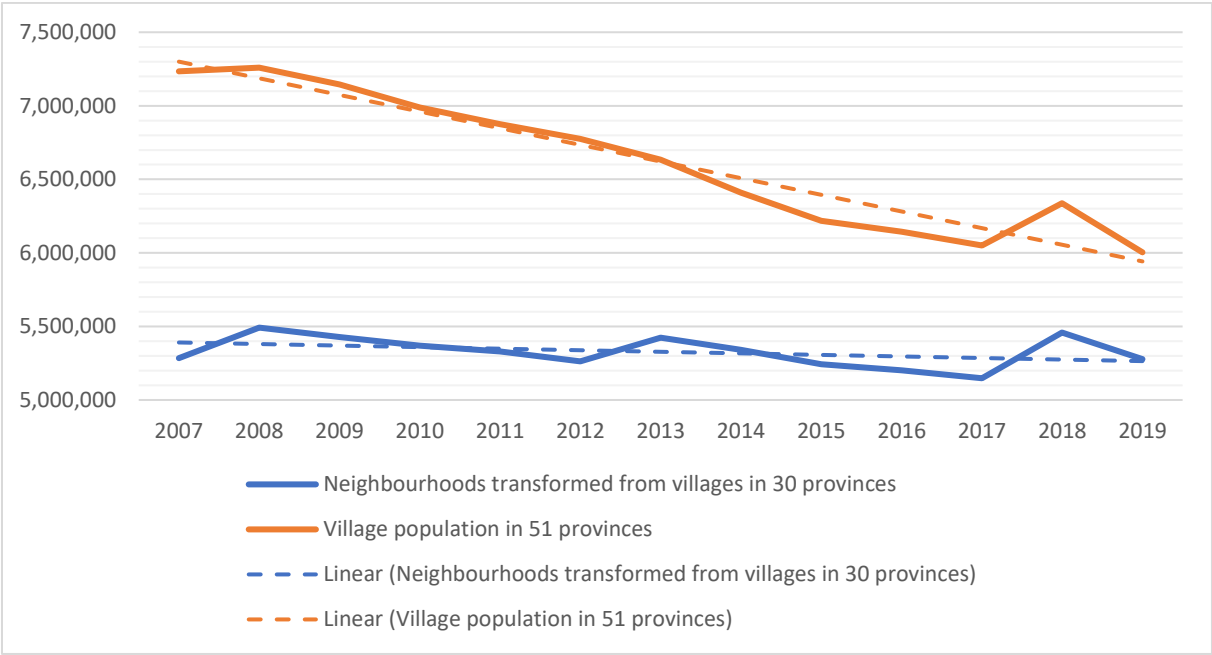


1.3. Impacts of New MM model on Population Movements

Some of the negative criticism about the impact of the Law No. 6360 on rural areas is that the system carried an urban regime to rural areas and this will accelerate evacuation of villages.⁶ According to TURKSTAT data, there is no population change that can be associated with the change of MM system in the neighbourhoods which were transformed from villages in 20 MMs and in the villages in 51 provinces. In 30 MMs, villages before 2014 were matched with neighbourhoods after 2014 by using their names, and the neighbourhoods with the name change were excluded from the analysis. On the other hand, population movements of the villages in 51 non-metropolitan were examined. Accordingly, it was seen that the Law No. 6360 had no impact on the population movement during the period between 2007-2019. While the population in 30 MMs remained stable during this period, village population in 51 provinces decreased at a steady rate and decreased by 20%. In the following period after 2014, no visible change was observed in the population movement of both groups (see Figures 3 and 4). However, it is remarkable in terms of population movements that especially in the years when local elections were held, the population increased (before the elections) and then decreased (after the elections) compared to the previous year which was taken the basis for elections,. This situation can be seen more clearly in Figure 4 which shows the population change proportionally. Linear lines in the Figures make it possible to see the general trend isolated from the changes in election years.

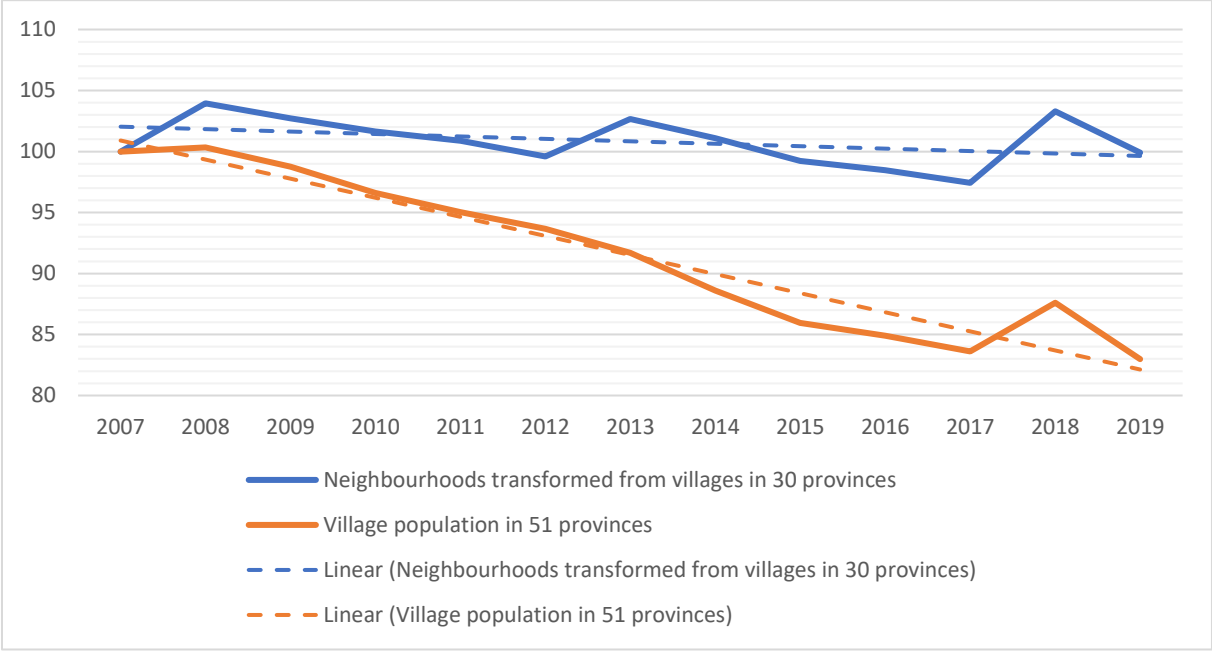
⁶ For example, various arguments were expressed in the negotiations during the enactment process of the Law No. 6360 in the Turkish Grand National Assembly. Accordingly, it was asserted that when the villages were transformed into neighbourhoods of MMs, agriculture and animal husbandry would face serious risks; when the agricultural areas and pastures were opened to land development, agricultural and animal husbandry areas would be contracted and the deterioration risk of the natural-ecological balance would increase; as a result, 'more angus and more straw would be imported' in the new period, 'transported animal husbandry after transported education' would start, the villages would be evacuated, the migration of the rural population to the cities would accelerate with the weakening farming industry, decreasing number of farmers and therefore the decline in agriculture and animal husbandry, which would trigger the growth of current social problems in big cities. See Acar and Yıldız, 2017, p. 21-22.

Figure 3. Population Movement in Villages by Total Population, 30 Metropolitan Municipalities and 51 Provincial Municipalities by Year



Source: TURKSTAT ABPRS and analysis by the Project Team.

Figure 3. Population Movement in Villages by Change Rate, 30 Metropolitan Municipalities and 51 Provincial Municipalities by Year (2007 = 100)



Source: TURKSTAT ABPRS and analysis by the Project Team.

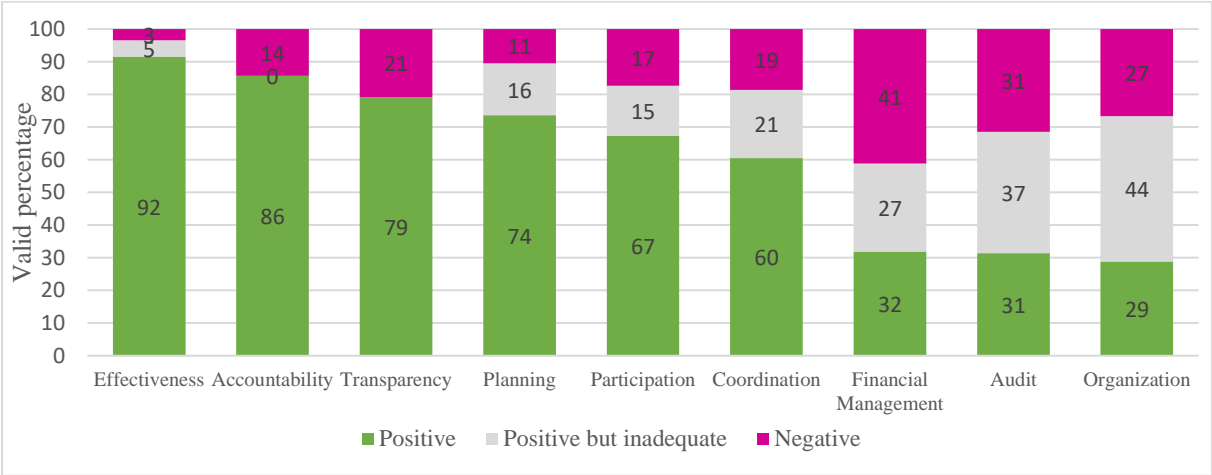
1.4. Views of MM Mid-level and senior Managers on Local Administration Reforms

As outlined in the project terms of reference, the assessments of mid-level and senior managers in 30 MMs about the improvements and changes in the municipalities and local administration systems in

general were received through the online questionnaire administered between 7 October – 14 November 2019. By two open-ended questions posed to the respondents, it was aimed to elicit opinions and recommendations together with the justifications about the regulations and practices which were 1) found favourable and/or innovative, 2) needed improvement or change. Responses were received from 577 mid-level and senior managers of 30 MMs and affiliated entities. Assessments which were obtained by open-ended questions were digitized by coding as ‘positive’, ‘positive but inadequate’ and ‘negative’ in terms of fundamental principles of administration, services and main provisions of the Law No. 6360. Findings of this study are presented below.

The first heading, where positive and negative opinions obtained from the managers’ questionnaire were categorized, is the fundamental principles of administration. In this context, “effectiveness” stands out as the item that received highest favourable assessment under the heading of the fundamental principles of administration, where the comments were categorized expressing that the reforms produced the targeted results in terms of institutional structure and services, they were successful, they were beneficial and made things better. Negative opinions concentrated in the field of human resources. When the valid percentages of the responses were compared, effectiveness (92%), transparency (79%), planning (74%) ranked in the top three in terms of positive opinions, while human resources (22%), organization (29%) and audit (31%) are in the bottom three. Human resources (52%) and financial management (41%) take the lead in thematic areas which need to be changed and improved. The percentage (44%) of the responses coded as “positive but inadequate” in the organization theme is remarkable (see Figure 5).

Figure 4. Assessment of Impacts on Administration Principles

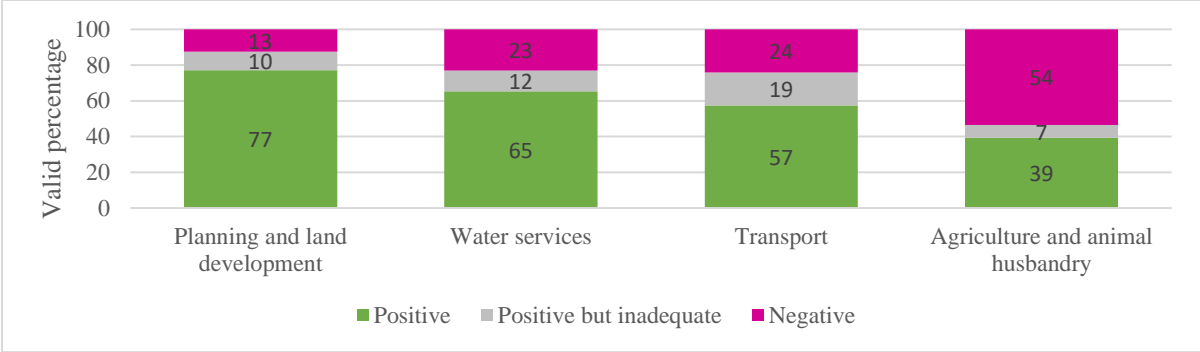


Source: Analyses based on the online questionnaire administered to mid-level and senior managers of MMs under the project.

In the assessments about services, agriculture and livestock stand out as the service area for which the reforms were evaluated as unfavourable. Four services were discussed for which sufficient opinions were provided for the analysis. Accordingly, 54% of the opinions about the services of supporting activities of agriculture and livestock, which was added to duties and responsibilities of MMs

by the Law No. 6360, are unfavourable. 77% of the opinions about transport services, 65% of the opinions about water services and 65% of the services about planning and land development services are unfavourable (see Figure 6).

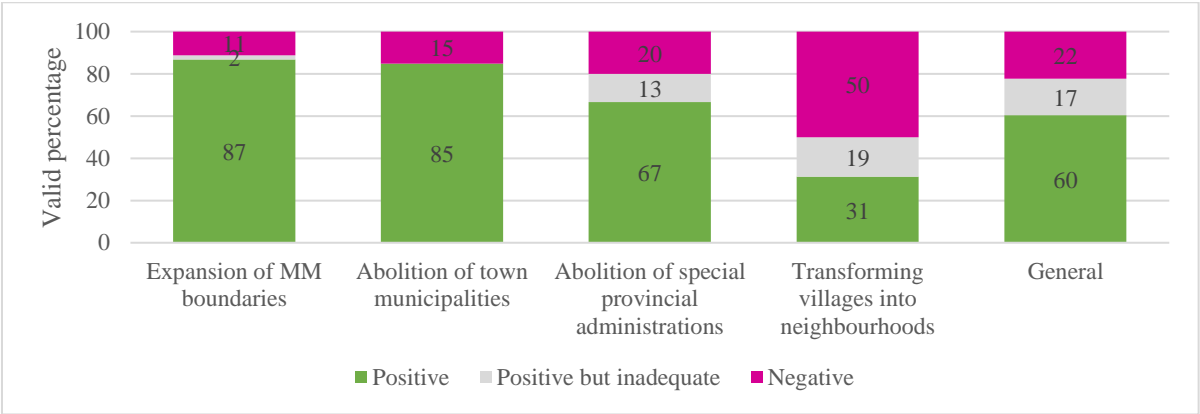
Figure 5. Assessment of Impacts on Services



Source: Analyses based on the online questionnaire administered to mid-level and senior managers of MMs under the project.

The municipal bureaucracy generally makes favourable assessment about the key reform areas of the Law No. 6360, however transforming the villages into neighbourhoods is noted as an unfavourable practice. When all the opinions about various articles of the Law No. 6360 are evaluated in general, it is seen that mid-level and senior managers of MMs found the changes favourable at approximately 60%. Among all the managers who gave opinions, 17% found the changes in the Law positive but inadequate while 22% found them unfavourable. Under specific articles of the Law, an adequate number of opinions were received on four topics that could be analysed. Accordingly, extending the boundaries of MMs to the boundaries of civil administrations is the most favourably assessed topic (87%), while the transformation of villages into neighbourhoods is the most unfavourably assessed topic (50%) (see Figure 7).

Figure 6. Impact Assessment of Main Provisions of Law No. 6360



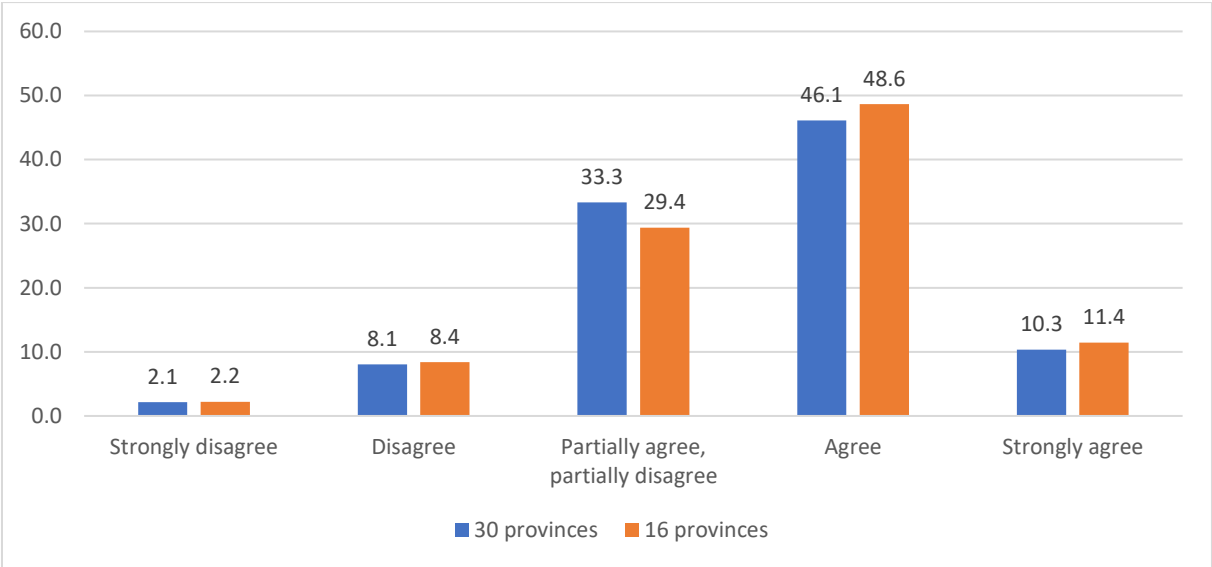
Source: Analyses based on the online questionnaire administered to mid-level and senior managers of MMs under the project.

