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**AN ANALYSIS ON ISTANBUL  
DISTRICT MUNICIPALITIES**

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AN ANALYSIS ON ISTANBUL DISTRICT  
MUNICIPALITIES

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B.A. in Economics in  
Economics Faculty of Istanbul University

submitted to the  
Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences  
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to my father

Prof.Dr.Hayri Payraktarođlu

## P R E F A C E

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This dissertation is submitted to the Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences, in Partial Fullfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Public Administration.

The aim of this study, is to put forward the opportunities and constraints, the newly established decentralization agencies, i.e., the district municipalities, face; and to analyze the efficiency modifications in services, due to the new system of governance, in municipal districts of İstanbul.

We are grateful to İlkay Sunar, for implementing the scope of this study in our mind.

We are also grateful to Üstün Ergüder, Ayşe Öncü and Ruhdan Yumer, for enlarging our scope, and further developing this dissertation.

Müfit Altan Bayraktaroğlu  
İstanbul, 1987

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## I- I N T R O D U C T I O N

The decentralization systems of many countries are slightly changing, to meet the new requirements, and to deal with the complex affairs of the changing conditions. Especially the developing countries, trying to overcome long-standing traditions of centralized administrations, require rational determination of what is to be centralized and what decentralized with respect not only to general governmental functions and technical services, but also to economic activities.

Turkey has been facing significant changes in this respect, since 1980. Confronted with the problems of fast urbanization in the 1960s and 70s, Turkish local administrations seemed to receive interest only when the government was in the hands of center-right coalitions, and the municipal power in the metropolitan areas, in the opposition, left-of-center party(1). The efforts made

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1-In the early seventies Republican People's Party has won the municipal power in major urban centers of Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir. From 1975 on, conflicts emerged with the center right coalition governments. For more details, see, 'Local government in Turkey: An Overview with a special Reference to the Municipalities, 1923-1980', Metin Heper in 'Dilemmas of Decentralization', ed. by Metin Heper, Bonn: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 1986.

to come up with a new municipal law in this period, were suspended by the 1980 military intervention.

In the years that followed the military intervention, first, a Municipal Revenue Law was put into effect in 1981 and then, legislation on metropolitan municipal governments was enacted in 1984, instituting new decentralization agencies, in the major metropolitan areas, Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir.(2)

The purpose of this study is to analyze these latest decentralization agencies, i.e., the district municipalities in the 1984-87 period, with a special reference to the city of Istanbul.

In March 1987, the new decentralization system in the three metropolises is fulfilling three years period of application. 'Are the financial problems of the city solved or aggravated?' shall be the first question to be put emphasis upon. The figures that we gathered from fifteen district municipalities reflects that, although there is a significant increase in the municipal revenues after the new law, the districts still

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2-Municipal Revenue Law, May 26, 1981, No 2464; The Legislation on Administering Metropolitan Municipalities, June 27, 1984, The Official Gazette.

lack the financial power for making constructive changes.

'Are the district municipalities equal in receiving benefits from the Greater Istanbul Municipality?' is a second question to be dealt with. The answer turned out to be negative according to the acquired results.

The last issue that we tried to bring light upon was the nature of the functions mostly carried out, by the district municipalities. 'Are the legislative functions carried out, and to what extent?' is the basic question of this part of our study. The results reflected, in the first place, the existence of some excessive municipal functions, and in the second place, that, the vote-getting functions are better performed than the reformist functions.

One thing should be made clear here, before continuing with the methodology of this study; that is, this study does not aim to bring an overall judgement to the application of decentralization in the metropolitan areas, but it aims to analyze some chosen concepts about Istanbul district municipalities. But we also tried to show



the new face of the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipal Government in relation with the fifteen District Municipalities-governments-in-miniature, in Öncü's terms (3)-

Studying the application of the administrative reforms in the 1984-1987 period, our initiated attempt was to send questionnaires to all the municipalities in İstanbul. But given the altering character of the municipal governments' buildings and addresses in quite a short span of time, and the unwillingness of the administrations to write back, this attempt turned out to be a failure. This time trying to give the questionnaire by private interviews with the mayors or deputy mayors of the District Municipalities, we came face to face with the unanswered questions problem. Some of the questions were considered as political, and as I understand, perceived as dangerous by the officials. Thus, our next step was to convert these questions into multiple choices and to more reasonable ones.

There were some other constraints for our study. First, was the problem of appointments with the mayors or deputies and persuade them to answer our questionnaire. Second, was the round figures that the officials put forward in answering the statistical questions. We tried to correct

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3- Ayşe Öncü 'The Potentials and Limitations of Local Government Reform in Solving Urban Problems: The Case of İstanbul' in 'Dilemmas of Decentralization: Municipal Government in Turkey' ed. by Metin Heper, (Bonn: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 1986), p.57.

these inefficient figures by comparing them with the budget figures of the Greater İstanbul Municipality. Third, the official level answering the questionnaire differed from district to district. In some, we interviewed with the Mayors, or Mayor Deputies and in others, with Head of the Accounting Department or Head of Private Affairs (4). The interpretation in this regard will be made further.

A recent study on the İstanbul Municipal Government, and on decentralization in general, i.e., 'Dilemmas of Decentralization: Municipal Government in Turkey', has been of great help in this study (5), making us perceive the subject further. Some of the questions in our questionnaire, are the inquiries of advocates' and critics' approaches pointed out in Öncü's article (6), regarding the decentralized governmental power.

Another recent study has been very implementing in the research, pointing out the Turkish political culture with respect to the recent decentralization efforts, i.e., 'Decentralization of Local Government and Political Culture in Turkey' (7).

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- 4- Head of Accounting Department, is the translation of 'Hesap İşleri Müdürü', and Head of Private Affairs, is the translation of 'Özel Kalem Müdürü'.
  - 5- Especially the articles of Metin Heper, Ruşen Keleş and Ayşe Öncü, have enlightened us. Ibid, pp.7-107.
  - 6- Ibid, pp.57-93.
  - 7- Üstün Ergüder, 'Decentralization of Local Government and Political Culture in Turkey', Draft for the symposium, 'Research on Local Government in Turkey', İstanbul, 1986.

Turning our attention to the content of this study, the first division offers a closer look to the present situation in the İstanbul District Municipalities. The municipal revenues and the costs of the new decentralization movement, shall be discussed in collaboration with the most recent figures, we've got from the district municipalities. The tables and graphs in this section, help us carry the debate further.

The following division includes comparisons among the municipalities, with respect to the population and power concentrations. In the first subtitle, the population changes of some districts in certain periods of time, and in the second subtitle, the differing political powers of the municipalities, are discussed.

The subject of the last division shall be the functions of the municipalities, including some excessive functions, and a comparison of vote getting functions to reformist functions. Under this subtitle, the interpretations of some scholars shall also be pointed out.

We shall conclude our dissertation, with the findings about the chosen concepts of the İstanbul District Municipalities.

## II- P R E S E N T   S I T U A T I O N   I N   İ S T A N B U D I S T R I C T   M U N I C I P A L I T I E S

According to the Law on Administration of Metropolitan Municipalities, enacted on June 27, 1984, İstanbul Metropolitan Government has been re-instituted, with the establishment of fifteen new decentralization agencies, i.e., the district municipalities, under the supervision of Greater İstanbul Municipality.