1.5. Views of Households on Local Administration Reforms

Between 18 November 2019 - 30 December 2019, a questionnaire was administered to 10,382 households in 30 MMs based on the sample selected by TURKSTAT. The questionnaire was envisaged

to be administered only to address the integration of disadvantaged groups with the urban life in the project document, but it was associated with the citizens' assessment about the impacts of MM system and developed with the questions about reforms. Accordingly, the opinions about local administration reforms were analysed according to the location of households (whether it was in the neighbourhood transformed from village/town, or within the remit of an MM before 2014, or in 14 new provinces where MM was established) in the survey and significant statistical differences in opinions were investigated. Accordingly, in the question assessing the expression of “development of the MM system in Turkey has been positive in the last 15 years”, 56% of the respondents agreed (Agree and Strongly Agree), 10% did not agree (Disagree and Strongly Disagree). Although it did not cover the entire provincial borders before the Law No. 6360, total rate of responses reached 60% when 16 MM provinces were examined (see Figure 8).

Figure 7. Overall Rating for “Development of MM System in Turkey in the Last 15 Years Was Positive”



Source: Household questionnaire administered under the project and analysis by the Project Team.

Positive expressions about six main provisions in the Law No. 6360 were questioned in the survey and agreement level of the respondents in these expressions was questioned on a five-point scale. Accordingly, the expressions about the explanations made before questions and reform areas questioned are as follows:

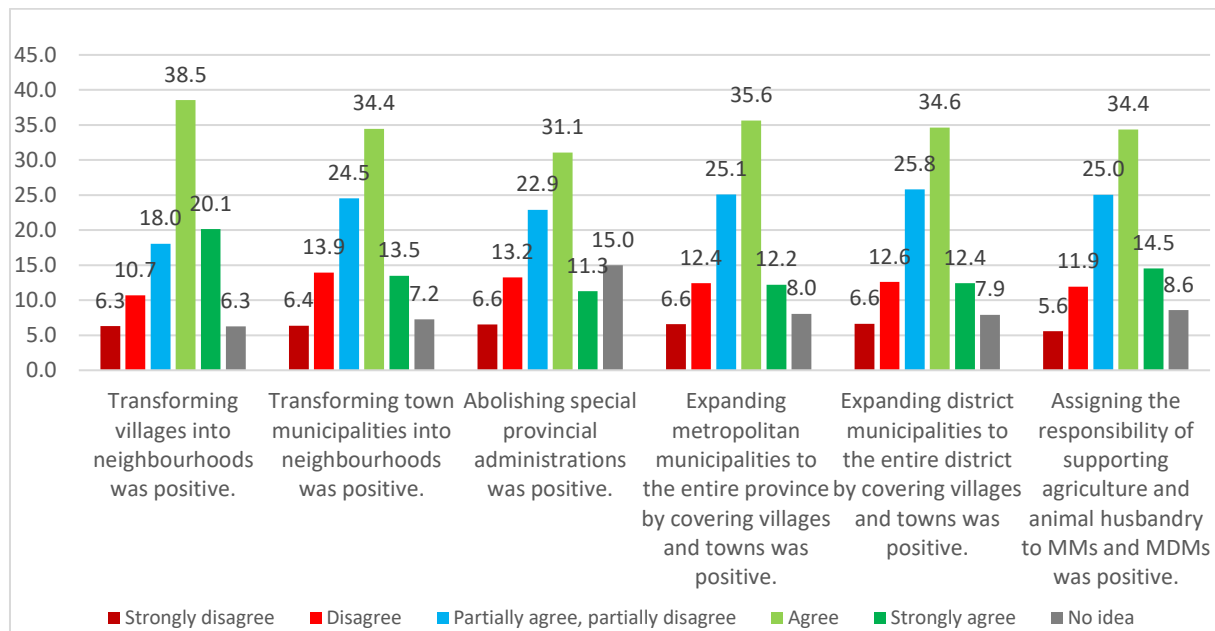
After the local elections of 2014, various regulations were made transforming some villages and town municipalities into neighbourhoods, abolishing special provincial administrations and establishing new districts. Do you think these regulations have made a positive contribution to the improvement of the municipal system and services, please assess for each expression.

- Transforming villages into neighbourhoods was positive.
- Transforming town municipalities into neighbourhoods was positive.
- Abolishing SPAs was positive.

- Expanding MMs to the entire province by covering villages and towns was positive.
- Expanding district municipalities to the entire district by covering villages and towns was positive.
- Assigning the responsibility of supporting agriculture and animal husbandry to MMs and MDMs was positive.

It is seen that the perceptions about all reform areas are positive. The topic, about which negative perception (Disagree and Strongly Disagree) is the lowest (17%) and positive perception (Agree and Strongly Agree) is the highest (58.7%), is the transformation of villages into neighbourhoods. The regulation, about which positive perception is the lowest (42.4%) and those expressing no opinions is the highest, is the abolition of SPAs (see Figure 9).

Figure 8. Views of Households on Main Provisions of Law No. 6360



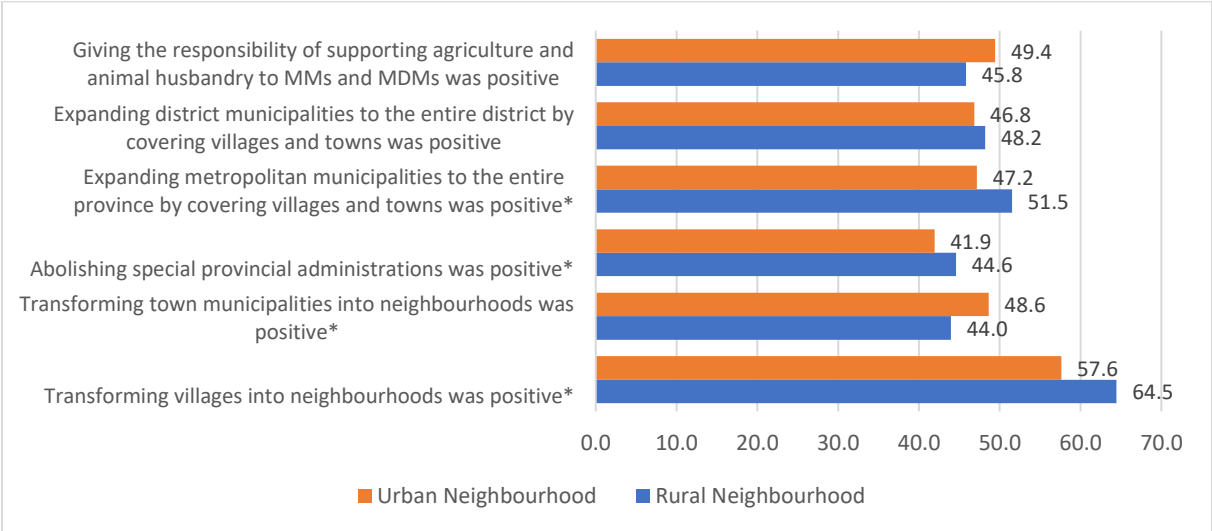
Source: Household questionnaire administered under the project and analysis by the Project Team.

Rural neighbourhoods⁷ generally find the transformation of villages into neighbourhoods and expansion of MMs to the entire province by covering the villages and towns more favourably than the perceptions in urban neighbourhoods about this topic. Positive opinions about these regulations in “rural” neighbourhoods with the village or town status before 2014 and urban neighbourhoods affiliated with provincial, district municipalities or MMs before 2014 were compared. Accordingly, rural neighbourhoods find the transformation of villages into neighbourhoods more favourable (64.5%) than urban neighbourhoods (57.6%) but they have a different perception about the transformation of town municipalities to neighbourhoods. Their positive perception about this topic decreases (44%) which is

⁷ Settlements that were in village or town status before 2014 and transformed into neighbourhoods with the Law No. 6360 are used as rural neighbourhoods in the report.

lower than the perception of urban neighbourhoods (48.6%) about the same topic. On the other hand, inclusion of villages and towns within the remit of MMs is viewed more favourable in rural neighbourhoods (51.2%) than in urban neighbourhoods (47.2%) (see Figure 10). There is a relation between the propositions in relation to the expansion of MM boundaries to provincial administrative boundaries, the transformation of town municipalities and villages into neighbourhoods and whether the neighbourhood is rural or urban, however there is no significant relation in other propositions.⁸ It is understood that rural neighbourhoods are not sensitive to the abolition of corporate entities of villages or towns and they attach importance to being within the remit of MM compared to district municipalities. In order to understand whether there was a difference in the opinions of former villagers and town residents who closely experienced metropolitan services, the same analysis was not only performed in all of the 30 provinces, but also repeated in 16 provinces which were already MMs. Accordingly, general trends do not change and results differ at 1-2 percentage points the most.

Figure 9. Differences Between Rural and Urban Neighbourhoods for Key Reform Areas of Law No. 6360 (Strongly Agree + Agree)



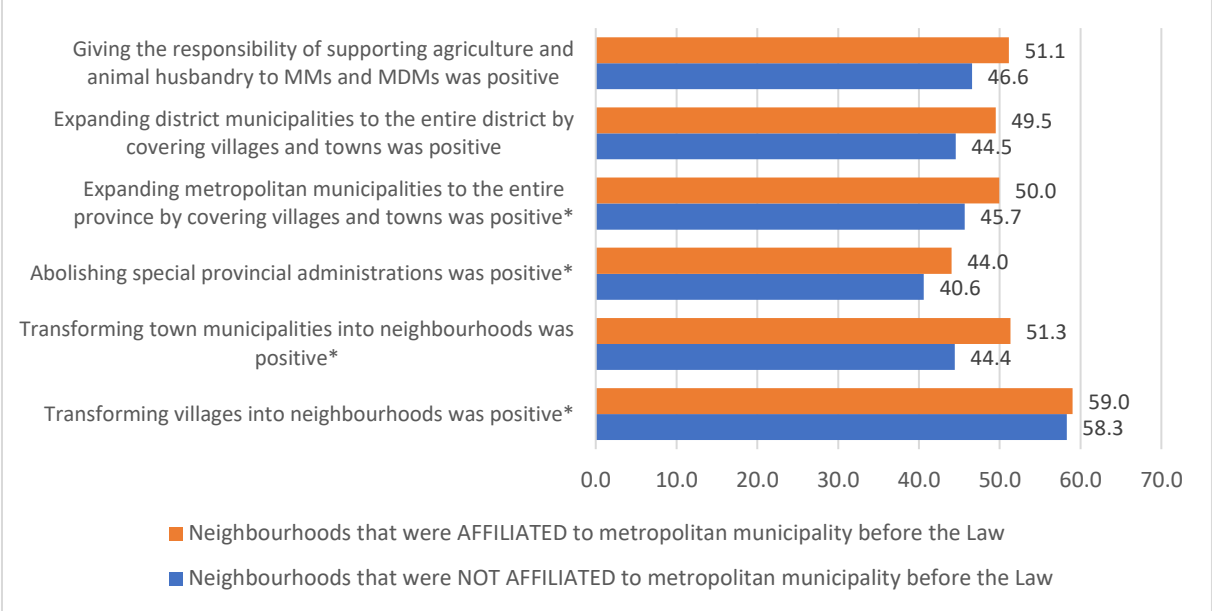
Source: Household questionnaire administered under the project and analysis by the Project Team.

Neighbourhoods which were affiliated with MMs, in other words, receiving services from an MM before the Law No. 6360 have a little higher positive perception about all the questioned regulations than in the neighbourhoods which were newly affiliated with an MM. This comparison was made between the neighbourhoods which were already receiving services from an MM before 2014 and the neighbourhoods which were affiliated with an MM after 2014. The most significant difference

⁸ Difference in propositions marked with (*) is statistically significant (chi-square test, p < 0.003). In these propositions, there is a relation between the responses of “Agree and Disagree” and whether it is rural or urban neighbourhood. Statistical relations (correlations) are included in this note and the following figures. Correlation does not imply causality (cause-and-effect relation) but it creates a starting point for further investigation of causality. For example, rural neighbourhoods having higher positive opinions on some reforms than urban neighbourhoods may not be attributable to neighbourhood type. However, determining the relation is a stage for determining the causality with the other research. If there is no relation, it cannot be mentioned about causality. Causality can be demonstrated by running controlled experiments, i.e. keeping one variable constant and changing the others. The dataset obtained through the scope and questionnaire does not allow running these experiments.

is about the transformation of town municipalities into neighbourhoods (see Figure 11). Neighbourhoods which were receiving services from MMs before the Law were a little higher than the others, which can be explained by greater familiarity and observations about receiving services from MMs and MDMs.

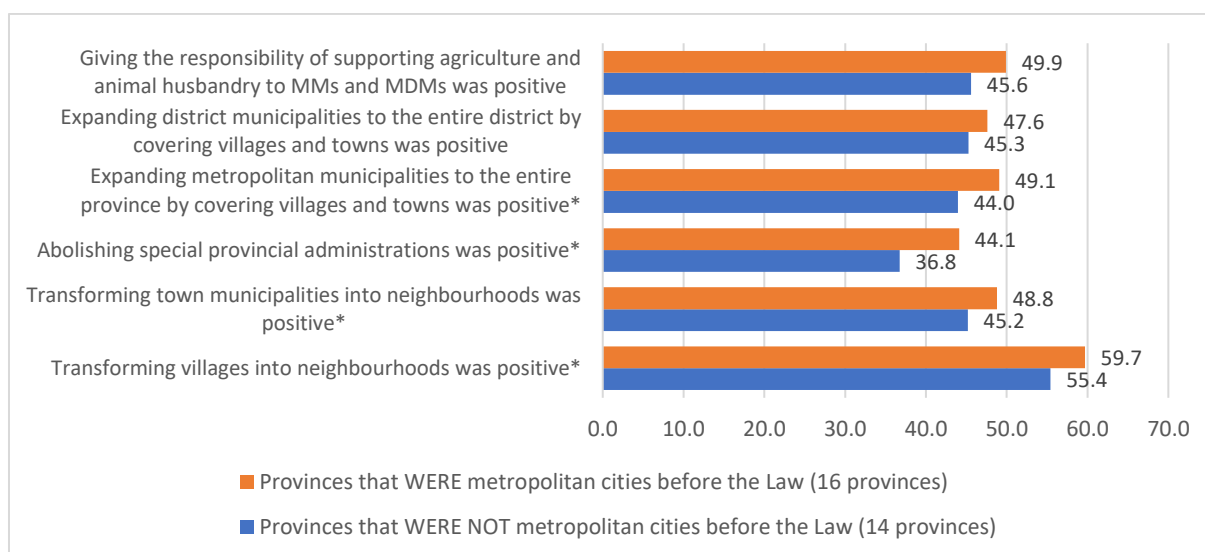
Figure 10. Differences Between Already Existing and Newly Affiliated Neighbourhoods in MM System for Key Reform Areas of Law No. 6360 (Strongly Agree + Agree)



Source: Household questionnaire administered under the project and analysis by the Project Team.
 Note: Except for the proposition to transform villages into neighbourhoods, differences are statistically significant (chi-square test, $p < 0.025$). In these propositions, there is a relation between the responses Agree and Disagree and whether the respondent neighbourhood received services from an MM or not. Regarding the transformation of villages into neighbourhoods, there is no relation between whether the neighbourhood was previously within the remit of an MM or not.

When a comparison is made between 16 provinces which were already MMs before the Law No. 6360 and 14 provinces where MMs established for the first time, positive perceptions increase in favour of 16 provinces. The most significant difference is about the proposition that abolition of SPAs was positive (see Figure 12).

Figure 11. Differences Between Old and New Metropolitan Municipalities in Key Reform Areas of Law No. 6360 (Strongly Agree + Agree)

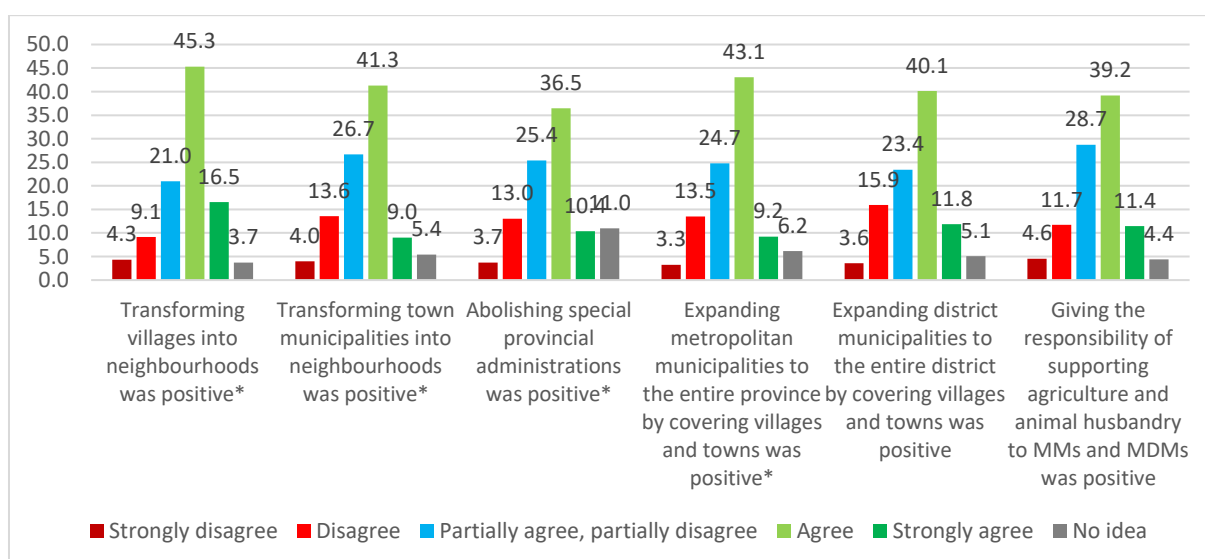


Source: Household questionnaire administered under the project and analysis by the Project Team.

Note: All differences are statistically significant (chi-square test, $p < 0.001$). In these propositions, there is a relation between the responses Agree and Disagree and whether the respondent neighbourhood was in a province (16 provinces) that included an MM in the past or a province where a new MM was established (14 provinces).

When responses of the neighbourhoods that were town municipalities before 2014 are assessed, it is seen that positive opinions increased compared to the responses in 30 provinces while negative opinions decreased. Old town municipality residents find transformation of villages into neighbourhoods more favourable than transformation of town municipalities into neighbourhoods. While the positive perception on the abolition of the village legal personality is 62% (Agree and Strongly Disagree), the positive perception on the abolition of towns is 50% (Agree and Strongly Agree) (see Figure 13).

Figure 12. Views of Town Residents Who Lost Legal Personality on Key Reform Areas of Law No. 6360

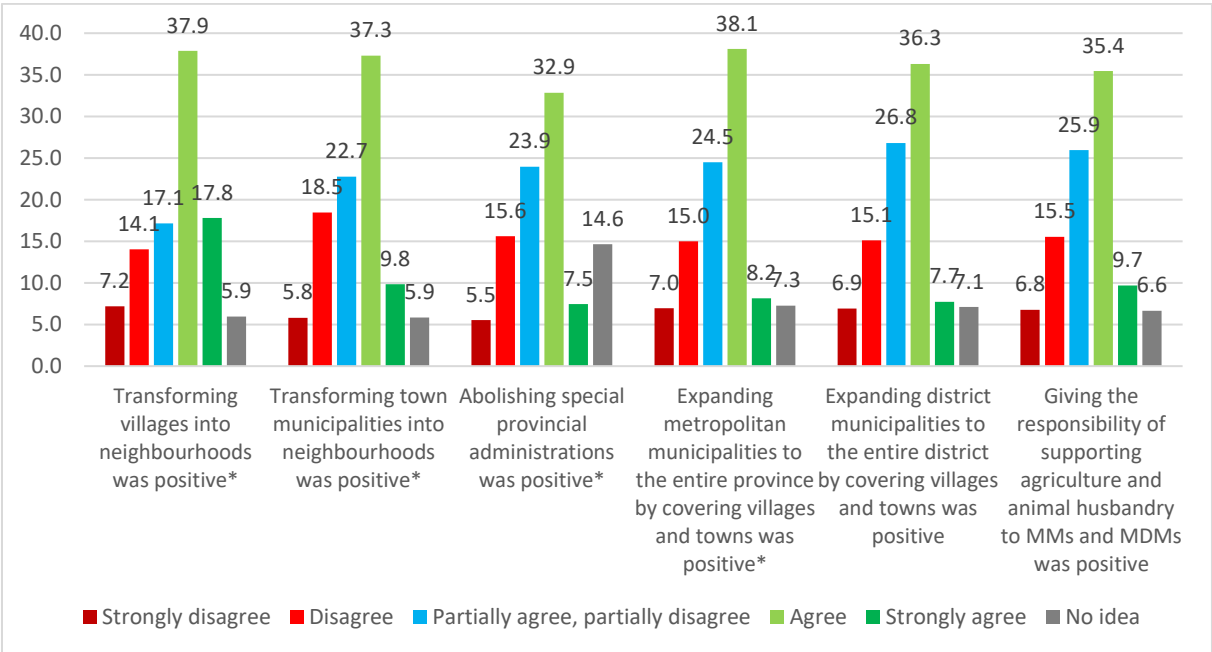


Source: Household questionnaire administered under the project and analysis by the Project Team.

Note: The number of observations is 417. The differentiation for transforming villages into neighbourhoods and abolishing the SPAs is statistically significant (chi-square test, $p < 0.035$). In these propositions, there is a relation between the responses Agree and Disagree and whether the respondent district was formerly a town municipality or not.

Former villagers highly support the abolition of villages. The neighbourhoods which were formerly villages find the transformation of villages into neighbourhoods favourable at the level of 55.7% (see Figure 14). The rate of positive opinions across 30 provinces is 58.7% (see Figure 9). Positive opinions about the questioned six reform areas are 1-3 percentage points lower in the neighbourhoods transformed from villages than in general results. However, only the proposition to support agriculture and livestock shows a significant relation between the views on reform areas according to being a former villager or not. In the reform areas other than this proposition, for example on the issue of transforming villages into neighbourhoods, there is no relation between being a former villager or not.

Figure 13. Views of Abolished Village Residents on Key Reform Areas of Law No. 6360



Source: Household questionnaire administered under the project and analysis by the Project Team.
 Note: The number of observations is 1006. Among the propositions, only the one stating that it is positive to give responsibility of agriculture and livestock to MMs and MDMs is statistically significant (p = 0.038). There is a relation between those who agree and disagree with this proposition and whether the respondents are from neighbourhoods which were transformed from villages. There is no relation between the views on other reform areas and being a former villager or not.

The factor, which has the biggest influence on the opinions about reforms, is the governance perception towards MM in the province. 10% increase in the governance quality cause 6% increase at the rate of positive perception about reforms. It was analysed to what extent the perception about reforms was affected by the questions about socio-economic status, satisfaction with MM services and governance quality of MM which were included in the household questionnaire.⁹ In this context, the indicators which show the impact on reforms in the most effective way are listed below. Sets of questions, including six reform areas, were reduced to a single variable. Survey questions used for the variables outlined below are shown in ANNEX 1:

⁹ Linear regression model was used, sets of many variables were reduced using factor analysis, and single variables were formed by taking the average of the variables that constituted the factors. The selected variables explain 49.6% of the variation on the reform perception. Details are provided in Annex 1.

- **D0:** It is the average of the opinions on a scale of 1 to 5 (increasing from negative to positive) about six key reform areas related to formation of the MM system under the Law No. 6360 (Dependent variable).
- **D1:** Satisfaction with everyday municipal services (Satisfaction with services): It is the average of the satisfaction level on a scale of 1 to 5 (increasing from negative to positive) with eight daily services such as water services, cleaning services, green areas experienced by all citizens.
- **D2:** Satisfaction with living in the city (Satisfaction with city): It is the responses on a scale of 1 to 5 (increasing from negative to positive) for the proposition “I am generally satisfied with living in this city”.
- **D3:** Governance perception on municipality (Governance perception): It is the average of the responses for nine questions about governance capacity and maturity level of MM on a scale of 1 to 5 (increasing from negative to positive).
- **D4:** Perception of households for their own income (Income perception): It assesses the perception on household incomes on a scale of 1 to 5 (increasing from negative to positive).
- **D5:** Real income range of households (Real income): It includes real income ranges of households on a scale of 1-10 (increasing from the lowest to the highest).
- **D6:** Whether the household is within MM boundaries (Old municipality): It indicates whether the address where the household is located was in the MM system before the Law No. 6360; it takes the value of 0 or 1.
- **D7:** Age of respondent (Age): It shows the age of survey respondents.

Table 7. Variables Affecting Household Perception on the Reform and Impact Level

| Variables affective perception on the reform | How much 10% increase in the relevant variable increases the perception of reform on a scale of 1 to 5 (%) |
|---|---|
| D1: Satisfaction with services | 1.84 |
| D2: Satisfaction with city | 0.99 |
| D3: Governance perception | 5.96 |
| D4: Income perception | 0.40 |
| D5: Real income | -0.10 |
| D6: Old municipality (=1) | 0.81 |
| D7: Age | -0.04 |

CHAPTER II. QUALITATIVE ANALYSES

This chapter addresses impacts of local administration reforms on relations between administration levels, fundamental elements and principles of administration, and local services through the lenses of the meetings, face-to-face interviews, survey, and literature review conducted in the scope of this study. In addition to the impacts which were detailed with examples as much as possible, recommendations obtained from the same data sources are also included in the chapter.

2.1. Impacts on Relations Between Administration Levels

2.1.1. Relations Between Central Government and Local Administrations

The legal and institutional framework introduced in 2004-2005 has a number of elements which highlight municipalities in sharing duties and responsibilities, restrict/mitigate the central government's power of tutelage on local administrations. However, it is possible to say that this finding about central and local relations is more complicated and controversial with new regulations and different practices which have emerged over years.

Alongside the activities such as managers' questionnaire, interviews, focus groups and workshops conducted under the project, with the information and documents obtained by examining the relevant academic publications on the subject, it seems reasonable to discuss findings and assessments about the development of local relations and the current situation in ten headings:

1) It is stated that the central government does not regularly and sufficiently use consultation and participation methods and tools which consider experience and preferences of the key stakeholders, especially municipalities, in legislative amendments concerning/affecting local administrations.¹⁰ It is considered that this situation may cause legislative amendments to remain inadequate for responding to the needs in the field and being adopted by local actors as well as causing prolongation/disruption of adaptation processes to the new regulations of local administrations. Therefore, development of methods and mechanism which will increase participation and contribution of local administration representatives to the legislation and policy development processes

¹⁰ For example, according to Özgür and Savaş Yavuzçehre (2016): "In Turkey, main legal regulations concerning local administrations in general and MM in particular (...) are rather from top to bottom and participation and contribution of the relevant selected and assigned senior managers are either limited or not clearly known. (...) In metropolitan laws adopted so far, these are the common points: i) low participation in the law-making process, ii) rapid adoption of laws, iii) accepting the central government as the only actor in law-making process." (p. 923).

In the Eleventh Development Plan Private Specialization Commission Report on Local Administrations and Service Quality, "inter-administrative relations" are also included in "problem areas for local administrations" gathered under 11 main headings. In this context, "not receiving opinions of the relevant administrations during the legislative preparations concerning local administrations" and the lack of coordination between local administrations, ministries and public institutions, the weak communication and the delayed correspondence are considered as the problems about central-local relations. For details, see Ministry of Development, 2018 p. 87-98.

concerning/affecting them closely should be considered as one of the priority items of the reform agenda.¹¹

2) As a related issue, it is about the facts that amendments were made in a manner that gave the impression that frequent and sufficient preparation and impact analysis were not performed about the legislation concerning local administrations, adequate time was not devoted to the relevant institutions for adaptation to the new legislation and transition processes were not planned with all aspects. Considering the fact that not enough importance was accorded to the consultation processes with various institutions of the central government and local administrations in respect of legislative processes, this situation may cause non-compliance in the legislation and practices,¹² and trigger inter-institutional disagreement and lawsuits. It may cause local administration organizations to be caught unaware/unprepared against legislative amendments and have difficulties in adapting to the new situation. Hence, it is observed that a substantial part of the criticism about the Law No. 6360 (to date) was directed to the enactment process¹³ alongside the issues about transition, transfer and liquidation.¹⁴ Therefore, it would be beneficial to improve the regulations to be made in local administrations in the future considering stability and compliance in the legislation¹⁵ by planning preparation and transition processes in a better way.

3) Another issue which is closely related to the former two issues but considered to be useful to address separately is that some of the duties and powers which were left to local administrations

¹¹ In the workshops held under the project, some criticism was made on the lack of adequate consultation with municipalities during the preparation process of the Law No. 6360; but the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization stated that the opinions and suggestions of all municipalities were received in the legislation studies on issues related to the delivery of routine and continuous services.

¹² For a more detailed discussion on this issue, see Oktay, 2016.

¹³ The draft was submitted to the Speakership of TGNA on 8 October 2012, discussed in the Internal Affairs Committee on 10 October 2012 and in the Internal Affairs Sub-Committee on 11-13 October 2012, and it was discussed again in the Internal Affairs Sub-Committee on 14-21 October. Negotiations in TGNA General Assembly started on 6 November 2012 and ended on 12 November 2012. In fact, the primary criticism about the enactment process of the Law No. 6360 is that it was enacted very quickly, without sufficient debate in the general public and TGNA. For example, see the speech of Prof. Dr. Ruşen Keleş (Ömürgönülşen and Sadioğlu, 2016, p. 23).

¹⁴ In the studies conducted under the project, it is observed that the processes of enactment and transition to the new system were frequently criticized with various aspects in similar activities and academic publications conducted at different times by different institutions and individuals in line with the Law No. 6360. It is stated that the Law No. 6360 entered into force without forming the infrastructure sufficiently, planning and phasing the transition process effectively, and without calculating compliance and coordination aspects adequately. Stating that the transfer, liquidation and sharing processes regulated in the Transitional Article 1 of the Law were not operated fairly, transparently and effectively, and that the two-year preparation period is not used effectively especially in the new MM provinces and districts; the said process was criticized with various aspects such as personnel, debts and associations. For example, see Akıllı and Kızılboga Özaslan, 2015; Arslan, 2016; Çöpoğlu, 2017; Pank, 2016; Tekin, 2018; Ömürgönülşen and Sadioğlu, 2016; Zengin, 2014. For example, according to Özgür and Savaş Yavuzçehre (2016): *“In the practices of MM administration which have been continuing for more than 30 years, handover operations disrupt the functioning of the system, create compliance problems, cause discussions and cases, and divert the attention of municipal administrations from the main actions. Especially with the Law No. 6360, handover procedures have become more complicated due to the reasons such as the abolition of many local administration units and establishment of water and sewer administrations.”* (p. 924).

¹⁵ For example, Çöpoğlu (2017: 149) makes this assessment with reference to the representatives of MMs: “There is a disconnection between municipal administrations and central government units due to the legislative differences. The laws concerning central government units as well should be made compatible with the Law No. 6360.” In terms of the need for compliance with the Law No. 6360, a series of regulations such as Provincial Administration Law, Village Law, Meadows Law are provided.

by reforms (exclusively or predominantly) are to be directed to the central government itself or provincial organisations of the central government, at least making them more open to their intervention. In other words, there is a complaint about the prevalence of the phenomenon called “re-centralization” in the literature. One of the examples consistently mentioned by local administrations in various studies is that many central government institutions have gradually increasing and varying powers and interventions about land development plans by the amendments made to the land development legislation over years.¹⁶ It is considered that the current status of division of duties and powers between central government institutions and local administrations regarding the use of land development processes and tools which can be considered as the dominant factors of public policies affecting the development and administration functioning of the cities is quite problematic.¹⁷ Therefore, it is understood that a balanced division of powers and responsibilities is necessary to ensure that issues such as determining fundamental principles, standards and priorities at national level and monitoring and auditing compliance with them remain under the responsibility of central government units and that holistic and sustainable planning decisions are taken by local administrations at local level.