The functions put forward for the two levels of municipal governments, in the legislation, are as follows ;

- The Metropolitan Municipal Government should; make strategic investment planning, especially for large infrastructures; deal with physical planning for the metropolitan area; present public transportation services, and perform the construction of the major arteries, parking lots, terminals and setting of the transportation policies; supply water and sewerage, establish parks, gardens, green areas, and recreational facilities; deliver fire brigade services, establish and supervise fruit and vegetable markets, slaughterhouses; dispose solid wastes, and undertake large economic activities in the metropolitan base, along with, the coordination of services, when conflicts occur among the district municipalities.

- The functions of the District Municipalities are put forward as;cleaning,construction,maintenance and repairs of the streets;health and veterinary services; supervision and control of the markets,food prices, public health control services;and making detailed land use planning,building controls;presenting building permits (10).

Before a conceptual analysis of the applicative platforms of these functions,within the framework of our questionnaire,let us put forward our starting presumptions on the subject.

- First,establishing new levels of government seemed to be costly,given the insufficient level of municipal revenues.Thus it is probable that,the new system would have a deficit-largening effect on budgets.
  - Second,the differing population figures of some of the municipalities,in day-time and night-time,resulting to the differentiation of demands,in the mentioned periods of time,is not taken into careful consideration,as was the case before.
  - Third,the benefits provided to the District Municipality, seemed to depend upon the bargaining capacity of the District Mayor..
  - Fourth,although the municipal revenues has been tripled, compared to the pre-1981 period,it does not seem to be
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- 10- See Öncü,ibid,pp.68-76,for more details..

on the level for making structural changes in the municipalities.

- Fifth, the health and veterinary services seems to be missing in most of the district municipalities. This approach is contradicting with the purposes of decentralization, especially with the aspect of service delivery to the poorest and most needy segments of the municipalities.
- Last, there seems to be growing tensions on the administrative function over land planning. The municipalities seems to lack qualified personnel for supervising and controlling of the detailed land use projects.

Now, we may start to have closer looks to each of the items above.

#### a) Costs of the new Decentralization Movement

The District Municipalities have inherited some of their personnel and equipment, from the Greater İstanbul Municipal Government, after their establishment in 1984. But, as the authorities of the District Municipalities put forward, these are far from being satisfactory. Table I demonstrates the number of personnel and vehicles each municipality own, in 1987 figures. It is apparent that both the number of personnel and vehicles has increased two-fold, regarding the situation in 1984. According to Öncü, around ten thousand civil servants, and unionized workers, and 1200 trucks, dozers, passenger cars,

TABLE I - The Number of Personnel and Vehicles  
In District Municipalities of İstanbul  
In 1987

Municipal Governments	Workers	Civil Servants	Cars	Trucks	Dozers	Ambulance
ADALAR	110	236	65	18	10	1
BAKIRKÖY	1640	1857	315	98	37	8
BEŞİKTAŞ	725	325	75	62	23	2
BEYKOZ	376	228	37	31	20	1
BEYOĞLU	684	367	48	56	21	2
EMİNÖNÜ	354	742	67	58	24	0
EYÜP	781	595	54	67	20	1
FATİH	437	713	49	69	28	1
GAZİOSMANPAŞA	570	321	40	44	16	0
KADIKÖY	829	1021	83	121	34	2
SARIYER	389	297	19	74	20	2
ŞİŞLİ	1035	574	63	117	19	2
ÜSKÜDAR	953	473	60	84	32	2
KARTAL	714	1106	80	86	28	5
EYTBURNU	340	330	28	35	17	1
TOTAL	9937	9185	1075	1020	349	30

Source : The 1987 Municipal Budgets of 15 Districts.

and equipment were transferred by the metropolitan municipality to the districts. The authorities we interviewed in the district municipalities asserted that, around 60 to 70 percent of the vehicles are purchased in the post-1984 period. As the table puts forward, around 20.000 civil servants and workers are employed, only in the District Municipalities, with around 2500 vehicles, % 60-70 of which are newly purchased. Taking the purchases; the Greater İstanbul Municipality also been making in the new period, into consideration; we may have an overall idea about the costs, decentralization brought to the Municipal Government of İstanbul.

Personnel expenditures is another aspect of the costs, the new system has attributed on municipalities. Table II emphasizes the ratio of personnel expenditures to total expenditures in district municipalities, during the 1984-87 period. Table reflects a significant decline in this regard. But, for a careful interpretation of the table, we have to point out that, the percentages for the years 1986 and 1987, are calculated from the unrealized budget figures of the districts. The reason that we did not use the realized budget figures for 1986 is; our inability to get the realized figures from four districts, i.e., Beyoğlu, Fatih, Kadıköy and Kartal. Thus, it would be better to use the unrealized figures for the whole calculation. Coming to the interpretation of the table,



Table II- The Ratio of Personnel Expenditures to Total Expenditures in District Municipalities of İstanbul in 1984-1987 period.(As percentages)(+

Name of the Mun.	1984	1985	1986	1987
ADALAR	80.0	54.9	24.7	20.4
BAKIRKÖY	36.6	20.7	19.1	18.7
BEŞİKTAŞ	38.6	36.5	26.0	19.6
BEYKOZ	41.2	24.6	15.2	18.2
BEYOĞLU	40.0	18.9	23.7	14.2
EMİNÖNÜ	41.4	31.3	23.3	23.8
EYÜP	47.2	45.0	28.7	24.8
FATİH	38.9	32.1	18.1	16.5
GAZİOSMANPAŞA	48.4	27.4	14.6	18.4
KADIKÖY	61.0	25.7	23.3	19.3
KARTAL	48.3	30.2	17.6	14.5
SARIYER	45.9	30.9	23.4	20.1
ŞİŞLİ	52.3	41.6	27.0	28.0
ÜSKÜDAR	29.9	4.1	17.2	17.4
ZEYTİNBURNU	20.4	25.6	21.3	22.4

(+) The figures for the years 1984 and 1985 are taken from Ruşen Keleş's study, 'Municipal Finance in Turkey With Special Reference To İstanbul', in 'Dilemmas of Decentralization...', op.cit. p.52. The figures for 1986 and 1987 are calculated from budget figures.

the decline of personnel expenditure percentages can not be denied. Only, this does not necessarily mean that the municipalities pay less, to their personnel in every passing year. It is just that, their constant deficit budgets, with 40 to 80 percentages of personnel expenditures, turned out to be sort of balanced, with the new Municipal Revenue Law, put into effect in 1981. It is also clear that all the District Municipalities have made recruitments after their establishment in 1984, other than the personnel they received from Greater İstanbul Municipality. And during 1984-87 period, every municipality has recruited 50-100 personnel per year. (11)

One last thing about personnel percentages in the table, is that, they are, far from being realized, proposed budget figures. And most officials say, the municipal budgets exceed the %30 level, in realized figures. Thus, one may talk about extra costs, decentralization attributed on municipalities, from the aspect of personnel expenditures (11b)

Another aspect of cost for the municipalities is the headquarters of the District Municipalities, which are newly constructed or being constructed. According to our questionnaire, % 47 of the District Municipalities serve in their new headquarters for the time being. And in % 40 of them, the construc-

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11- According to Öncü the increase in personnel in 1985 is around 100-150 workers or civil servants in each district. Ayşe Öncü, *ibid.* p.80.