4) It is considered as a positive and important development that the apportionment transferred from general budget tax revenues to local administrations increased with the Law No. 6360, and especially MMs had the opportunity to produce more services and make more investments. It is also assessed mostly in the same manner that the apportionments transferred from the central government to local administrations are mainly based on objective criteria such as population and surface area and MMs have increasing opportunity for accessing to grant programs and loans. On the other hand, as shown more detailed in the previous chapter, own revenues were on average equivalent to 2.06% of the national income in 2007-2013 while they were on average equivalent to 1.95% of the national income in 2014-2019. According to the averages of the same period, the share of own revenues in total revenues decreased from 47.7% to 46%. Maybe, even more important issue is the existence of such assessments that the increases in MM revenues following the entry into force of the Law No. 6360 are far from meeting the expanding service areas and responsibilities, and MMs became more dependent on the central government in terms of revenue and resources.¹⁸ Therefore, it is necessary to introduce

¹⁶ “What is the problem? Central-local relations and conservatism of the central government are among the issues discussed in every reform. (...) The central government refrains from granting some powers, acts conservatively and even engages in taking these powers back. This is the biggest problem of our country. (...) We granted powers about planning to local administrations. But our Ministers of Environment, except one, are strangely endeavouring to transfer these powers back to the central governments, almost in an effort to establish a grand Turkey municipality. (Speech of Erol Kaya, Head of TGNA Public Works, Land Development, Transport and Tourism Commission/AKP Istanbul Deputy of that period, Ömürgönülşen & Sadioğlu, 2016: 113. It should be noted here that Erol Kaya was the district mayor in one of the districts (Pendik) of Istanbul for 15 years). Moreover and especially, see Şahin, 2019.

¹⁷ Poyraz (2019) asserts that Istanbul MM that is obliged to deliver services to 95 percent of the population living within the boundaries of the city has the power of planning only for 40 percent of the entire area in Istanbul, considering that almost every ministry in Turkey has the power of planning on Istanbul.

¹⁸ The report “Strengthening of Local Administration Loan System in Turkey” that was prepared under Local Administration Reforms Project Phase III (LAR3) (Activity A.1.1.2) has similar findings: “While the responsibilities of municipalities increase,

measures to increase own revenues of municipalities and to increase the apportionments from general budget. In this context, it is recommended in the interviews and meetings held under the project that the Law No. 2464 of 1981 on Municipal Revenues be comprehensively reviewed and renewed in accordance with the changing conditions and needs. Another recommendation is to update and improve the principles and procedures for the apportionments to municipalities from central budget tax revenues. For example, it is requested to use (additional) criteria such as settled area criterion, geographic condition (whether the land is flat vs. mountainous, etc.), coast/road length, summer-winter/night-day population ratio and the number of refugees and immigrants besides the surface area while calculating the apportionments transferred from the central government. It is also stated that it would be appropriate to eliminate the problems arising from the companies paying their taxes not according to the location where their facilities are located and they conduct their activities according to the MM where their headquarters are located. Finally, recommendations are made on finalizing the obligation of municipalities to allocate apportionments to other institutions from the taxes collected (for example, allocating 10% apportionments of cultural and natural heritages from the property tax, apportionments to development agencies from the municipal budgets).

5) It is observed that the Investment Monitoring and Coordination Department (YIKOB), which was established in 30 MMs with the Law No. 6360, could not be appropriately positioned at functional level in the administrative structuring in terms of central and local relations. The opinions offered in the discussions on YIKOBs can be gathered under three subcategories. The first category includes those people who roughly define YIKOBs as “the new version of SPAs without general provincial councils, more dependent on/affiliated with the governor (hence the centre)” and therefore who are contrary to the tendency/claim of strengthening local administrations/local democracy.¹⁹ Those in the second category point out that YIKOBs were established to fill the gap in monitoring and coordination of central government investments at the province level after the abolition of SPAs, and argue that they should be made more functional for the needs arising in the field.²⁰ The

their revenues remain at the same level and the majority of these revenues is composed of the shares from central budget revenues. Under vertically unstable local financing conditions, a significant part of municipalities will soon lose their ability to receive loans; and their unpaid liabilities to the public and private sectors will increase. (...) When considered in terms of dependency to the central government, it can be seen that MMs and provincial municipalities are more dependent on central budget shares than other municipalities.” (p. 7)

¹⁹ For example, according to Oktay (2016), “Decisions of YIKOBs on investments and some expenses are not subject to the supervision of general provincial council as in the old system; therefore, it reflects the will of the central government without the supervision of local politics on a large scale.” (p. 111). Moreover, see Belli and Aydın, 2017; Eldem, 2016; Esen, Güneş and Ünal, 2014; Taşçier, 2018.

²⁰ Especially see the speech of Erol Kaya, Ömürgönülşen & Sadioğlu, 2016, p. 100. Administrative-functional status of these new units, which were in the form of Investment Monitoring and Coordination Centres (YIKOMs) in the first version of the draft and Investment Monitoring and Coordination Department (YIKOB) in the final version, has been discussed with various aspects since the beginning of the process. For example, according to Özel (2016), 'if it is thought to have an alternative/reserve power in the cases when there is disruption in local services' and in order to enable the central government to operate investment and services effectively in the provinces, legal personalities should definitely be granted to YIKOBs. In fact, YIKOB's becoming “the units with public legal personality and special budget” was realized with the Decree-Law No. 674 published in the Official Gazette No. 29818-bis of 1 September 2016, and the amendment made to Article 28/A of the Law No. 3152.

common point of the opinions in the third category is the emphasis on preventing overlaps/conflict of duties and powers between YIKOBs and municipalities and avoiding duplication and waste in the services/investments, rather than an ontological questioning.²¹ Therefore, it is understood that the new and existing roles of YIKOBs in the execution of public investments and services and in shaping centre and local relations need to be subjected to a comprehensive and comparative examination in the current situation.

6) Cooperation and coordination between central government institutions and municipalities are not at the desired level. There is a common negative perception and complaint on this issue among practitioners and researchers. In one aspect, the issue is based on conflicts/overlaps of duties and powers between some central government institutions and municipalities, which is stated to be experienced more frequently and problematically in some areas such as agriculture and livestock, and social services.²² The problems of MMs with DSI on rehabilitation of stream beds, with the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry on food control/safety can be mentioned in the same manner.²³ Another aspect of the issue is that local administration representatives have requests on transferring some duties and powers (together with resources) which are currently under the responsibility of central government institutions to municipalities. Accordingly, the two examples which are commonly mentioned are the complete transfer of traffic services (on condition to allocate adequate share of motor vehicle tax) and sport services (with resources) from central government institutions to local administrations. Therefore, it is necessary to reassess the division of duties, powers and responsibility between the central government and local administration systemically so as to prevent duplication and wastefulness and also ensure the delivery of public services in an integrated and effective way.

7) It is among the most frequently mentioned issues in various studies that such actions as permits, approvals and allocations between MMs and some central government institutions are numerous and complex and the completion of processes spreads over a very long time and contains some uncertainties. Permit for laying potable water line parallel to the roadside with the General Directorate of Highways (KGM), permit for water allocation with DSI, permit for road construction through forests with the General Directorate of Forestry (OGM), and the problems regarding the allocation of unused buildings of the central government to the municipalities are some of the examples discussed in this

²¹ It can be said that two opposing dominant opinions were expressed in the discussions on YIKOBs in the negotiations during the enactment period of the Law No. 6360 in TGNA. According to the first opinion, YIKOBs cannot fill the 'deep gap that will occur after the abolition of SPAs', because they display a highly fragile, easily abolishable, incapable and unauthorized profile. According to the second opinion, the regulation about these units is a step which means 'returning to centralization' which negates thesis of 'powers were transferred to local administrations, democratization steps were taken on local administrations'. See Acar and Yıldız, 2017, p. 17-18.

²² For example, see Kalkan, 2018.

²³ Ö.İ.K Report on Local Administrations and Service Quality lists these issues in the context of "problems arising from the failure of a clear division of duties between administrations": Social assistance, youth and sports, agriculture and animal husbandry, rural services, environment and waste management, social policy, water, disaster, planning, urban transformation. See Ministry of Development, 2018, p. 88.

regard. Therefore, it is necessary to conduct a thorough and comprehensive examination on what kind of approaches and methods should be developed to eliminate the problems triggered or aggravated by the said permits, approvals and allocations processes.

8) There are deficiencies in data and information sharing among administrations. It is frequently and widely emphasized that cooperation and effective coordination between central and local relations is required for data and information sharing. In summary, local administration representatives request for expansion and improvement on accessing to the data and information of the central government institutions in consideration of reciprocity and public interest, considering that the data and information flow between them and the central government is generally one way (from local to centre). Accordingly, it is possible to assess a series of recommendations on ensuring a more comprehensive and effective use of applications such as SOYBIS and TAKBIS for municipalities and granting authorization to them for making inquiries through SSI records.²⁴ Therefore, it is necessary to discuss in detail how to ensure the relevant and authorized local administration units and the officials to assess the existing databases of the central government and to determine the principles and procedures of a comprehensive, regular and gradual data and information sharing between the central government and local administrations considering the developing technologies and needs.

9) The fact that municipalities do not have certain privileges and exemptions, which are granted to central government institutions as of the public institution identity, restrains efficiency and effectiveness of municipalities. Although municipalities are the dominant actors and institutions with public legal personality in the provision of local public services, they state that many privileges/exemptions granted to central government institutions in some fields are not granted to municipalities and their affiliated entities, and this causes some disruptions and negativities in terms of institutional functioning and reputation. A series of issues ranging from the restrictions on the notification legislation and e-attachment applications and to the municipalities' vehicles not benefiting from the transport payments granted to private companies per vehicle are included in the discussion agenda on various occasions. It is another aspect of the issue that municipalities cannot benefit from the exemptions and exceptions of tax and fee liabilities, which are granted to central government institutions, either at all or not sufficiently. Therefore, it is considered that it would be beneficial to include the aforementioned issue in a review and discussion process about the present and future of centre and local relations.

10) There are deficiencies in the implementation of the constitutional principle indicating that local administrations shall be provided with revenues proportional to their duties. Referred as unfunded mandates in the literature, what makes the issue interesting is that municipalities are put into a position of not requesting but complaining about the exemptions and privileges granted to different

²⁴ cf. Çelik ve Altıparmak, 2019; Çöpoğlu, 2017.

units and groups despite the fact that they request for benefiting from the exemptions and privileges as the public institutions. In summary, municipalities argue that some regulations and decisions introduced by various organisations of the central government for the provision of public services impose new responsibilities and obligations on municipalities and the resulting financial burden should be compensated/reimbursed by the central government.²⁵ For example, it is frequently mentioned with various occasions that free transport right provided to passengers over 65 years old should be re-evaluated and regulated.

2.1.2. Relations Between Metropolitan Municipalities and Metropolitan District Municipalities

One of the critically important issues in the process of understanding the implications of the legislation regarding local administrations is how the relations between MMs and MDMs are arranged and operated in the new model introduced by the Law No. 6360. [here]

Expansion of MM boundaries to provincial civil administration boundaries and MDM boundaries to district civil administration boundaries with the Law No. 6360 brought some similar advantages and disadvantages both for MMs and MDMs. For example, expanding the region for which they are authorized/responsible through the civil administration boundaries introduced some common opportunities and difficulties at both levels. Similarly, this model imposed service obligation on these units which were experienced in urban services to be delivered to rural settlements as well in the new period and the obligation to support agriculture and livestock. In addition, the issues about central and local relations mentioned in the previous pages affect local administration units at both levels mostly in the same direction. Finally, some of the difficulties that these administrations must overcome in the process of transition and adaptation to the new model are similar. Shortly, it is observed that the new model introduced some common problems and choices both to the MMs and MDMs.

However, there are some differences in the experience of MMs and MDMs in relation to the system introduced by the Law No. 6360 and in the preferences on role division.²⁶ At this point, it should be underlined that there is a common consensus among practitioners and researchers that the Law No. 6360 granted extensive powers to MMs (mostly to the detriment of MDMs) and increased their duties and responsibility on the basis of fields and subjects. However, the opinions about whether this new situation is favourable or unfavourable may significantly differ from time to time, which is possible to elicit them

²⁵ “When central-local relations are considered in financial aspect, the exemptions that are implicitly imposed on municipalities is a problem. The central government asks that they transport people over the age of 65 for free, but who will give the money? You make the law and you order it. You bring exemption from real estate; you bring exemption from sanitation (you bring exemptions from everything). It is very well that you make these regulations but when you look at the burden of these regulations on the city, these exemptions are the hidden burden of financial bureaucracy to local administrations.” (Speech of Erol Kaya, Head of TGNA Public Works, Land Development, Transport and Tourism Commission/AKP Istanbul Deputy of that period, Ömürgönülşen ve Sadioğlu, 2016: 113).

²⁶ So to speak, these units are in the same boat, they are in the boat of “new MM system”, they are sailing together in a new journey. However, their positions in the boat and therefore their conditions and capacities of influencing decisions differ, so their journey experience and assessments can clearly differentiate.

roughly in two sub-groups. According to the first group with a predominance of MM representatives, the division of powers, duties and responsibilities envisaged by the new system is essentially appropriate and it can provide facilities and opportunities for highly positive developments in the sense of municipality. According to the second opinion which is mostly supported by the managers of MDMs, the division of powers and responsibilities of the current system is quite problematic, unsustainable and has a defunctionalizing and depotentiation impact on the MDMs.²⁷

According to the group with positive perception about the new model, it has become possible to schedule and execute local investments and services from a single source at the provincial level, thereby increasing efficiency and providing a chance for benefiting from economies of scale. For example, fundamental services such as infrastructure, transport, public transport, water and sewer can be provided more effectively with the new model.²⁸ It is also argued that new system has brought important opportunities for land development and planning as well. Considering that town municipalities have been abolished and 1/1,000 scale implementation plans prepared by district municipalities can be inspected by MMs in terms of the compliance with upper scale plans, it is thought that planning and land development activities can be executed in a holistic, disciplined and professional manner at the provincial level.

On the other hand, it is argued that the new MM model affected relations between municipal levels adversely and centralization was brought to local level. This view, which can be defined as local centralization, is also shared by some MM managers during focus group discussions and workshops, but generally supported by representatives of MDMs and academicians.²⁹ Accordingly, when the differences between MM provinces in terms of the surface area, geographic structure, distance over the province and development level are taken into consideration, it is brought up for the discussion that the provincial level constitutes an optimal scale for all municipality services. In the interviews and meetings,

²⁷ In fact, it should be noted here that the new division of functions and responsibilities envisaged by the Law No. 6360 is assessed as a positive, effective change by the representatives of MMs, whose powers increased (unlike the representatives of MDMs whose functions and responsibilities seriously decreased/eroded), and this assessment did not constitute an opposing finding and consideration against theories and practices of bureaucracy. Çapar and Demir (2017) asked the respondents to assess different aspects of the current model in a questionnaire covering 10 MMs and 15 MDMs. In the research, it was determined that there are serious differences between MMs and district municipalities in relation to the division of duties, powers and resources. For example, respondents from MMs stated that the existing division of duties, powers and responsibilities between MMs and MDMs is “balanced”, but representatives of MDMs believed that there are “great imbalances” in the division of duties, powers and resources of the new model, and that “MDMs were made unfunctional in terms of services and powers”, and “great disruptions and confusions occurred in the solution of problems and delivery of services due to the services transferred to MMs”. (p. 50).

²⁸ Bingöl, Yazıcı and Büyükakın (2013) report, based on observations and findings on Kocaeli where the “metropolitan municipality model expanded to provincial boundaries” has been in effect since 2004 along with Istanbul, that public services have been better planned, consistent and effectively delivered in the new model. The authors argue that the new model enables a comprehensive and high-level coordination rather than any weakness of coordination across the province. Practitioners and researchers on the other hand still carry on a debate arising from the fact that Istanbul and Kocaeli, arguably representing exemplary and even pilot application preceding the Law No. 6360, have differences vis-à-vis other 28 provinces in terms of geographic size, levels of development and urbanization etc. For details see Acar and Yıldız, 2017: 45-49.

²⁹ For example, see Akıllı and Kızılboga Özasan, 2015; Gül and Batman, 2013; Gürbüz, Yıldırım and Belli, 2014; Güzel, 2012; Keleş, 2012; Kızılboga and Alıcı, 2013; Mutlu, 2012; Özdemir and Demirkanoğlu, 2015.

some participants emphasized that adequate data were not available on the effective and economic provision of local services throughout the province after the new model and drew attention to the unfavourable situations and financial and administrative capacity deficiencies experienced during the transition period. It is also stated that holistic and effective planning and land development practices are not very common at the provincial level because of the central government interventions and difficulties in coordination and cooperation that MMs experienced with their own organizations and MDMs.

From a wider perspective, it seems reasonable to group the key issues which affect the quality of relations between MMs and MDMs following the entry into force of the Law No. 6360 under five headings and to list them as follows:

1) It is observed that the approach prioritizing the MM in the Law for benefiting from economies of scale is not always adopted in practice and thereby causing serious problems for MDMs (especially the ones far from the centre). As mentioned above, it is determined that the new system strengthened MMs in terms of the division of duties, powers and responsibilities between MMs and MDMs while rendering the districts defunctionalized and unpowered. In other words, there is a common consensus that districts have become the “weak links”³⁰ of the new system and this situation has brought a series of disruptions and controversies which prevent the effective functioning of the new model as a whole. However, it is observed that the same consensus does not continue in the discussions about how the new division of duties and powers could be/should be made between MMs and MDMs. For example, one idea is that it may be useful to decide a new division of functions and powers between MMs and MDMs based on such criteria as distance to MM centre,³¹ while it is recommended on the other hand that certain central districts with populations less than a threshold at MMs should be partially or fully abolished and their functions be transferred to MMs.

2) Considering that division of powers and responsibilities on a scale in relation to the same local services between MMs and MDMs causes a series of problems in the current model; it is discussed whether it would be more appropriate to give the responsibility of each type of services to only one of the two local administration levels. During various activities organized under the project, it is

³⁰ For example see Oktay, 2016, Turan and Duru, 2014. Moreover, see the speeches of Prof. Dr. Kemal Görmez and Prof. Dr. Hüseyin Gül (Ömürgönülşen & Sadioğlu in 2016, p. 59-64 and p. 95-97 respectively). Accordingly, it is stated that integrity of planning and services in MMs was damaged on the basis of districts, it became difficult for district municipalities to reflect their perspectives on the field, dependency on MMs emerged in districts, and organizations of MMs at district level caused different problems between MMs and MDMs. It is argued that tutelage of MMs over the districts increased (for example, see Belli and Aydın, 2017; Gözler, 2013; Zengin, 2014) in the new system, the power of resolving disputes between district municipalities that was granted to MM councils created a hierarchical relation between different local administrations (for example see Günal, Atvur and Okudan, 2014)

³¹ Çapar and Demir (2017) found that MMs had no consensus on whether differentiation was needed in terms of functions, powers and resources between central districts and non-central districts of MMs, however MDMs had full consensus on this matter, preferring differentiation. The authors stated that “There are clear differences between central districts and those away from the centre. Therefore, it should be considered to establish a differential status.” (p. 62). Arıkboğa (2018: 19) argues that the current MM system has adopted “not only the *uniformist* but also the *centralist* approach” in the division of powers between MMs and MDMs. However, considering the nature of settlements within an MM, the powers, responsibilities and financial resources of MDMs may be differentiated.” (Author’s italics).

frequently emphasized that it is necessary to regulate the division of current duties and powers between MMs and MDMs so as to minimize the overlaps/conflicts in services. In other words, it is requested to abandon the current approach of “*shared powers and duties*” for municipal police services, social assistance, road networks and parks, and to make an exclusive authorization and assignment at only one level for each service type. Undoubtedly, there are numerous and various alternatives on the content of a possible redivision, however the concept of one task-one administration seems to be widely accepted.³²

3) It is observed that the flexibility provided for transferable services between MMs and MDMs is not adopted sufficiently in practice. It is frequently stated that a new regulation should be made on Article 7 of the Law No. 5216 in order to eliminate the conflicts and problems regarding ‘*transferable services*’ (terminals, wholesale markets, slaughterhouses, cemeteries, cleaning and numbering services) between MMs and MDMs which arose after the provision made by the amendment to the Law No. 6360. Therefore, although the flexibility envisaged to encourage introducing suitable solutions for local conditions and needs is not completely eliminated, it is recommended to bring minimum regulations on the method, duration and source of transfers in particular, to share good practices and to eliminate uncertainties and conflicts causing disruptions in local decision-making processes and services.

4) It is believed that financial transfers between MMs and MDMs affect the relations between local administrations adversely, and an approach prioritizing simplicity and clarity is required in this field. This issue, frequently discussed in various studies, is related to the provisions of the current legislation and primarily the Law No. 2464 on Municipal Revenues, which envisage sharing/apportionment between MMs and MDMs. It is understood that wherever there is a revenue apportionment among administrations, there is more or less ambiguity and conflict in their composition, collection, follow-up and/or transfer processes.³³ Therefore, it is necessary to examine this type of issues/provisions in the legislation thoroughly and literally, subject them to a comprehensive renewal and simplification process, clarify the system from such practices as revenue sharing/transfer, offsetting etc. in order to reduce disputes and disagreements between the central government and local administrations and between MMs and MDMs and to reduce resulting confusion and complexity.³⁴

5) It is thought that cooperation and coordination between MMs and MDMs are not at the desired level and in the required efficiency, and the most decisive obstacle for its development is culture-

³² For a study that examines two-tier MM system in the light of judicial decisions and makes recommendations similar to those listed here, see Alici and Özasan, 2017. Moreover see Günel, Atvur and Okudan, 2014.

³³ Çelik and Altıparmak (2019: 208-227) shows the severity of the problem by numerous examples from the reports of Court of Accounts.

³⁴ In different studies, it is observed that local managers, who intensely mention the problems caused by the division of duties, powers, responsibilities and resources between MMs and MDMs, usually conclude their speech with such statements as “uncertainties should be ended, clarity and certainty should be provided”. The following quote is a typical example. “I assume that the Law No. 6360 should determine the division of duties, powers and resources clearly between MMs and district municipalities without causing any uncertainty (...) and solve this problem systematically.” (Speech of Nihat Yıldız, Deputy Mayor of Keçiören at the time, Ömürgönülşen & Sadioğlu, 2016: 54). Similarly, Çelik and Altıparmak (2019: 206) recommend that “joint governance model should definitely be avoided” in delivery of services such as terminals, wholesale markets and slaughterhouses within the MM boundaries.

related. Following the entry into force of the Law No. 6360, establishment of the coordination units such as AYKOME and UKOME provides an extensive coordination and cooperation potential in addition to the increasing coordination power and authority of MMs, which is among the positive aspects of the new model. However, various studies reveal that there is a serious deficiency of coordination and cooperation between MMs and MDMs.³⁵ The biggest obstacle to coordination and cooperation is associated with the deficiency of coordination and cooperation culture itself. Although this problem is sometimes associated with the existence of various political parties in municipal administrations, it is also encountered between the municipalities which are administered by the same political party.

In conclusion, it can be said that the above-mentioned issues are important sources and constitute a reference for the discussions and assessments on whether the current MM model is effective or not, and especially in terms of positive and negative opinions about the relations and interactions between MMs and MDMs.

2.1.3. Relations Between Municipalities and Neighbourhoods

The relations and interactions between neighbourhoods - particularly the “new” neighbourhoods of municipalities - and municipalities are at a critical junction where the main elements of recent local administration reforms intersect, although such relations and interactions remain relatively in the background where central and local relations in general and MMs and MDMs relations in particular are densely and loudly discussed. As almost all of the regulations introduced by the Law No. 6360 have some aspects that have more or less impacts on neighbourhoods and neighbourhood residents; these regulations include expansion of MMs’ sphere of competence to provincial boundaries, abolition of SPAs, abolition of towns, abolishing legal personalities of villages and transforming them into neighbourhoods, and redivision of duties and responsibilities between various tiers of MMs. Furthermore, in the examinations and discussions regarding fundamental local services such as planning and land development, infrastructure and transport as well as fundamental governance principles such as participation and effectiveness, the discussion eventually touches the settlements that were transformed into neighbourhoods from villages, the concept of “rural neighbourhoods” as named following the entry into force of the Law No. 6360. Hence, there are even some discussions on neighbourhoods being 'weak links' of local administration reforms in the recent period.

In light of the findings and impressions acquired in various events held under the project and in a focus group discussion³⁶ where rural areas and services were discussed in particular, seven highlights

³⁵ For example, in Ö.I.K Report on Local Administrations and Service Quality, problems arising from the “uncertainty of local/administrative relations between MMs and district municipalities” and “inadequacy of cooperation and service partnership between local administrations” are mentioned. Ministry of Development, 2018: p. 87.

³⁶ In the 4th focus group discussion between 8-9 January 2020 in Ankara under Activity 2.1.1, in addition to the general issues about positive/negative impacts of local administration reforms, relations with rural neighbourhoods and mukhtars, practices on service delivery to rural areas and supporting agriculture, and relevant problems were also discussed.

regarding the status of neighbourhoods in the new MM system and their relations and problems with municipalities can be summarized as follows:

1) Although it is highly criticized by some groups, mainly by academicians and politicians³⁷, it is observed that abolition of SPAs and towns in the MMs by the Law No. 6360 was not subject to a serious and widespread objection and criticism by the practitioners in the field. Surely, this general finding should not be understood in such a way that no objection or criticism was directed in various events held under Activity 2.1.1. against the abolition of SPAs and town municipalities in MMs. In fact, it should be noted that some active municipality members, especially the participants who worked in SPAs and towns in the past, displayed an attitude against the aforementioned majority opinion by asserting that it caused weakness especially for representation and participation of rural population and decreased socio-economic vitality in the abolished towns.

2) On the other hand, there are a lot of **municipality members who do not approve** abolition of village legal personalities. Majority of these people support returning the neighbourhoods which were transformed from villages to their former status, or at least providing certain powers and resources to the masters in rural neighbourhoods unlike other (urban) neighbourhoods. It should be noted that there are representatives both from MMs and MDMs among those who made this finding and proposal.

3) It is reported by municipal representatives that services delivered to rural neighbourhoods increased with the introduction of new MM system. In this context, it is stated that significant increases and improvements occurred compared to the previous periods in the services such as water, road and transport that are traditionally provided by municipalities and mostly related to urban services; significant improvements were achieved for the citizens residing in these regions to access the said local services; and relations and connections with provincial and district centres improved. Accordingly, the obligation of MMs to allocate minimum 10% of their budget to rural infrastructure services and even the exemptions and discounts for rural neighbourhoods were considered favourably. However, it can be understood by the opinions shared in group meetings and workshops that all of the MMs, especially the ones that were newly established and cover a wide geographic structure and rural areas, faced with serious delays and difficulties in the organization and delivery of services for rural areas, their financial resources and service capacities in general were strained at a considerable level.

4) Municipalities that have focused on the delivery of urban services have adaptation difficulties in relation to supporting agriculture and animal husbandry and delivery of rural infrastructure services. It is seen that MMs and MDMs, which have expertise and experience in the field of urban services, faced with serious difficulties and difficult choices in a number of fields such as planning, organization and financing of municipal services and because of undertaking new duties³⁸ such as

³⁷ For details and citations on the issue, see Acar and Yıldız, 2017.

³⁸ Agriculture and animal husbandry services are discussed under a separate heading in the following pages.

supporting agriculture and animal husbandry and assuming responsibilities for a wide range of regions such as mountainous areas, plateaus and forests in addition to the obligation to offer their services to wider areas.

5) It is thought that the system introduced by the Law No. 6360 underwent the most difficult process in the issues of planning and land development. Significant difficulties are experienced while executing the planning and land development to rural areas which were normally developed for urban areas. It is recommended to develop special regulations and practices for rural areas that will prevent illegal land development and comply with upper scale plans, and also reduce the administrative and financial burden of citizens in the project design and licensing processes in rural areas.

6) It is observed that neighbourhoods and masters (mukhtars) need to improve their relations with municipalities. It is understood that municipalities have recently developed new policies to improve communication with neighbourhoods and mukhtars and therefore established new departments and facilities. However, it is considered that the interaction of neighbourhoods, which are the smallest local administration units, and their masters with municipalities should be maintained on a more participatory and institutionalized basis. It is stated that granting legal personalities to the neighbourhood masters and empowering them with sufficient powers and resources³⁹ especially in rural areas will contribute to the fast and on-site solution of some problems and to improving the relations of municipalities with the residents in rural settlements.⁴⁰

7) Although rural neighbourhood residents have positive perception on the reforms, this situation is affected by the exemptions and exceptions provided to rural neighbourhoods. The reforms on the provision of services by MMs and MDMs, abolition of SPAs and abolition of legal personalities of villages and towns are assessed much more favourably by the residents living in areas that used to be villages or neighbourhoods compared to the general results according to the household survey. However, it has been revealed by the analysis that the most important factor affecting the opinions about reforms is the principle-related perceptions on the MM, rather than the service satisfaction⁴¹. On the other hand, it should be noted here that there are some assessments made in the meetings held under the project stating that continuation of the exemptions and discounts for taxes and prices in favour of the rural neighbourhoods affect the perception about reforms.

³⁹ It is considered that different options need to be addressed and discussed thoroughly about this issue. Accordingly, Arıkoğaç (2018: 28) gives such a recommendation:

“Rural neighbourhoods can be given a status of *sub-local administration*. More clearly, rural neighbourhoods can be provided with a legal personality under the Law, some additional powers to these mukhtars, various facilities in terms of land development for those living in these areas and institution cooperation opportunity between municipalities and rural neighbourhood administrations. This legal personality, for example village legal personality, will not be a local administration status.” (Original emphasis)

⁴⁰ Hereby, in the framework of Activity 2.1.6 under Project, it should be noted here that a series of activities are planned to analyse the current status of neighbourhood administration, to improve the roles and positions of neighbourhoods and mukhtars in the new MM system.

⁴¹ Detailed information on the subject is presented in Section 1.5 of the Report and in Annex 1.

2.1.4. Relations Between Municipal Bodies

In general terms, how the division of duties, powers and responsibilities between the council, mayor and executive committee is determined and operated is discussed in relation to the potential to ensure checks-and-balances in the decision-making processes of power division between municipal bodies as well as the level of meeting common local needs. In other words, it is necessary to consider the design of municipal bodies and their relations with each other in the context of their contribution to the development of local democracy and effective delivery of local services. In addition to the focus group discussions of MM councillors held under the project, as a result of other interviews, meetings and literature review, the highlighted findings and proposals about the relations between the council, mayor and executive committee are listed below.

Although the status of council has been strengthened, a sustainable checks-and-balances relation has not been achieved between council and mayor. It has always been expressed that municipalities in Turkey are substantially based on the model of ‘strong mayor-weak council’ in the historical process, and the council (executive committee in particular) has remained weak against the mayor. However, it should be noted that the provisions introduced for the duties, powers and working procedures of the council in particular were found to be important under the amendments made to the legislation on local administrations in 2004-2005. For example, the changes about the increasing number of councillor meetings, council’s expanding means for receiving information and audit, and the establishment of specialized commissions and audit commissions are generally evaluated favourably. However, it is commonly believed that said changes are not enough to establish a sound and sustainable checks-and-balances relation between local administration units, especially between council and mayor.⁴²

Following the entry into force of the Law No. 6360, the relation between council and mayor has tilted in favour of mayor. It is observed that ‘municipality experience based on a strong mayor model’ has come to a new stage with the new MM model. The practice of MM covering the boundaries of provincial civil administrations, MDMs covering the boundaries of district civil administrations expanded the powers of mayors both in terms of the region and population in which they exercised their duties and powers, and among the voters from which they received votes. It is thought that this situation appeals more to metropolitan mayors, because of the increasing institutional powers of MMs following the entry into force of the Law No. 6360 are in favour of the mayors, rather than councils.⁴³ At this point,

⁴² According to Özgür and Yavuzçehre (2016: 923-924): “Although it was aimed to establish a balance of power between metropolitan mayor and metropolitan district mayor with the Law No. 3030 and especially the Law No. 5216, metropolitan mayors are generally more powerful in the council. If the councillors who are the members of the mayor's party do not take more than half of the seats distributed by the political parties represented by councillors, the power of the mayor may be broken and it may be more possible to transition to strong mayor-strong council model targeted by the Law No. 5216.”

⁴³ According to Gül (2016: 64) “With the new law, the metropolitan mayor has also turned into a powerful leader who is elected by all provincial voters and represent the entire province. In this aspect, it can be said that local leadership model, which is more powerful, more effective and more authorized, has been transited from the powerful leadership model that was started in

the empowerment of mayors is viewed favourably by some local managers in terms of facilitating actions and accelerating decisions and practices, but some local administration representatives assess the increasing powers of mayors compared to other bodies excessive and objectionable.⁴⁴ On the one hand, as the representation and protocol duties of metropolitan mayors have become very heavy and this reduces the time they can devote to other duties, it is stated that they can be politically empowered with vice-mayors and they should be able to appoint secretaries-general directly among the ones who meet legal requirements. On the other hand, it is supported that mayors should be elected by two-round voting or be elected from among the municipal councillors and even the municipal councillors should elect a council speaker from among themselves.⁴⁵

There are four highlights in relation to the establishment of MM councils.