11b- According to Article 117 of the Municipal Law of 1930, the ratio (personnel expenditures/total expenditures) should not exceed % 30 level.

tion for new headquarters is under way. Only 13 percent of the fifteen district municipalities, -making a some of 2- are in their old, district administration buildings. One of these two municipalities, Eyüp, is using the formerly constructed building of the Bayrampaşa branch of municipal administration, which is annexed to Eyüp Municipal District, in the new system.

With 60 to 70 percent of the vehicles, being purchased; and around 80 to 100 percent of the public employees being employed; and a % 87 of the total buildings of the District Municipal Headquarters being constructed, in quite a short span of time, after the establishment of new district municipalities; it could be emphasized that, there are considerable costs, the new decentralization movement in İstanbul has attributed to the municipal finance of the city.

#### b) Municipal Revenues of the Districts

Table III indicates the budget figures of the fifteen municipalities, for 1986 and 1987. It seems that there are significant changes among the municipalities, in the budget increase figures, ranging from 3.6 percent to 97 percent. We must note here again that the figures are the unrealized values, put into municipal budgets. But, they could help to conceptualize the expected revenue and expenditure values in each district.

TABLE III- Budget Figures of the District  
Municipalities in İstanbul,1986-87(+)

Name of the Dist. Municipality	1986 Budget (000)	1987 Budget (000)	Increase (%)
ADALAR	5.412.574	6.358.808	17.5
BAKIRKÖY	54.216.130	56.144.000	3.6
BEŞİKTAŞ	6.147.000	12.138.476	97.4
BEYKOZ	5.678.000	7.448.103	31.2
BEYOĞLU	16.441.700	22.328.300	35.8
EMİNÖNÜ	8.364.561	15.162.000	81.2
EYÜP	7.444.000	12.609.300	69.4
FATİH	13.386.745	20.301.140	51.6
GAZİOSMANPAŞA	9.182.603	11.133.175	21.2
KALIKÖY	16.503.000	27.211.408	64.9
KARTAL	16.501.160	28.530.430	72.9
SARIYER	4.130.960	7.839.481	89.8
ŞİŞLİ	13.319.847	20.095.600	50.8
ÜSKÜDAR	12.511.467	18.506.120	47.9
ZEYTİNBURNU	4.500.301	6.798.200	51.0

(+) The figures are taken from the Annual Budget Report of the Greater İstanbul Municipality for 1986, and from the 15 District Municipalities' Budgets for 1987.

According to the municipal authorities, % 75-80 of the budget figures are realized. Thus, for more explicit results, the figures should be comprehended around % 25 less than given. Graph I, could help us comparing the budgets of the fifteen district municipalities.

In 1986, as the table reveals, Bakırköy Municipality; the biggest budget owning district; has a budget as large as the total budgets of 8 other district municipalities, (12) with a percentage, to the total amount of district budgets (% 40); receives the smallest amount of increase in 1987 (% 3.6). This could be a significant example of the unrealized budget figures, for, the medium increase of the district budgets is % 52.4, while the increase in Bakırköy municipality is calculated as % 3.6. Thus, the realized budget figure of Bakırköy should be much smaller than 54 billion, in 1986.

The comparison could be more comprehensive, when the population figures are added to the discussion. Thus, the calculated per capita revenues, would prevent the dissipation of the subject, and help analyzing the afore put presumptions. Table IV indicates the per capita revenues of İstanbul District Municipalities in 1987.

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12- The Municipal Districts, Beşiktaş, Beykoz, Eminönü, Eyüp, Gaziosmanpaşa, Sarıyer, Zeytinburnu and Adalar, had large increases in their budgets, for the year 1987.

Graph I - 1987 Budget Figures of Istanbul  
District Municipalities

Billion  
(TL)

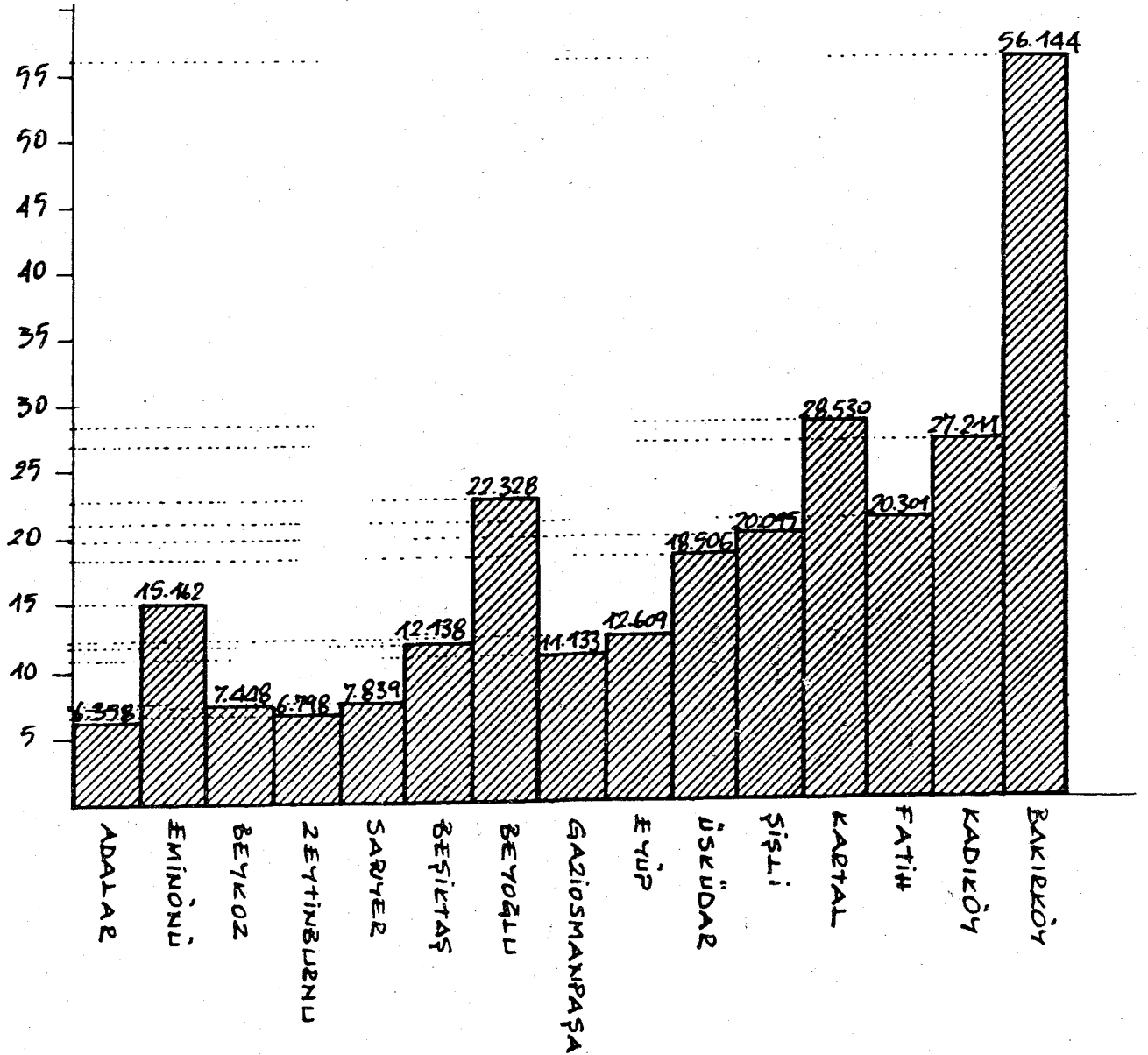


TABLE IV - Per Capita Revenues of İstanbul  
District Municipalities in 1987(+)

Name of the Dist. Municipality	1987 Revenues (000)	Population 1987	Per Capita Revenues
ADALAR	6.358.808	19.603(++)	324.379
BAKIRKÖY	56.144.000	1.329.400	42.232
BEŞİKTAŞ	12.138.476	219.899	55.200
BEYKOZ	7.448.103	136.063	54.740
BEYOĞLU	22.328.300	242.000	92.264
EMİNÖNÜ	15.162.000	90.452(++)	167.625
EYÜP	12.609.300	424.827	29.681
FATİH	20.301.140	585.450	34.676
GAZİOSMANPAŞA	11.133.175	298.000	37.359
KADIKÖY	27.211.408	828.500	32.844
KARTAL	28.530.430	585.000	48.769
SARIYER	7.839.481	152.000	51.575
ŞİŞLİ	20.095.600	584.400(++)	34.386
ÜSKÜDAR	18.506.120	518.893	35.664
ZEYTİNBURNU	6.798.200	141.600	48.000

(+) The revenue figures are the estimated values of the District Municipalities' Budgets. The Officials say 75 to 80 % of these figures are realized. Thus, per capita revenues should be perceived smaller than the above figures.

(++) The population figures of Eminönü and Şişli differs in day-time and night-time. Eminönü is about two million in day time, and Şişli about 900.000. On the other hand, Adalar has over half a million population in summer.

Per capita revenue figures reflect significant differences. First, some of the figures have to be corrected. In Adalar, the population should be perceived as half a million, especially in the summer period, rather than the resident figures; when per capita revenues are calculated. Then per capita revenues for Adalar would fall to 12.717, the smallest of the per capita revenue figures. The same mistake is repeated for Eminönü and Şişli district municipalities, this time between day-time and night-time figures of population. Eminönü, as the officials put it, has over 1,5 million population in the day-time, and Şişli 900.000. The revenue per capita for each of the two districts would decrease to 10.108 and 22.328, respectively. Beyoğlu should be facing a problem also, in this regard, though we could not get the approximate day-time population figures.

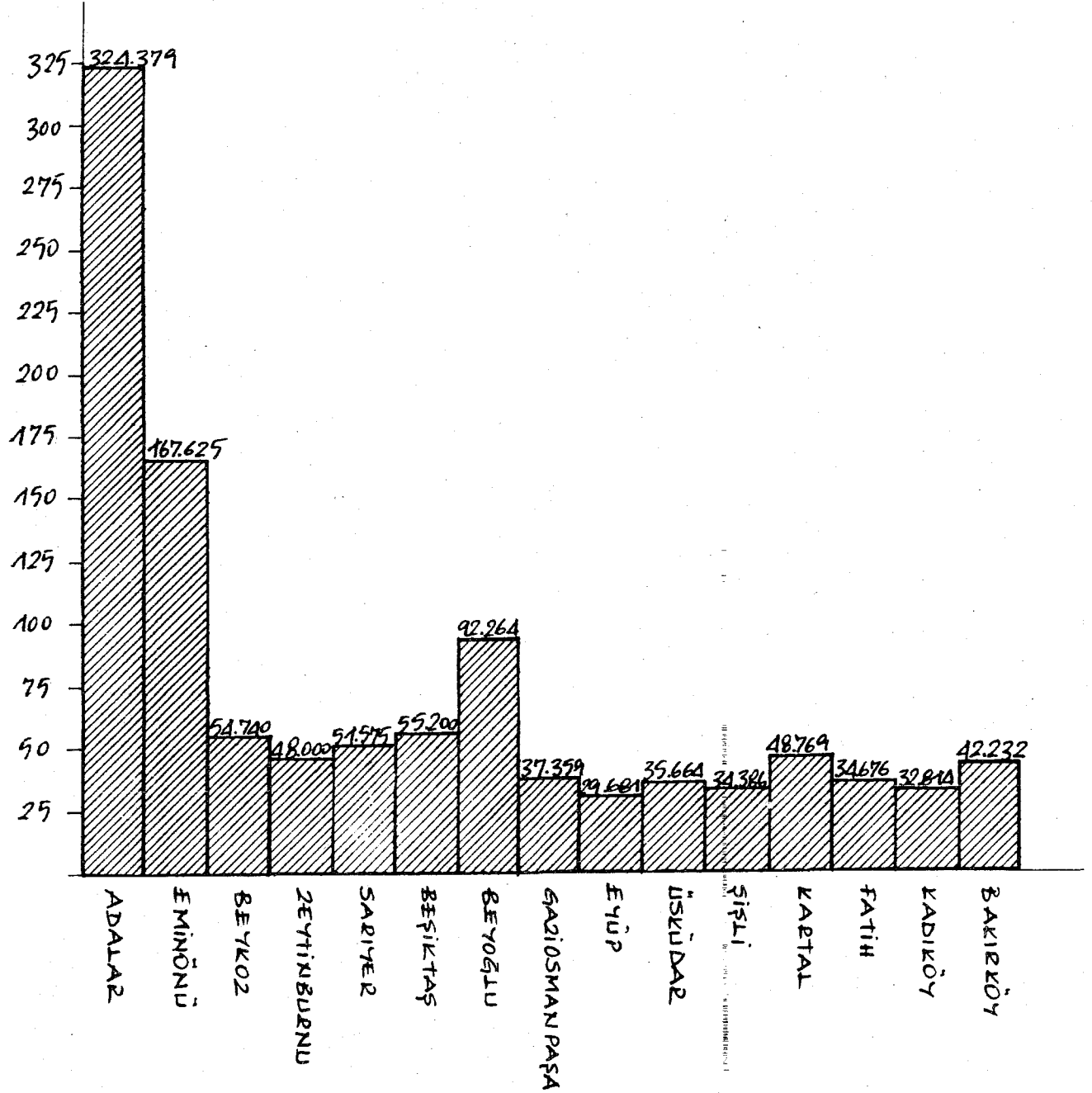
Thus, more concentrated service needs of some municipalities, in different periods of time, should be taken into careful consideration, for, the greater the population, the higher the demands for efficient municipal services.

Before getting on with the discussions about the powers of the district municipalities, another presumptions of ours could be talked over here. Graph II, on per capita revenues might be helpful in further developing the issue.



Graph II - Per Capita Revenues of  
İstanbul District Municipalities  
In 1987

(000)  
TL



When we compare the per capita revenues of the recent years to the earlier ones, what we come face to face is an immense increase. It was 406 T.L. in 1976, and 17.240 in 1985, in the İstanbul metropolitan area. (13) With corrected values of the district municipal governments, it is 37.744 in 1987 (14). The increases seems sky-rocketing, but, given the level of inflation in annual figures, one can not even talk about an increase in per capita revenues (15); and can only assert that, the municipal revenue per capita has not deteriorated in the post-1981 period. As far as the increasing demands of a city, as urbanized as İstanbul, are concerned, that seems far from being sufficient.