First, there is a common opinion that MM councils should not be only composed of district municipal councillors and MM councillors; and district municipal councillors should be different people, in other words, MM councillors should be elected directly or separately from districts instead of the current transferred representation and dual duty method.⁴⁶

Second, it is stated that districts are not represented in a balanced way at the MM council in the current system relative to their population and therefore it is frequently criticized that less populated (rural and periphery) districts are over- or unfairly represented at the MM council compared to more populated (urban and central) districts.⁴⁷ Therefore, it is requested to determine the number of MM councillors in a more fair/balanced way according to the population of districts, to regulate the rule regarding the

1963. The mayor, who was previously a powerful municipal manager only within the city boundaries, is transformed into a powerful leader in the entire province with the new status, responsible for the entire province, representing the province and the people administratively and politically, in 30 provinces that were transformed into MMs.”

⁴⁴ According to Kayhan Kavas, Governor-at-centre, the powerful mayor is a common and conscious choice of the existing legislation on local administrations. It is a mayor who is powerful, takes decisions and implements them. The mayor, who is also influential on the council, chooses own personnel while making these decisions. Ömürgönülşen & Sadioğlu, 2016, p. 137. In this regard, it should be noted that many alternatives and arguments were put forward in the discussions about the formation of municipal bodies and their relations with each other, after the local elections held in 2019 in Turkey.

⁴⁵ cf. Esen, Güneş and Ünal, 2014.

⁴⁶ For an example that examines the first two issues mentioned here, see Çelik and Altıparmak, 2019, p. 348.

⁴⁷ As a study that examines the issue of injustice in the representation in the context of establishment of MM councils in Turkey, see Arikboğa, 2018. According to the author: “After the expansion of MM boundaries to the provincial boundaries, the factor of central and surrounding districts was also added to the representational injustice in MM councils. Thus, four different types of geographic and political representational injustice emerged, two for each.” (p. 35). Moreover see Çiner and Zengin, 2019. On the other hand, in response to the statement of a faculty member saying that “small municipalities are overrepresented in MM councils”, a bureaucrat who worked in the preparation process of the Law No. 6360 said the following: “It was a conscious choice. Large districts have a large number of voters, which creates a serious pressure on municipalities. Small districts are ignored by municipalities, they have less population, and therefore have fewer voters. Can we just keep them more powerful in the council and balance the political pressure? It was introduced because of this reason, as a conscious choice.” (Speech of Mehmet Emin Bilmez, Deputy General Director of Local Administrations at the time (currently the Governor of Van) Ömürgönülşen and Sadioğlu, 2016: 68).

population and number of councillors, and to change the picture which is currently in favour of large districts⁴⁸ so as to ensure a balanced representation.⁴⁹

Third, some of local administration representatives (usually the appointed ones) argue that the councillor profile in municipal councils should be more qualified and some practitioners find it worthy to discuss the idea of structuring the councils like citizens' assembly where neighbourhood masters can also join while a small number of representatives recommend that MM council should only consist of district mayors in order to create a council acting like a committee and making swift decisions.

Fourth, recommendations on increasing the power and effectiveness of municipal councillors focus on the merit of councillors, empowering the council secretariat and enhancing the political culture. Accordingly, there are some recommendations such as improving personal rights and status of councillors, making the new councillors benefit from information and orientation process right after the local elections, creating a secretariat to assist council committee in their actions, considering professional knowledge, expertise and experience more in the establishment and functioning of specialized commissions and audit commission of the council. Furthermore, it is often complained that the obligation to comply with the group decision in the council destroys the potential of cooperation and reconciliation between the members of various political parties, and it is argued that the audit commission and the executive committee should include members of opposition party in addition to the political party/alliance that has the council majority.

2.2. Impacts on Fundamental Elements and Principles of Administration

This section of the report examines how the regulations and practices introduced about local administrations are reflected on the field, especially in the context of MMs in terms of fundamental elements and principles of administration. Accordingly, planning, coordination, organization, human resources, financial management, governance, audit, transparency, accountability, participation and effectiveness are discussed. When the opinions shared during interviews, focus group discussions and workshops and the relevant literature are evaluated together alongside the opinions obtained through the questionnaire administered to MM and affiliated entity managers, it seems reasonable to summarize the current situation regarding the fundamental elements and principles of administration.

Representatives of MMs and MDMs mention the regulations made in recent years with positive statements from the strategic planning perspective. It is stated that the expansion of duties and

⁴⁸ In other words, an amendment is requested to Article 5(b) and Article 6 of the Law No. 2972 on Election of Local Administrations, Neighbourhood Masters and Neighbourhood Executive Committees. In addition, some municipal managers state that the procedure followed in the calculation of alternate members and in the appointment for the member replacement should also change.

⁴⁹ For studies emphasizing that the representation problem in municipal councils has different dimensions including the above-mentioned issue but also exceeding it (including such variables as gender, profession), see Acar, 2014; Güneş, 2017; Narcıkara, 2016.

powers of MMs to provincial boundaries enabled the preparation of plans with a holistic approach from a single source at provincial level, scheduling of investments in a better way and delivery of services more effectively. It is considered that this situation contributes to meeting local needs in a faster and more economic manner as well as benefiting from economies of scale. It is often stated that more experience has been gained gradually in the strategic planning and the use of modern financial management processes, with the effect of the relevant legislation, particularly the Law No. 5018.⁵⁰ On the other hand, it is thought that strategic planning approach in local administrations has not yet been internalised with its all elements in municipalities; if it is aimed to go beyond fulfilling a legal formality (mostly through service procurement), it is necessary to prepare strategic plans with a broad participation by improving technical capacity and supporting with the budget.

It is seen that the assessments on intra-institutional, intra-units coordination are generally favourable. However, as mentioned more detailed in the previous pages, when it comes to the coordination and cooperation between MMs and other public institutions, especially between MMs and MDMs, opinions and examples gradually become negative. On the other hand, despite some criticism made against their existing structures and operations, considering the recommendations on establishing formal coordination mechanisms such as AYKOME and UKOME for social assistance, agricultural and rural services, municipal police services, the need for a widespread/effective cooperation and coordination at local level in order to better operate the existing system has become more important than before. In any case, it is thought that the design and operation of the existing model needs an inquiry focusing on coordination and cooperation and a separate and detailed discussion.

Duty, power and responsibility overlaps/conflicts between some central government institutions and municipalities and between MMs and MDMs make it an open-ended question or a problem what kind of organization and at which level the predominantly local services should be delivered. Discussed in the previous chapter as well, this issue makes these alternatives permanent topics of the discussion agenda; “duties and powers between institutions and units should be determined more precisely” (clarification argument), “differences in their own bodies of MMs and MDMs should be taken into consideration more” (tiering argument), “new units and boards should be established to ensure coordination and cooperation” (official coordination argument).

It is understood that in addition to the above-mentioned options about organization, it is necessary to add these types of questions: “How can we improve coordination and cooperation between institutions by accepting the existing legal and institutional structure as data?” and “By which processes and tools can we make the existing organization structure more effective”. In this context, it should be emphasized

⁵⁰ As an example where the MM system is subjected to SWOT analysis by examining the 2015-2019 strategic plans of 15 MMs, you can see the following speech of Uğur Sadioğlu: “Assessment of New Metropolitan Model Through Strategic Plans”, Ömürgönülşen and Sadioğlu, 2016, p. 206-216.

that the success in inter-institutional cooperation and coordination can considerably be achieved with the maturation and generalization of collaboration and reconciliation culture.

It is thought that the flexibility framework offered by standard job positions, which determine the organizational scheme of local administrations, should be reviewed. It should also be discussed sensitively by policy-makers and decision makers whether the organizational scheme of local administrations should be addressed with central rules and standards directed towards ensuring uniformity at the country level or with an approach envisaging/including differences in needs and preferences at local level.

Organization of MMs at regional and district level for different services should also be thoroughly and extensively examined and discussed from these and similar aspects. For example, with the amendment made to the Regulation on Principles and Standards of Job Positions in Municipalities and Affiliated Entities and Unions of Local Governments in 2006, the regulation stating that coordination units could be established in MMs was abolished in 2018. However, MMs are organized as department of mukhtar affairs or branches of existing departments in the districts although they are not practically named as coordination units.

Although it is considered critical to employ experts and technical personnel for standard job positions in municipalities, problems about human resources still continue in practice. The issues about standard job positions⁵¹ in particular, it is thought that the regulations introduced for civil servants in the central government to be assigned in municipalities and for the experts and technical personnel to be employed with annual contracts give the opportunity and potential to improve planning and practices of municipalities about human resources in a rational and professional manner. In addition, it is expressed that increasing powers of MMs following the entry into force of the Law No. 6360 has made them a more attractive institutional option for qualified personnel and managers.

However, it is stated that municipalities do not often comply with the provisions of the legislation about standard job positions and similar areas and with the budget limits. It is frequently expressed that merit and competence principles are not adequately observed in recruitment and promotions, personnel employment through companies and service procurement causes inflation in the numbers and budgets, however it is not possible to recruit qualified personnel in the required areas and departments and to keep the ones appointed through KPSS employed. Additionally, it is argued that the diversity of the personnel, who are actually doing the same job in municipalities, in terms of their employment types,

⁵¹ Having conducted a literature analysis for standard job positions in local administrations in Turkey, Yüceyılmaz and Özgür (2019b) stated that the issue was largely addressed in technical and legislative aspects in the publications, and that there was significant need for field studies on how the standard job positions function in practice in local administrations and need for their problems and contributions.

status and personal rights etc. has been so severe to harm peace and productivity in the workplace in some cases and some institutions.⁵²

In addition, as mentioned in the previous pages, it is understood that personnel transfer processes from town municipalities and SPAs, which were abolished following the entry into force of the Law No. 6360, to MMs and MDMs, caused disagreements and problems spreading over many years. On the other hand, some problems of the public personnel regime that have almost become chronic (for example, lack of regular in-service training and good quality, not conducting examinations of promotions and title changes at regular intervals) affect local administrations. Finally, it is argued that it is necessary to consider the idea of establishing a special personnel regime for local administrations,⁵³ or at least creating a separate classification in the existing personnel legislation for the municipality personnel employed in the areas such as fire services and municipal police services. In any case, it is necessary to examine legal and administrative options separately and in detail which are based on the merit, professionalism and institutionalization in the execution of local services such as “local administrations professional officers/career officers”, “local administrations specialty,”⁵⁴ in the context of developing human resources in local administrations.

Although the regulations on modern public financial management contributed to the institutionalization of municipalities, and the expanding scale of MM contributed to the effective use of resources from a single source, it is thought that the resources are not enough to discharge the increasing responsibilities. When evaluated together with the general regulations in public financial management, the amendments made to the main legislation on local administrations provided positive contributions to municipalities in the fields of budget and financial management as well as the modern management techniques such as strategic planning and performance management. Furthermore, it is also assessed favourably that MMs obtained the opportunity to prepare plans and budget with a holistic approach from a single source at provincial level and distribute their services in a balanced and fair manner between the districts. In this context, it is generally considered favourably that MMs are allowed to develop their own resources and the apportionments to MMs from general budget tax

⁵² In their field study conducted with face-to-face interviews with 23 managers who were elected or appointed by the MM and MDMs in Aydın, Yüceyılmaz and Özgür (2019a) examined the practice of standard job positions system in local administrations, which was expressed as a need for a long time. According to the said academicians, as envisaged in theory, standard job positions practice in local administrations in Turkey are not based on such processes as organizational analysis, job analysis and job descriptions or on-site identification of human resources needs; and for this reason, it cannot go beyond the determination of numerical restriction for the personnel and titles. Yüceyılmaz and Özgür (2019a) state that the legislation on standard job positions is sometimes considered as “the assistance for resisting against the employment pressure at local level”, but in this situation, these regulations and budget constraints take a characteristic that encourage and accelerate subcontracting. They also state that, with the contribution of a number of political, social and administrative factors, the standard job positions system “creates a disappointment” in its current form which includes “fragmented, cyclical and restricted efforts.”

⁵³ For example, Altan and Karaca (2016) consider that a “Local Administrations Law” needs to be enacted and a separate regulation is needed for local administration personnel. This issue is also addressed under Activity 1.1.5 of the project “Developing Principles and Standards for Establishing an Effective Human Resources System in Local Administrations.”

⁵⁴ For example, see Çöpoğlu, 2017, p. 133.

revenues are increased. However, as mentioned in the previous pages, it is stated that the increase in revenues of MMs is not proportional to the expanding service areas, subjects and consequent additional expenses, municipalities (especially MDMs) have gradually become dependent on the central government in terms of revenue and resources, and therefore long-standing measures are urgently needed to increase their capacities.

Although a modern framework was provided in the field of audit with the reforms made in the first years of 2000s, there are still problems in practice. Issues such as the establishment of council oversight commissions with the Law No. 5393, development of the notion “the responsibility and accountability of the manager” with the impact of the Law No. 5018 and 5085, allowing the employment of internal auditors in municipalities are considered among the elements that improve and develop the audit and accountability by some municipal managers. However, during the various studies conducted under the project, it is observed that internal audit mechanisms of MMs have not yet been fully established and operational, and findings and recommendations of council oversight commissions and internal auditors are not taken into consideration by the relevant parties.⁵⁵ It is expressed that guiding and developing policies and practices are not adequately included both in internal and external audit processes, external audit of municipalities should be required to be conducted in a manner that respects the principle of equality between municipalities and does not create unfair competition, and the examples demonstrating consistency and determination in terms of both auditors and auditees are required. Finally, the common opinion that municipal companies and affiliates constitute the weak link of the audit should also be mentioned in this regard.⁵⁶

The opinions expressed in the studies about transparency conducted under the project are few in number but seem relatively appropriate. According to municipal representatives, sharing the studies and annual assessment reports on the internet, using the electronic tender system and posting the tenders on the website are defined as important examples of transparent municipalism. In the same way, live broadcasting of municipal council meetings, increasing use of social media, citizens' opportunity to convey their complaints and requests to municipalities directly and communicate easily with

⁵⁵ Financial control is one of the four main headings in the study “*Impact of European Union Acquis Localization on Work and Responsibility of Local Administrations in Turkey*” which was prepared under Activity 1.1.13 of the Project. It should be emphasized that said report contains considerably detailed and in-depth findings and recommendations on internal audit in municipalities beyond those listed here. In addition, the following findings of the draft report “*Good Practices for Increasing Transparency and Accountability of Local Administrations and Comparative Analysis of the Experience in EU with Lessons Learnt*” should also be noted here: “Insufficient number of internal auditors in municipalities, problems about their functional independence, quantitative and qualitative insufficiency of the supervision of municipal companies and local administration unions are the main problems in the field of supervision. Inadequate operation of aids, donations and internal control mechanisms are among the supervision weaknesses in local administrations.” (p. 73).

⁵⁶ For example, see Ministry of Development, 2018, p. 94, 131.

municipalities are considered as the positive results of the regulations and changes made by the municipalities in recent years.⁵⁷

It is observed in the studies conducted under the project that the regulations and changes in relation to local administrations in recent years have some positive features enabling the increase in participation. In this context, such issues as the participation of NGOs in council specialized commissions, voluntary participation in municipal services and participation of local stakeholders in strategic plan preparations are mentioned. Municipalities' having the right to support associations and foundations, to develop joint projects with chambers of professions and non-governmental organizations are generally assessed favourably. Citizens' assemblies are considered as an important mechanism that allows participation in the municipal administration through NGOs. It is argued that citizens' assemblies, which bring together various social and political groups, can undertake important functions for directing local problems and requests to municipal administrations and influencing the decision-making processes of municipalities in accordance with meeting the common local needs. However, it is also said that citizens' assemblies are overly dependent on municipalities and municipal administrations in budget and financial terms, and this situation severely restricts the potential and practices of municipalities for ensuring audit and accountability. Furthermore, it is stated that the practice of taking the decisions of citizens' assemblies on the agenda and discussing them in municipal councils is not sufficient and effective at the desired level and even in some cases it does not go beyond applying a formality. In order to increase the functionality of citizens' assemblies and make them more effective in the municipal decision-making processes, they should develop regular and continuous relations and cooperation methods with neighbourhoods and mukhtars.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ On the other hand, findings and assessments in some other studies on the subject are based on the opinions of practitioners about transparency and accountability in local administrations and shows a different picture from the table indicated above. For example, Akdoğan and Çetinkaya (2016) examined MMs in Turkey in terms of transparency and accountability, mentioned that transparency was restricted only with implementing what is obligatory rather than being adopted in the sense of e-municipality, and reached the conclusion that information sharing which was expected to be made by said administrations is not at the desired level and very far from the required point in terms of accountability.