One positive aspect of the budgets of the district municipalities is that, the ratio of investment expenditures to total expenditures, has started an increase, vis a vis, the ratio of personnel expenditures to total expenditures, after the establishment of the New Municipal Revenues Law in 1981. Having a closer look at the investment dispersals of the municipal expenditures, some facts could more easily be comprehended. In Table V, the expenditures of Eyüp District's Municipal Budget, is given as an example.

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13- The figures for 1976 and 1985 are metropolitan area values. See R. Keleş, *ibid*, p. 50.

14- 1987 per capita revenue medium, is calculated from the values of 15 district municipalities. Thus, the figure should be greater, with the addition of metropolitan revenues.

15- The annual rate of inflation is around % 50 in Turkey.

TABLE V- 1987 Budget Expenditures of  
Eyüp District Municipality

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CURRENT EXPENDITURES

Appropriations (Ödenekler)	102.840.000
Personnel expenditures	3.119.800.004
Administrative expend.	330.400.001
Service expenditures	1.313.655.160
Institutive expend.	-
Other	<u>339.188.078</u>
	5.205.883.243

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INVESTMENT EXPENDITURES

Explorings and Projects	100.000.000
Building repairs	5.630.000.000
Purchases on vehicles and equip.	<u>200.000.000</u>
	5.930.000.000

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CAPITAL FORMATION AND TRANSFER EXP.

Capital formation	-
Participation to establishments	9.000.000
Nationalization and Inventory stock	1.221.000.000
Economic Transfers	-
Financial Transfers	203.586.250
Social Transfers	24.830.501
Depth Payments	<u>15.000.000</u>
	1.473.416.755

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TOTAL

12.609.300.000

The table makes it clear that, investment expenditures of Eyüp, mostly consist of building repairments, and vehicle and equipment purchasements, (around % 99), the ratio of each, % 95 and % 4 respectively. Whereas, the municipal expenditures on explorings (etüd), and projects is about 1.6 percent of the total investment expenditures.

The dissipation of the investment expenditures of Eyüp district, could be comprehended as the general tendency of the investment expenditures, in the other district municipalities of İstanbul, despite the slight deviations. Thus, our presumption, regarding the inefficiency of the municipal investments seem to gain some grounds, coupled with the fact that, municipalities are still short of financial resources, to perform their duties at satisfactory standarts.

At this point, one point should be made clear, before further analysis. Although infrastructural investments are functions of metropolitan municipal government; the district municipalities may find considerable room for critical investment projects of their own. From here surfaces a problem of strong or dominant districts, versus, weak or subsidiary districts.

II - COMPARISONS AMONG DISTRICT MUNICIPALITIES WITH  
RESPECT TO THE POPULATION AND POWER CONCENTRATIONS

İstanbul districts have significant differences, not only in population figures, and area basis; the municipalities, depending on the political power of the officials, in the Greater İstanbul Municipality, reflect differences of efficiency, as well.

a) Population Changes of some districts in Certain Periods

As we have asserted before, the population figures of some municipal districts in İstanbul, vary in different periods of time. Eminönü, Adalar and Şişli districts are the examples in this respect. Eminönü and Şişli, in daytime-nighttime figures, Adalar, seasonally, have great population differences; which is not taken into consideration by the Greater İstanbul Municipality. This could be interpreted as a significant failure, for, most of the revenues of the district municipalities coming from the Greater İstanbul Municipality, is divided among the municipalities according to the population figures of the districts. (15)

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15- See, Legislation No:2380, Article (Annexed) 97.4 December 1985.

b) Susurbian Districts-Central Districts: They differ when services of the metropolitan municipal government, directed to each district, are concerned. Thus, the amount of services, the district municipalities should carry out, in less metropolitan-service receiving areas, is intensified.

Although the questions about the conflicts, occurring with the metropolitan government, in our questionnaire, were not thoroughly answered-as was expected-; some municipal officials asserted that, there had been some confusions of minor importance, especially in the early stages of the new application. The Press seems to give significant clues, in this regard, quite contradictory with these assertions. (16) The Mayor of Beşiktaş District, Mümtaz Kola, carries on the project of filling the seaside in Beşiktaş, despite the critics from even the President of the State, Kenan Evren; and the urges to stop the project. Kola announces:

"..I declare the year 1987, as an express year...I shall supply the the extensions we are filling, with tea gardens, and parks..Soon we'll start constructing the quay.." (17)

On the other hand, in Eminönü, growing tensions between the two levels of decentralization, resulted in demolition of a newly constructed building; which was legally permitted by the Great İstanbul Municipal Government; by the Eminönü district Municipality. The reason, according to the Mayor of Eminönü District was that, the building had no construc-

16- Especially Hürriyet newspaper, puts emphasis on the subject, publishing a column, in the İstanbul news page, about the municipal problems of the districts, and the problems among municipal levels, since 1986.

17- Hürriyet, 22. March 1987, p.17.

tion license, though a license has recently been given to the construction, by the Metropolitan Municipal Government. (18)

The above mentioned districts, could be perceived as the examples of powerful municipalities; not only in decision-making mechanism, but in financial sources as well. Thus, the two concepts can not be evaluated apart from each other. Now, let us have a look at the other side of the coin. Zeytinburnu, the second smallest budget owning district of Istanbul, and a shanty town, is in deep need of metropolitan service help. So, one can not talk about the autonomy of Zeytinburnu district, where basic services are hardly being performed. With limited revenues, and loan recievements annexed to that, Zeytinburnu seems to attract narrow attention, and recieve insignificant benefits from the new decentralization movement, for the time being. This perception could be further arguemented for, Gaziosmanpaşa and Beykoz districts. (19)

The power of district municipalities, with differing levels of financial sources, and political effectiveness, has a lot to do with their performances and serving their functions. Let us have a closer look at the functions of the municipal districts and to, how they are performed.

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18- Milliyet, 28 February 1987, p.7.

19- Beykoz is one of the two biggest districts in area, and one of the lowest revenue raising districts. Gaziosmanpaşa seems to have a considerable budget figure, but the revenues in the budget are rarely realized (only % 60-70)

#### IV - FUNCTIONS OF THE DISTRICT MUNICIPALITIES

The prominent objective of the new decentralization movement seems to be, improving the capabilities and functioning efficiencies of the district municipalities. Although the forms and purposes of decentralization takes different shapes in different countries, some general purposes could be asserted as follows: (20)

- Coordinating technical services at the local level, and thereby increasing their effectiveness,
- Involving effective participation of the people in governmental programs, it might help rapid decision-making process, to accelerate economic, and social development.
- It is also instrumental to increase political stability, with better administrative and political penetration of national government policies.

United Nations Technical Assistance Programme advises developing countries to be cautious in changing their decentralization systems (21).

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20- 'Decentralization for National and Local Development', United Nations Technical Assistance Programme, United Nations Publications, New York, 1962, pp 6-9.

21- Ibid, p 10.



Much can be learned from the experience of other countries, but, borrowing must be highly selective, and always with a degree of adaptation. Something which works well in the system of one country, may not work in another, and the transplantation of an entire system would almost certainly invite disaster (22).

United Nations Local Government Research Report (23), also indicates the prominence of the system of decentralization, and the proper conditions for such an approach. Talking about proper conditions of decentralization, we should mention Illy's detailed study on the subject. (24)

Illy emphasizes the favorable conditions for decentralization within four perspectives. From these, the political and administrative conditions include; national leaders' support to the transfer of planning, decision-making and managerial authority to lower units of administration, which are outside the direct control of the central government; and existence of effective channels of political participation and representation for rural residents to express their needs. The organizational factors, on the other hand, include; appropriate allocation of functions among levels of government, and the limitations and the constraints on the authorities of the

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22- Ibid, p.9.

23- 'Yerinden Yönetim ve Kalkınma', Birleşmiş Milletler Yerinden Yönetim Araştırma Grubu Raporu, Çeviri, Selçuk Yalçındağ and Necil Ulusay, Ankara, 1967, p.8-28.

24- Hans F. Illy, 'Decentralization As a Tool for Development' in, 'Dilemmas of ..', ibid, pp.117-121.

officials at each level; the ability to perform flexible arrangements on functions with the changing conditions, over time; the presentation of communication linkages among local units of administration, for cooperative activity and conflict resolution. The third type of conditions supporting decentralization, for Illy is the behavioral and psychological conditions, which include; creation of a minimum level of trust and respect between citizens and government officials, and mutual recognition that each is capable of performing certain functions. And lastly, resource conditions including, adequate transportation and communication linkages to facilitate the mobilization of resources, and appropriate settlement systems within regions, to promote interaction between different units of decentralization.

Given the confounded conditions and purposes of decentralization above; it should not be hard to comprehend the emphasis to be put on the decentralization mechanism, and the alterations to be brought over time, with the changing conditions. Otherwise, the countries may come face to face with, what the United Nations Technical Assistance Programme called, premature or excessive decentralization. (25)

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25- 'Decentralization for National and Local Development', *ibid.*, p.8. The Report also puts forward the harms and negative effects of these types of decentralization.

a) Excessive Functions of the Districts

The answer to the question "Do you perform health and veterinary services?", was a quick 'yes' in all of the districts. But as we go further on, it was comprehended that, in most of the districts, health services were performed by insignificant -one in the most- numbers of ambulances. In Table I, we may see the dispersion of the municipal districts, in this meaning. It is also true that, most of the municipalities have insufficient health service personnel. Thus, the emphasis put on the health services by the district municipalities, is no more than public health controls on some consumer goods, in certain periods of time. As far as the functions of district municipalities, to perform health services, especially to the poor and needy, are concerned, the approach to the issue seems inadequate.

Thus, the health services attributed to district municipalities are excessive and hard to be performed. On the other hand, another function of the districts is severely criticized by planners and architects, i.e., the land use planning function of the municipal districts.

'Where Is İstanbul Going', is the headline of Ölçü, the weekly journal of the Chamber of Engineers and Architects, criticizing the planning approach of the municipal governments, in İstanbul. (26) Ertuğrul Tığlay, Head of İstanbul Branch of the

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26- The Journal started to be published on 1 January 1987. The first issue included several criticisms on land use planning, including the above mentioned dissertation, put forward in the headline.

Chamber points out to the speculative margin increasing effect of the new application in land planning:

"..İstanbul is the fastest urbanizing city of Turkey. But the municipal governments misapply the land use planning, and encouraging the speculative benefits, rooting from the residential demand of the city.."

For Tığlay, municipal governments put forward available conditions for constructions, without putting any emphasis on research:

"..In Piyalepaşa, the construction coefficient is 15. That means, one can have 15.000 square meters of construction, on a 1000 square meters of area. Think of the inflation, the sales of such buildings would bring to the Turkish economy.."(27)

Another criticism in this respect, is about the metropolitan mayor's power to convert the decisions of both, the district, and the metropolitan councils, resulting to accumulating conflicts. (28)

The positive and negative aspects of municipal supervision and control on detailed land use planning in general, is put forward more abruptly by a city planner: (29)

- The planning decisions are easily being given, thus,

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27- Ölçü, 1 January 1987, p.7

28- Ölçü, 15 January 1987, "Uncontrolled Metropolitan Administration", the editorial.

29- Semra Kutluay, is also the biggest private planning bureau owner in Ankara. We interviewed with her on, land planning, in general.

not waiting at the Ministry of Public Works and Re-settlement, as before. - increase in applicability-

- Municipal supervision of land use planning could help small cities, to perform and apply infrastructural planning.
- On the other hand, the municipal council and mayor could convert the plans, according to some pressure groups.
- District municipalities can not be effective in planning, for, the plans should always be supervised by the metropolitan council and the Mayor.
- There is no level of authority controlling the municipal decisions on land use planning.
- Last and the most prominent inability of the municipalities, is the lack of qualified personnel to perform planning services.

This new function of the municipalities, seems to be political on one hand, and socio-economical, and cultural, on the other. As far as İstanbul city is concerned, it also seems clear that, although the function of land use planning is one of the prominent, for the District Municipalities; with insufficient qualified personnel, and the pressures from the benefiting groups or levels of government, it can not be duly performed. Thus, it should also be accepted as an excessive function given to the districts.

b) Vote getting Functions-Reformist Functions

It's been 3 years, since the establishment of the new decentralization agencies, in 1984. There has been both critical and advocative views on the new decentralization system. But in the second half of 1987, starting with Tahir Aktaş; Mayor of Eminönü District, who was accused of bribing and misusing his power; the critics on the district municipalities widened. The eyes of the media were focused at the district municipalities. Despite the pressures from the Government and the press, Aktaş did not resign, until he was called off from office by the Minister of Interior Affairs in April 1987. He was followed by O. Hızlan, the Mayor of Kadıköy District, who was sued again for misusing his administrative power. (30) With the second largest municipal budget in 1987, Kadıköy district is one of the least service receiving districts of Istanbul. Thus, it is our belief that, the district municipalities serve the officials' personal benefits more than the people's. Whether this is the result of the new decentralization movement or not, is another debateable subject, but, it is clear that, the elected mayors of Istanbul city, put more emphasis upon the benefits of his electorates. Thus, on one hand, green fields all over Istanbul, and on the other, roadless suburban

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30- For Hızlan's detailed story, see, 'The Unsteady Mayor', Nokta, No 24, June 1987, p.28.

districts put forward the striking fact that, the governments-in-miniature, perform the vote-getting functions better than the reformist functions.

We shall now try to evaluate the concepts we put forward about the municipalities, within our questionnaire results.

As we have pointed out earlier, the questions, about the relations of the district municipalities with each other and with the Greater İstanbul Municipality; and concerning the inabilities of the administrations, were not answered thoroughly. Nevertheless, the answers to our questionnaire, gave us quite satisfactory and significant clues, about the inquiries of our study.

First, let us analyze the questions about the purposes of the new decentralization mechanism, established in the three metropolitan areas, İstanbul, Ankara, and İzmir.