Similarly, the draft report *"Good Practices for Increasing Transparency and Accountability of Local Administrations and Comparative Analysis of the Experience in EU with Lessons Learnt"* that was mentioned in Activity 2.2.3 of the Project, and the workshop report *"Transparency and Accountability in Local Administrations: Problem Areas and Recommended Solutions"* note the existing deficiencies and problems in terms of transparency in local administrations, especially in procurement, land development and financial management, and in such areas as reporting and access to information; and offer significant recommendations to increase administrative and financial transparency in local administrations. For example, the draft report includes these recommendations: "With an amendment to be made to the Law on Public Fiscal Administration and Control or preferably with an amendment to be made to the Law No. 5393 on Municipalities, it should be made obligatory for municipalities to issue 'Citizen Budget' document, in which municipalities explain budget documents in a clear and understandable language. Municipalities should be obliged to issue the budget implementation results every month, together with the income, expenditure, budget balance, borrowing and debt stock, in a format that includes simple and understandable explanations. Another document 'Annual Budget Implementation Results and Final Account' should also be issued, which explains the final account of the municipal budget, appropriations, deviations and reasons for these deviations." (p. 74).

⁵⁸ Based on the experience on Muğla, Koç (2018) argues that citizens' assemblies cannot fulfil their functions of being participatory and effective platforms with their current structure, the roles of neighbourhood masters who were assigned by election and who know the region they live in (especially those that were transformed from villages) should be made more effective through citizens' assemblies. For a comprehensive study evaluating citizens' assemblies in Turkey in terms of participation through the example of Ankara, see Şahin, 2015.

Another issue about the participation is that the physical distance between municipal administration and people increased as the MM model abolished and merged small municipalities and legal personalities of villages. It is argued that participation of “ordinary urban citizens” and “people living in rural neighbourhoods” in the decision-making processes of MMs has become more difficult in the new system and it is only limited to voting in the elections. In addition to new policies for overcoming the problems of “restricted participation and “rural participation”, it is also recommended to develop participation tools through which the residents in that city can express their preferences when it comes to major projects and critical decisions that will affect the entire province. Finally, including fellow townsmen in local decision-making processes as key stakeholders, exhibiting the attitude of “taking responsibility” instead of expecting everything from the state/municipality is also associated with the development of citizenship awareness and the sense of ownership for the city and adoption of a volunteering culture.⁵⁹

In the questionnaire administered to MM managers and the results of which were mentioned in the previous pages, it is seen that the MM model envisaged by the Law No. 6360 is effective and mentioned favourably, and this opinion is also supported in the meetings and interviews. In fact, it is argued that the new model ensured making decisions from a single source and in a fast way thanks to its planning and budgeting at the entire provincial level and ensured effectiveness and qualification in the services by reducing the bureaucracy. On the other hand, it is stated that if the necessary measures are not taken, the lack of resources and some problems in practice can harm the sustainability of said efficiency and effectiveness understanding and perception. In any case, it is necessary to assess the efficiency and effectiveness of the new MM system, which is now in the sixth year, in a comprehensive and comparative manner.⁶⁰

Technological means contribute positively to the efficiency. Facilities introduced by the digital age such as e-municipality and electronic document management system have begun to be widely used by municipalities in order to reduce paperwork and provide resource savings, increase the speed, accessibility and townsmen satisfaction in the service delivery. The modules implemented under e-municipality are assessed favourably by municipal representatives because they standardize electronic applications and provide savings on software costs. However, attention should be paid to ensure that the software infrastructure that will be delivered in the following period should offer a minimum standard

⁵⁹ As mentioned in the previous pages, under Activity 2.1.6 of the Project, a series of activities are planned in which the current status of the neighbourhood management will be analysed in the new MM model, recommendations will be provided for improvement; and some of these activities are envisaged to focus on new participation methods at the scale of neighbourhood.

⁶⁰ As mini examples that reflect some points about the importance and difficulty of this kind of studies recommended here, you can look at these speeches including Ömürganülşen ve Sadioğlu (2016). Erbay Arıkboğa “Metropolitan System, Scale and Efficiency Issue” (196-205) and Duran Bülbül “Recommendations on Financing Resources and Implementation Results of Metropolitan Municipalities under the Law No. 6360” (182-195).

and be able to be developed by municipalities in order to meet the specific needs of municipalities in terms of service needs and policies.

2.3. Impacts on Services [here]

In addition to the data obtained from the questionnaire administered to mid-level and senior managers of MMs and affiliated entities, when the assessments during the interviews, focus group discussions and workshops are examined together with the literature on the subject, main findings and recommendations on the local services are listed below.

High level of favourable assessments about transport services in the questionnaire of MM managers are also confirmed by interviews and focus group discussions as well. In this context, such factors come to the fore as the execution of transport plan following the entry into force of the Law No. 6360, generalization of transport networks at the provincial level, generalization of a single card system with the expanding boundaries and coordination provided by UKOME. In addition to the towns and villages that were transformed into neighbourhoods, it is stated that transport services to many small districts which are mostly of rural nature are delivered by MMs and citizens residing in these regions have an increasing connection with the provincial centre. Furthermore, although it is considered as a revenue loss for district municipalities, it is stated that transferring intercity bus centres in the districts to MMs has created some opportunities for maintenance and repair, and operational improvements. On the other hand, it is necessary to take some measures as soon as possible, which will eliminate inter-institutional power and coordination problems – particularly the problems between MMs and MDMs in relation to transport and road construction -, ensure the effective and holistic delivery of services, and improve financial and institutional capacities of MMs and MDMs in transport. In addition, it is recommended to increase operability of UKOMEs, to generalize car parks in the city for transport services, to facilitate collection of parking meter (“parkomat”) fees, to regulate the free transport facility provided to passengers over the age of 65 (in a way to prevent abuse and revenue loss),⁶¹ and to exempt public transport vehicles from fuel taxes. Finally, it is also supported that a Law on Public Transport should be enacted and the General Directorate of Public Transport be established under MMs and duties and powers of different institutions and departments be combined here.⁶²

⁶¹ As pointed out in the previous pages in the context of the reflections of reforms on central government-local administration relations, it is one of the requests frequently expressed by municipality representatives in different studies that the central government should adopt the principle of transferring relevant resources to municipalities while making decisions and performing regulations to be implemented by these municipalities (in other words, they should act in accordance with the principle of “finance follows function”, and they should not impose “unfunded obligations”).

⁶² For comparison and more detailed information, see Çürüksulu, 2017, especially p. 55-59. In this context, in addition to the option of making UKOMEs more inclusive and functional before establishing a new administrative unit, if it is planned to establish a new general directorate for public transport within MMs in a manner recommended above, it is deemed useful to consider in the discussions that such structure should be in connection with the units of MDMs in charge of transport, and supported by such participatory mechanisms as advisory boards.

Most of the favourable assessments made in the field of water and sewer are about delivery of services from a single source at provincial level by the help of WSAs. It is stated that, in this way, the old systems were renewed, investments increased, infrastructure services were standardized and made effective, water services were delivered to all settlements in a healthy, reliable and efficient way. However, it is commonly emphasized that the legislation on WSAs is very old and far from responding to the needs, and it is necessary to renew WSAs, which are the administrations providing public services, by empowering them with the required powers and resources so as to reduce inter-institutional conflicts of duties and powers.⁶³ In addition to the expenses caused by delivering services to a wider area at provincial level, it is complained about the investments and expenses made in the stream beds, about the fees charged from water analysis operations performed by the public health units, and it is requested that the factors which will partially compensate/reimburse the expenses and costs arising from unforeseen services that need to be fulfilled in the regions opened to development by the central government units should be taken into consideration in the new legislation planning.⁶⁴ There are also some other recommendations that lower and upper limits of water prices be determined by the central government on the provincial basis, the increase in water tariffs be associated with WPI-CPI, ground water be charged, WSAs be allowed to benefit from incentives and discounted tariffs in the field of energy and granted with the power of administrative penalty against the violations of environmental legislation.⁶⁵

It is observed that the favourable assessments on planning and land development are mainly associated with “the possibility of making holistic plans from a single source at provincial level”. Accordingly, paving the way for the planning of entire province by MMs, enabling the implementation plan and parcellation works to be inspected in terms of compliance with the upper scale and increasing the powers of MMs in the urban transformation are considered among the favourable assessments. This situation is deemed important because both the land development and planning elements are more comprehensive and controllable, and resources can be used more efficiently. However, it should be noted that the responses codes as “negative” or “positive but inadequate” about the existing organization and operation are associated with the planning and land development area, and that spatial wholeness has not been fully adopted yet and not widely used in practice. As mentioned in the previous pages, due to the conflicts/overlaps of duties and powers between central government institutions and MMs and

⁶³ Demirkaya and Topcu (2017: 93) convey one of the recommendations expressed by local administration representatives during a workshop as follows: “All duties and responsibilities about water (potable water, sewer, rainwater) should be in the WSAs on the condition that the budget is provided. In this context, an amendment should be made to the Law No. 2560.”

⁶⁴ Under Activity 1.1.5 of the Project, it should be noted here that a series of activities are planned to analyse the current legal-institutional situation and problems of WSAs in comparison with the EU member states, and to develop recommendations on the regulations about WSAs.

⁶⁵ It examines the problems about WSAs and the proposed solutions under three sub-headings in relation to the financial capacity, institutional capacity, confusion of powers and coordination. In addition to a series of significant findings and proposals about different topics that concern WSAs, he also shares the following opinion: “Even though the water and sewer administrations are the institutions that outweigh with their technical features about service delivery, it is also of great importance that they include such mechanisms giving importance to their accountability and public participation. (p. 184).

between MMs and MDMs about the planning and land development and due to the problems experienced in data sharing, it is thought that the holistic approach envisaged by the existing model is not fully adopted in practice. However, it is reported that the legislation on land development and planning is amended very often without going through a consultation and discussion process, and ‘land development amnesties’ that are put into force at regular intervals make the sustainability of planning and land development services difficult. Furthermore, it is argued that internal and external audits are not sufficient in planning and development services, the plans that are made, changed or approved are not effectively audited and the sanctions are not adequately implemented on the officers, for example, some procedures and sanctions are not thoroughly implemented to eliminate contradictions in the land development legislation in some municipalities.⁶⁶

In the regions that were transformed from villages to neighbourhoods with the Law No. 6360, the urban problems experienced in planning and land development are repeated and some specific problems occur as well. Relevant problems include the rapid spread of illegal land development in the places with increasing population, incompatibility of village settlements and village development areas with metropolitan plans, and construction of buildings on the plots of hobby gardens and making them the topic of land peace practices. However, it is recommended that planning and land development activities be executed with an approach that prioritizes eliminating the problems arising from the conflicts of duties and powers about planning and land development activities and improving inter-institutional coordination and cooperation, so as to prevent illegal and haphazard land development, protect the characteristics of rural areas and protect agricultural areas, coasts and the environment, and enhance green areas. It is also discussed in this regard that the legislation on making/commissioning 1/1,000 scale plans for the old villages and new neighbourhoods (in compliance with the rural structure) should be addressed primarily and the planning and land development processes, especially the permit and licensing processes, should be provided with a more transparent and participatory characteristics.

It is considered that MMs and MDMs being able to take part in any kind of activities and services for the purpose of supporting agriculture and animal husbandry with the Law No. 6360 caused municipalities to encounter planning and service delivery in an area of concern that is beyond the classical/traditional urban services. Therefore, it is required to expand the existing services such as water and sewer that are actually within the remit of municipalities to the rural areas, and to support a new service area - agriculture and animal husbandry. In addition to some other factors, it is considered that this bidirectional responsibility and burden increase caused the assessments of municipality

⁶⁶ Under “*Transparency and Accountability Workshop*” held in the framework of Activity 2.2.3 of the Project, the main problems - some on land development as mentioned above - can be listed as follows: Land development amnesties; making different decisions on the same issue because of legislative confusion; lack of audit; planning/approving power of more than one institutions in the same field; plot-based plan changes in municipalities; land development paradigm being not ecosystem-based; transparency and accountability problems in plan preparation, suspension and approval processes; sudden transformation of rural areas in MMs into urban areas-rural planning deficiencies; not taking the opinions of neighbourhoods in planning processes; and technical personnel inadequacy about land development in district municipalities.

representatives on agriculture and animal husbandry services to appear more unfavourably in comparison. In any case, in the light of the data obtained from questionnaires, interviews and focus group discussions that were held under the study, it can be said that there were serious differences between the capacities of municipalities about the organization and execution of the agricultural and animal husbandry services alongside their reluctance level for the adaptation to the new system.

At this point, it can be said that two main opposing trends stand out in the opinions about the system introduced by the Law No. 6360 on supporting agriculture and animal husbandry. Some of the municipality representatives indicate that authorization and assignment for agriculture and animal husbandry services are highly broad, open-ended and a limitation and specification should be introduced in this regard. According to some other municipality members, provisions of the relevant legislation provide a flexibility to the municipalities to prioritize and deliver their services and activities in the field of agriculture and animal husbandry according to the needs and facilities of the province/district, and it should be preserved as it is.

However, it is observed that there is broad consensus among municipal representatives about the difficulties posed by the new system. These are the primary ones: MMs having unclear/insufficient powers on agricultural irrigation; conflict of duties and powers arising from the presence of multiple institutional actors in the field of agriculture; duplication and lack of coordination⁶⁷; municipalities having difficulty in implementing the rules that were designed according to the urban areas, especially in the field of land development and licenses, to the rural settlements exactly/thoroughly; legal and actual restrictions on supporting cooperatives and associations; municipalities not being represented appropriately with their new powers in the boards and decisions about agriculture and animal husbandry and municipalities showing inadequacy/deficiency with their financial and administrative capacities in the adaptation to the new system.⁶⁸

Some of the recommendations on the better functioning of the new system and municipalities being able to deliver their agricultural and animal husbandry services more effectively are as follows: reducing conflicts and overlaps of the duties and powers about the services delivered to rural areas and about agriculture and husbandry, improving inter-institutional cooperation and coordination, increasing the resources of municipalities that they can use in this field and ensuring legislative alignment in a series of areas such as land development, pastures and heritage.

It is thought that the new MM system made important contributions to the improvement of road and asphalt services. It is stated that as MMs' sphere of competence expanded to cover the entire province, they accelerated road construction both in urban centres and rural areas, and generalized road networks with the actions from a single source. On the other hand, it is argued that it is necessary to

⁶⁷ Sağır and Yalçın (2016) note the different roles undertaken by central government institutions and MM in the field of agriculture and animal husbandry, through the example of Konya MM.

⁶⁸ cf. Çöpoğlu, 2017, p. 85-91.

determine the powers and responsibilities regarding the maintenance and repair of field roads more clearly, transfer the construction and maintenance of the bridges in stream beds and their surroundings to DSI, and establish stronger cooperation between different institutions for the maintenance of plateau roads.

It is stated that the structure created in the field of waste management following the entry into force of the Law No. 6360 allowed effective operations indeed. In this regard, it is expressed that it made a positive contribution to the development of waste management systems, to the storage and disposal of solid waste, and the practices of ‘zero waste’ and ‘blue flag’ became widespread. It is said that the new structure about solid waste was beneficial to attract potential investors as much as for planning services and processes, wild landfilling decreased, and MMs were allowed to create such benefits as electricity generation and recycling with their integrated solid waste management practices. Four issues highlighted in the assessments on waste management are reducing the conflicts/overlaps in this area, eliminating the capacity problems of waste management associations and compliance problems to the new MM model, providing project support – especially financial support – to municipalities for the new investments and services required in this area, and clarifying/increasing the powers of municipalities on imposing sanctions/fines. In addition, it is argued that an organizational method similar to WSAs can also be adopted for waste management.⁶⁹

It is observed that a significant expansion and diversity emerged in the last 15 years with the social services and assistance delivered by municipalities. It is argued that there has been significant increase in the resources allocated by municipalities for social services and assistance with the generalization of social municipalism. It is observed that the positive opinions on the field of social services are mainly associated with the diversification of the projects developed for women and children, generalization of home healthcare services and acting on the rural areas in addition to various social groups in cities. It is understood that the current legislation empowers the municipalities with an extensive power, thus provides an extensive operation area to the municipalities which can be freely programmed and directed in line with their institutional priorities and budget facilities. Nevertheless, it is also argued that there is an ongoing need for increasing the capacities and resources of local administrations in relation to social services and assistance, and there is a problem of ‘competency’, and ‘adequacy’ rather than ‘authority’ in this field.

It is frequently stated that coordination deficiency and duplication in social services and particularly social assistance constitute a serious obstacle to the use of available resources more efficiently. It is emphasized that it is necessary to prevent overlaps and conflicts in this area by providing a more efficient coordination, considering the studies conducted by central government institutions such

⁶⁹ As an up-to-date study example about environment management in MMs, including waste management, see Bingöl and Yıldırım, 2017.

as the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services as well as governorships, district governorships, MMs and MDMs.⁷⁰ Accordingly, it is important for various institutions to cooperate and share information in the field of social services and assistance, and the access of municipalities to the databases such as SOYBIS should be facilitated. In addition, it is expressed that determination of the principles and procedures about social services and assistance and assignment of professionals/experts in the field will reduce arbitrariness and waste and increase efficiency. In addition to home healthcare services and nursing services increasing gradually in the recent years, the generalization of training services such as vocational skills courses, language and skills courses are also considered as positive developments. On the other hand, it is recommended that duties and responsibilities of the sports services at local level be transferred completely to local administrations.

It is reported that the investments in park, garden and green area services have increased in the new system but there are still some deficiencies. According to some MM representatives, it can lead to a serious problem that MMs do not have the power to impose sanctions on district municipalities in the cases where they do not make adequate efforts to prevent plant diseases and pests in the parks, gardens and especially in traffic islands.

It is argued that the formation and development of standards in the field of municipal police services is at a considerable level following the entry into force of the Law No. 6360, but MMs have not reached at the desired level regarding the organization and efficiency in the surrounding districts and rural areas, and the license inspections in the settlements that were transformed from villages to neighbourhoods have remained highly inadequate.⁷¹ Perhaps, even more importantly, as mentioned in the previous pages, it is commonly stated that it is not a correct practice to leave municipal police services within the remit of both MMs and MDMs and create two separate structures for the same service and that municipal police services should be organized in (only) one of these two units.

It is stated that there is a confusion of powers on business licenses regarding the licensing services, and the licensor should also have the inspection responsibility. It is also argued that central government institutions should perform the functions of developing standards in building permits and construction control procedures and monitoring and inspecting the compliance with these procedures instead of undertaking the powers of permit and license that needs to remain within the remit of local administrations.⁷²

⁷⁰ For more information and comparison on the developments and problems related to social municipalism in MMs following the entry into force of the Law No. 6360 see Bingöl and Köse, 2017.

⁷¹ For comparison and more detailed information about municipal police services and license inspection, see Oktay, 2017. It is argued that it is necessary to update the legislation on municipal police services, make an organizational law on municipal police services and even abolish the practice of subcontracting municipal police services. See Çöpoğlu, 2017.

⁷² At this point, it should be known that the issues related to granting business license and working license are still being examined under Activity 1.1.4 of the Project.

It is stated that gathering fire services at one source is a positive aspect of the new MM system and this situation has contributed to increasing quality and quantity of the fire platoons and increasing the efficiency in services. However, it is argued that the existing Regulation on Municipal Fire Services is inadequate and needs to be renewed, standards and capacities should be developed in fire services, and the number of personnel and volunteers should be increased.⁷³

It is stated that funeral services have developed and the standards have improved in recent years, but cemeteries are recommended to be transferred to district municipalities. Furthermore, it is also recommended that the duty of delivering passengers and freight terminal services be transferred to district municipalities in the places out of the central districts of municipalities and where there is no physical connection with the city.

⁷³ For comparison and more detailed information, see Kırışık, 2017.

FOR CONCLUSION

It can be said that key legal amendments made to the legislation on local administration in 2004-2005 aim to establish a more democratic balance in the division of duties, powers and responsibilities both between the central government and local administrations and between those who are elected at local level and those appointed as civil servants in favour of local administrations and the ones elected at local level. Furthermore, considering the rationale of relevant legal amendments, in addition to seeking the good governance principles such as participation, transparency and accountability, it is envisaged to take basis of such indicators as speed, flexibility, economy and effectiveness and implement them.

By the local administration reforms, it was aimed to meet common local needs properly and to deliver public services more effectively at local level, and to implement good governance elements at local level and to develop democracy. It should be noted that with the regulations constituting the first set of local administration reforms that were put into force in the last 15 years, municipalities are empowered in administrative, financial and democratic terms, their impacts and visibilities increased as the public institutions delivering a wide range of services to the cities and citizens, and the roles of municipalities and municipalism in the development of cities and their images and reputations in public spaces increased. It should be indicated that the legal and institutional framework introduced in 2004-2005 has a number of elements that highlight municipalities in the division of powers, duties and responsibilities and restrict/mitigate tutelage power of the central government on local administrations.

However, although it was aimed to transit from a tutelage-oriented structure to a policy-oriented structure with the establishment of General Directorate of Local Governments, as indicated by the opinions of practitioners about the current situation of the relations between the central government and local administrations, it is not possible to say that the approach of decentralized local administration which forms the Law No. 5393 does not continue. With the combined effect of re-centralization and local centralization trends, it is considered that the local administration system is essentially structured upon MMs and with the concern of effectivity following the entry into force of the Law No. 6360.⁷⁴

Basic applications of the Law No. 6360 are found to be highly favourable especially by mid-level and senior managers in MMs. Although the type and scope of the services delivered by the district municipalities which were previously not included in the MM system decreased, there are some adaptation problems caused by 1) entering into a two-level, partially hierarchical municipality system, 2) the expanding geography for the services. The Law No. 6360 introduced flexibility for the power transfer between the municipal levels in some services, but unresolved problems between MMs and MDMs still exist in the new model.

⁷⁴ For comparison and more discussions, for example, see Acar and Yıldız, 2017; Arıkboğa, 2018; Çiner and Zengin, 2019; Gül, 2016; Övgün, 2016; Taşçer, 2018.

Rural area management causes some serious difficulties both in the context of the duty of supporting agriculture and animal husbandry, which was granted to municipalities for the first time, and in the context of rural area development that challenge these administrations whose reflexes and approaches in service delivery are developed in urban areas. Negative responses in the questionnaire of MM managers about the transformation of villages into neighbourhoods and the impacts of local administration reforms on agriculture and animal husbandry are at the same direction with this issue. It is also understood in the meetings held with the managers that the behaviours and practices on these services have not been adopted yet.

Even though the gap that occurs in representation and expediency in the transformation of villages and towns into neighbourhoods cannot be filled in the same way by the local administration, the Law No. 6360 is found favourable by the households, and the approval level for the basic practices of the Law is above the average. However, statistical analyses of the household survey show that the most important factor affecting household perception is in relation to the governance quality of MM, which is questioned by variables at the level of principles, rather than satisfaction with services. On the other hand, it should be remembered that it was 8-10 months later (5-7 months for the elections repeated in Istanbul) than the local elections when the field period of the survey held between 18 November – 30 December 2019, therefore it might have affected citizens to reflect their attitudes in the elections favourably or unfavourably on the questions. There is another factor that needs to be taken into consideration that the privileges about taxes, fees, participation shares and water expenses given to the neighbourhoods that were transformed from villages with the Law No. 6360 still continue.⁷⁵ As these privileges still continue, rural neighbourhoods receive services from MMs and MDMs under the same powers as a neighbourhood in the urban centre or benefit from a relatively advantageous status while requesting services. For this reason, they may have assessed the transformation of villages and towns into neighbourhoods, generalization of MM system and abolition of special administration more favourably compared to urban neighbourhoods.

It has been determined that the Law No. 6360 has an impact on reducing own revenues of MMs, which are mainly financed by the transfers from general budget tax revenues, as they increase in number and their sphere of competence enlarges, and that the purchase of goods and services has increased. As one of the criticisms made on the legislative studies of the Law in particular, the opinion stating that the generalization of the urban system will cause population loss in villages is not valid, which can also be seen by the examination of population data. Considerably positive opinions were recorded in relation to

⁷⁵ The villages in Istanbul and Kocaeli that were transformed into neighbourhoods in 2008 are exceptions. As of 2018 when the provincial boundaries of Istanbul and Kocaeli were regulated as MM boundaries, the neighbourhoods that were transformed from villages did not benefit from the privileges of taxes, fees, participation shares and water expenses until the enactment of the Law No. 6360. The inclusion of Istanbul and Kocaeli in these privileges granted by the Law No. 6360 was terminated with the law amendment made in July 2019. This difference could not be analysed in the field survey conducted under the project, as there were very few observations in these neighbourhoods.

the services in the meetings and interviews. At the same time, the change in the amount of water and wastewater treatment per capita which had been followed since 2014 as outcome indicators that could be associated with local administrations was analysed and that said indicators were found to have differed in 14 new MMs favourably from 51 non-MMs.

The generalization of the MM model to other provinces has emerged as a reasonable step following the impact assessments of the model and elimination of key deficiencies and failures. There are three trends in this regard. The first and the most common one stated that “the practice should be generalized to all provinces provided that the existing system is improved, some key deficiencies and problems are eliminated and such processes as the preparation, transition and transfer and liquidation are planned well.” The second opinion which is supported by fewer people in comparison of the first one states that “not all the elements of the existing model, but only some of the elements (for example, more apportionments from general budget tax revenues to WSAs and similar organizations, transferring a certain part of the taxes collected in one place to the relevant municipalities) should be generalized to other provinces.” The third opinion which is expressed by few people states that it is not correct to roll out this model, whose ‘design and operation are highly problematic, to other provinces.

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ANNEX 1. Analysis of Variables Affecting Perception on Metropolitan Municipality Reforms

A linear regression model was created to determine which variables affected the perceptions on the changes introduced by the municipality system. This model includes seven independent variables. Some of the variables used in the model, the dependent variable in particular, are the variables created by converting multiple variables into an index. The sets of questions posed to the respondents in the household survey were subjected to a factor analysis so as to explain the relations between variables in the best way, the number of variables was reduced and factor groups were created. The arithmetic mean of the variables in this group was calculated and variables of the model were obtained. Seven independent variables (D1 – D7) used in the model and the dependent variable together with their abbreviations in parentheses are as follows:

- **Dependent Variable: Approval level for the statement that the changes introduced by the municipality system reform are positive (MM reform):** It includes six different questions, questioning approval level of citizens on a scale of 1 to 5, Strongly Disagree – Strongly Agree, about the propositions stating that transformation of villages into neighbourhoods, abolition of SPAs, establishing new relations, transformation of town into neighbourhoods, expansion of the boundaries of MMs and MDMs, giving the responsibility of supporting agriculture and animal husbandry to MMs and MDMs, which were introduced with the reform in MM system are positive. These questions did not differ as a result of the factor analysis and revealed a single factor. Dependent variable was created by calculating the arithmetic mean of the six variables.
- **D1: Perception of satisfaction with everyday municipal services (Satisfaction with services):** It is a variable measuring the satisfaction level of citizens with the services, which almost all citizens are likely to encounter on daily basis among the services delivered by the municipality. It includes eight different questions created by reducing the questions about satisfaction with services. Childcare services and sports facilities were excluded. D1 variable was created by calculating arithmetic means of the questions evaluated on a scale of 1 to 5 in a range of responses as Highly Dissatisfied – Highly Satisfied regarding the issues of access to public transport services, sanitation services, water services, sewer services, pavements, roads, conditions of streets and buildings, parks, neighbourhood market, traffic regulations, lights, underpass and overpass.
- **D2: Satisfaction with living in the city (Satisfaction with the city):**
It is a variable indicating the responses given for the proposition of “I am generally satisfied with living in this city”. It was evaluated on a scale of 1 to 5 in a range of responses as Strongly Disagree – Strongly Agree.
- **D3: Governance perception on municipality (Governance perception):**
It is a variable including nine different questions in order to measure the perception on the governance capacity and maturity level of MM. These nine variables gave the image of a single factor as a result of factor analysis. In this context, performance of the municipality was evaluated on a five-point scale in a range of responses as Strongly Disagree – Strongly Agree about municipalities knowing the rules that they are obliged to implement and taking appropriate actions, equality of citizens in their behaviours, providing accurate and sufficient information to citizens, participation of citizens and NGOs in decision-making processes, having personnel in adequate number and capacity, using the resources efficiency, concluding services in a reasonable time, seeking the public good and developing new solutions and ideas to enable

citizens to live better. D3 variable was created by calculating the arithmetic means of these nine variables.

- **D4:** Perception of households for their own income (Income perception)

It consists of one question that aims to measure the perception on household incomes; citizens were asked to evaluate economic condition of their household on a scale of 1 to 5 in a range of responses as very bad – very good.

- **D5:** Real income range of households (Real income)

It consists of one question indicating the real income range of households.

- **D6:** Whether the household is within MM boundaries (Old municipality):

It is a variable that reveals whether the address of household was included in the MM system even before the reform in MM system.

- **D7:** Age of respondent (Age)

It shows the ages of survey respondents.

With these variables, a linear regression model was created in the following form:

$$MM\ reform = (\beta_0) + (\beta_1 * Satisfaction\ with\ services) + (\beta_2 * Satisfaction\ with\ the\ city) + (\beta_3 * Governance\ perception) + (\beta_4 * Income\ perception) + (\beta_5 * Real\ income) + (\beta_6 * Old\ municipality) + (\beta_7 * Age)$$

In the linear regression model, the variance (R^2) within the dependent variable that could be explained by independent variables was 0.538. This means that approximately 54 percent of the change in dependent variable was explained by the independent variables in the model. The regression model is also statistically significant ($F(7.6660)=1109, p<.0005$). Each of the dependent variables in the model provided a significant coefficient. However, the effect of determinants can be evaluated individually only with the coefficients of variables. These coefficients show the effect of variables on the dependent variable. The regression equation obtained as a result of the analysis is as follows:

$$MM\ reform = (0.582) + (0.184 * Satisfaction\ with\ services) + (0.99 * Satisfaction\ with\ the\ city) + (0.596 * Governance\ perception) + (0.040 * Income\ perception) + (-0.010 * Real\ income) + (0.081 * Old\ MM) + (-0.004 * Age)$$

Relying on the regression equation above, it is possible to evaluate how much the independent variables affected the satisfaction level about the changes introduced by the Metropolitan Municipality System Reform. Governance perception stands out as the variable with highest effect among the dependent variables. When all other variables are held constant, an average of 1 point increase in the responses for the variable of governance perception (D3) causes an average of 0.60 point increase in the satisfaction level for MM reform. The second variable with highest effect, satisfaction with services (D1) has an effect of 0.18 points on the dependent variable. Variable of satisfaction with the city (D2) and old municipality (D6) have a positive effect of 0.10 and 0.08 point, respectively. The effect of income perception variable (D4) on the dependent variable is as weak as 0.04. Although the variables of real income (D5) and age (D7) are statistically significant, they have a very limited effect (close to zero).

Model Summary^b

| Model | R | R Square | Adjusted R Square | Std. Error of the Estimate |
|-------|-------------------|----------|-------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 | .734 ^a | .538 | .538 | .60791 |

a. Predictors: (Constant), Age, Old MM, Satisfaction with services, Real income, Satisfaction with the city, Income perception, Governance perception

b. Dependent Variable: MM reform

ANOVA^a

| Model | | Sum of Squares | Df | Mean Square | F | Sig. |
|-------|------------|----------------|------|-------------|----------|-------------------|
| 1 | Regression | 2871.145 | 7 | 410.164 | 1109.892 | .000 ^b |
| | Residual | 2461.221 | 6660 | .370 | | |
| | Total | 5332.366 | 6667 | | | |

a. Dependent Variable: MM reform

b. Predictors: (Constant), Age, Old MM, Satisfaction with services, Real income, Satisfaction with the city, Income perception, Governance perception

Coefficients^a

| Model | | Unstandardized Coefficients | | Standardized Coefficients | t | Sig. | Collinearity Statistics | |
|-------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------|---------------------------|--------|------|-------------------------|-------|
| | | B | Std. Error | Beta | | | Tolerance | VIF |
| 1 | (Constant) | .496 | .051 | | 9.808 | .000 | | |
| | D1: Satisfaction with services | .184 | .015 | .158 | 12.387 | .000 | .427 | 2.342 |
| | D2: Satisfaction with the city | .099 | .009 | .102 | 10.535 | .000 | .739 | 1.354 |
| | D3: Governance perception | .596 | .014 | .541 | 42.514 | .000 | .428 | 2.338 |
| | D4: Income perception | .040 | .014 | .027 | 2.926 | .003 | .806 | 1.240 |
| | D5: Real income | -.010 | .004 | -.025 | -2.762 | .006 | .844 | 1.184 |
| | D6 Old MM | .081 | .015 | .045 | 5.399 | .000 | .989 | 1.011 |
| | D7: Age | -.004 | .001 | -.059 | -7.045 | .000 | .427 | 1.019 |

a. Dependent Variable: MM reform