With the question 'What do you think, constraints attributing to the inefficiency of the older system were', we wanted to find some clues regarding the purposes of decentralization. The results reflected the emphasis put on the revenue increases, although it is not directly related with the new decentralization system. (36) Hundred percent of the district municipalities attributed the inefficiency, to the insufficient revenues of the

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36- The revenue increases are due to the Municipal Revenue Law, No 2464, enacted in May 1981.

municipalities, in the earlier system. Though, only % 40 accepted the present revenues as, sufficient for an optimal service quality (6/15). The other choices of the question were not put much emphasis, by the officials of the municipalities (37), although, the concepts such as 'citizen demand representation', 'effective service coordination', 'participation of the people in decision-making', were inquired. % 20 of the officials pointed out the lack of the effective service coordination, due to the inadequate level of revenues (3/15), in the earlier system.

One of the most intriguing questions we inquired was, the constraints applied on the authorities of the officials at each level; which made it clear that, district municipalities have significant level of constraints on decision-making. Although, some of the municipal officials did not answer the question about the budget making procedure, the municipal budgets of the districts face severe cuts, in the repetitive budgeting application (38). Alaattin Açıkalın, Deputy Mayor of the Zeytinburnu district, have asserted that, they are receiving a % 30-40 cut, on their budgets every year, whereas, Nur Batı, Head of Writings Department, in Beşiktaş district, makes it clear that, they receive no cuts on their budget figures.

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37- The names and titles of the district municipality officials are given in a list, at the end of the dissertation.

38- The term 'repetitive budget' is used by Aaron Wildavsky, 'Budgeting: A Comparative Theory of the Budgetary Process, Boston, 1975, in A. Öncü, op.cit., p. 63.



This brings out the question of strong districts, versus in-  
potent districts, to surface, also the degree of autonomy,  
the district municipalities have, vis a vis, the Greater Is-  
tambul Municipality. Talking about the conflicts between mu-  
nicipalities, the officials have no intention to put forward  
any events, though % 13 asserted that there had been conflicts  
of minor importance, in the early periods of application.(38)  
As we have asserted before, the press reflected significant  
clashes of the two levels of decentralized government, in İs-  
tambul.(39)

It seems clear that, while the suburban districts struggle  
to survive, with limited budgets, equipment, and personnel, and  
the growing needs for infrastructural investments; the dist-  
ricts closer to the center seek for more autonomy, vis a vis,  
the metropolitan municipal government.

One more thing we tried to analyze with our questionnaire  
was the citizens approach to the newly established decent-  
ralization agencies, thus, our inquiry included a question a-  
bout the complaints of the citizens. As the question pointed  
out, the land use planning applications are the focus of at-  
tention, so far as the complaints are concerned. And in the

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38- Two of the fifteen district municipal officials talked  
about the service confusion they lived with the Greater  
İstanbul Municipality.(Fatih and Eminönü)

39- 'The Greater İstanbul Municipality Constructed, Eminönü  
Municipality Demolished', Hürriyet, 1 March 1987, 'Betray-  
al of the Districts', 14 March 1987, Hürriyet, 'See the  
Mayor of Kartal', Hürriyet 12 February 1987.

second place, citizens complain about the insufficiency of the construction and maintenance services, and in the third place an interesting item, -not knowing the level of administration one is going to apply- could be perceived. Due to the unsatisfactory outcomes we received from some of the municipalities, our comments on citizen demands shall not be more specific (40).

Searching for the functions of the district municipalities, we came face to face with some inefficient applications. As we can see in Table I, the district municipalities has insignificant numbers of health service vehicles. Not only this, the health service personnel are either missing, or recruited in public health controls of the markets, etc. On the other hand, citizen complaints do not include, urges for better services. This could also be due to the lack of knowledge that, the municipal governments serve such a function. Thus, the function of health services for the poor and needy, could be accepted as an excessive function for the municipalities. Heper's perception; the narrower the decentralization, the better application, seems to support this interpretation. (41)

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40- Beyoğlu, Kadıköy, Bakırköy district municipality officials did not answer the question about the complaints of the citizens.

41- M. Heper, op.cit., p.103.

Suggesting smaller units of local government for Turkey, with a limited number of functions, Heper favors the new system of governance; and proposes a scheme, to overcome the fiscal gap, and the problems, the dependence of local upon higher level governments, created (42).

The perspective Heper puts forward, could be further interpreted for another function of the municipalities, which receives significant critiques, from both the city planners and the scholars, i.e., detailed land use planning. Says Baykan Günay :

"..I am sceptical about the power attributed to the local governments on land planning. For, we know that, powerful social groups dominate the municipal councils and make decisions supporting their benefits(43)"

We may add to this, the lack of qualified planning personnel, or other authorities in the municipalities, to carry on the land planning approval function. İlhan Tekeli proposes coordination between the impotent municipalities :

"..It is proper to increase the authorities of the powerful municipalities, on land planning. To overcome the weaknesses, small and impotent municipal governments should cooperate.."(44)

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42- Ibid, p.104.

43- Baykan Günay, in 'New Land Planning Law and Environmental Problems' discussion, Cumhuriyet, 'Siyaset 85', 9 June 1985, p.9.

44- İlhan Tekeli, Cumhuriyet, 'Siyaset 85', p.9.

For the time being, the function of land use planning, attributed on the district municipalities, seems to exceed the capabilities of these institutions, given the inefficient decision-making mechanism of the municipal councils, and lack of qualified personnel for supervising and improvement of the projects.

So far, we tried to put forward the outcomes of the questionnaire, we applied on the district municipalities of Istanbul. Although we had some difficulties, in getting the answers to the questions which need interpretation; we were successful, in the multiple-choice questions, and even better in the statistical ones. Thus, we could find evidences to further develop the perspectives, in which we were trying to analyze the subject.

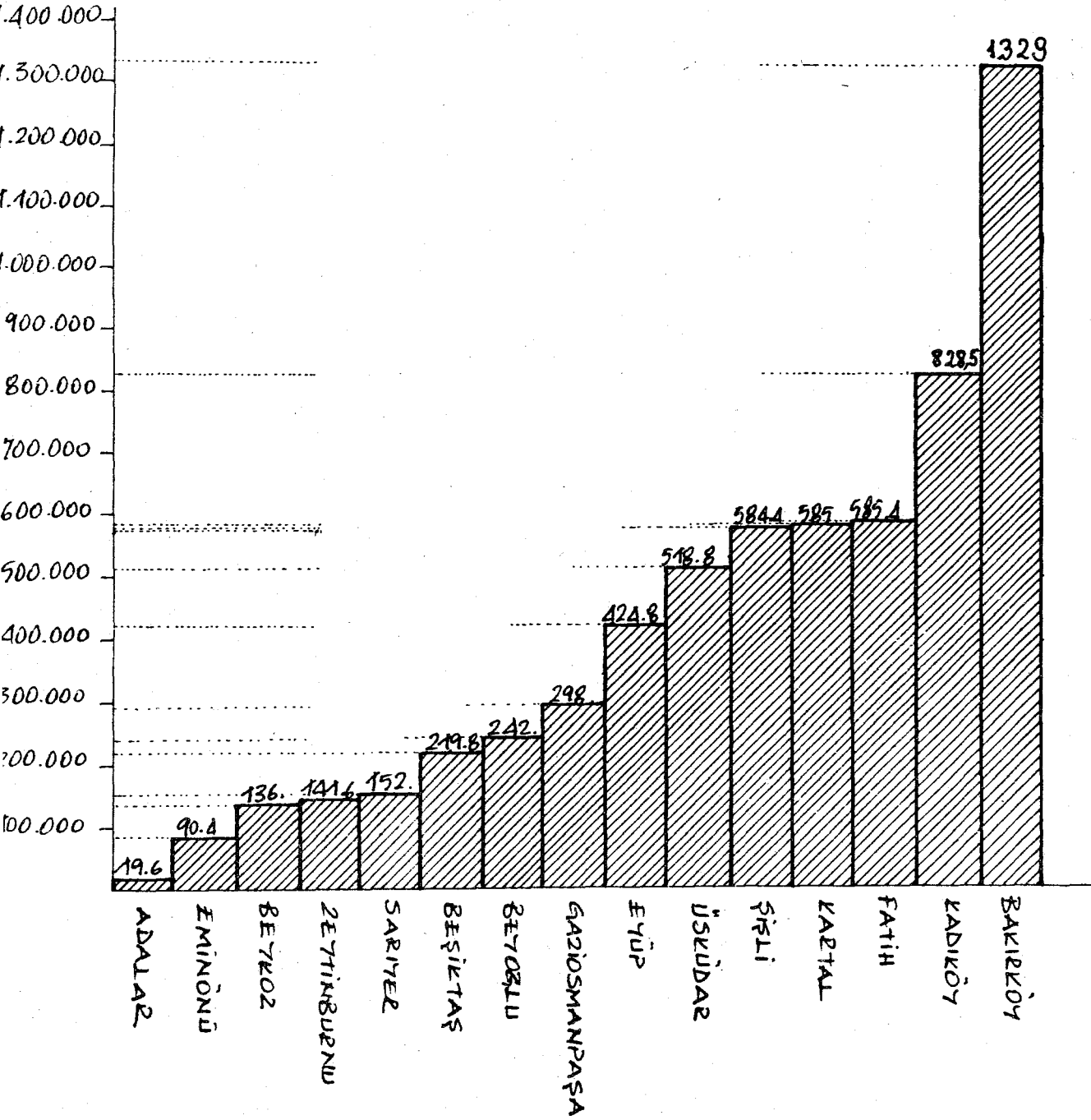
#### IV - C O N C L U S I O N S

- (1) Establishment of the district municipal governments, attributed significant costs on the budgets. Since 1984, -in round figures- 10.000 new civil servants, and workers, are employed, 2000 vehicles are purchased, and nearly all of the district municipalities' headquarters are newly built, or being built.
- (2) The municipal revenues has increased with the 1981 Municipal Revenue Law. But, given the high rate of inflation, and the increasing demands of the citizens, it does not seem to be on the level, for making structural changes.
- (3) The relative interest put on the district municipalities, by the metropolitan government, seems to reflect significant differentiations. Thus, the suburban districts still have severe cuts on their budgets and, are in deep need of metropolitan help; whereas, districts closer to the center, with improved conditions, seek to increase their autonomy.
- (4) There seems to be some excessive functions, attributed on the district municipalities. Health services to the poor

and needy, are neither being carried out by the municipalities, nor being demanded by the citizens. On the other hand, the detailed land use planning function can not be adequately performed by the district municipalities. Thus, a clearer definition and differentiation is needed for these municipal functions, and the capabilities of the two levels of municipal governments, in this regard.

- (5) There are significant population concentrations, in some districts, in certain periods of time. These seasonal variances, and the day-time, night-time differences of population, need to be put greater emphasis, for, population figures are taken as significant indicators, in making of the budgets, delivering services, and allocation of sources, at both levels of municipal governments.
- (6) With the constraints in budgeting, and decision-making processes, and, given the possessions of some excessive functions, the district municipalities in Istanbul, seems to accomplish or are supervised to accomplish vote-getting functions, better than the functions directed to reform socio-economic conditions.

Graph III- The Population in İstanbul District Municipalities(1987)



NAMES AND TITLES OF THE OFFICIALS  
RESPONDED TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Municipality	Title	Official
ADALAR	M a y o r	Recep Koç
BAKIRKÖY	Head of Priv. Aff.	Aykut Çeviker
BEŞİKTAŞ	Head of Writ. Dep.	Nur Batı
BEYKOZ	Deputy Mayor	Osman Ceylan
BEYOĞLU	Deputy Mayor	Ahmet Atak
EMİNÖNÜ	Deputy Mayor	Muzaffer Şahin
EYÜP	Dep.Chief of Accoun.	Abdullah Yalçın
FATİH	Deputy Mayor	Sabit Kalfagil
GAZİOSMANPAŞA	Deputy Mayor	Selim Kara
KADIKÖY	Deputy Mayor	Yıldırım Giray
KARTAL	Deputy Mayor	Necati Turna
SARIYER	Head of Priv. Aff.	Halûn Akça
ŞİŞLİ	M a y o r	M.Emin Sungur
ÜSKÜDAR	Head of Acc.Dep.	Celal Aydın
ZEYTİNBURNU	Deputy Mayor	Alaattin Açıkali



QUESTIONNAIRE ON  
ISTANBUL DISTRICT MUNICIPALITIES

- 1- Name of the District Municipality :
- 2- Name of the Mayor :
- 3- Name and Title of the Authority answering the Questionnaire :
- 4- What is the area of your municipality :
- 5- What is the population in your municipality :
- 6- Municipal Budget figures for:
  - a) 1984 :
  - b) 1985 :
  - c) 1986 :
  - d) 1987 :
- 7- The number of vehicles in your municipality :
  - a) Cars
  - b) Trucks, Waste Trucks
  - c) Other vehicles
  - d) Vehicles for health services
- 8- How many of these vehicles are purchased after the establishment of your municipality ( After the elections in 1984) :
- 9- The number of personnel in the municipality :
  - a) Civil servants
  - b) Workers
- 10- How many of them are new recruitments :
- 11- If the above question can not be answered; is there a change in the number of personnel, compared to the municipal administration period :
  - a) There is an increase
  - b) No change
  - c) There is a decrease
  - d) No idea

- 12- Do you think your personnel is sufficient and capable;
- a) In cleaning, construction and repair services
  - b) In supervision and control of markets, food prices
  - c) In health and veterinary services
  - d) In preparing, implementing and control of detailed land use planning.
- 13- What do you think, constraints leading to the inefficiency of the earlier district municipal administrations, were ?  
(Please grade every item according to the degree of prominence)
- a) Service coordination was not effective.
  - b) Municipal revenues were insufficient.
  - c) Citizen demands could not be represented.
  - d) Municipalities were over-politicized.
  - e) Decision-making mechanism was not democratic.
  - f) Other
- 14- Do you think these constraints have been disqualified by the new system of governance ?
- 15- If the answer is negative, could you name the constraints your municipality faces ?
- 16- Do you think the budget figures are closely related to the population figures of the districts ?
- 17- Is there an adequate allocation of sources among district municipalities, or do the powers of districts influence metropolitan help in their districts ?
- 18- Do you think the distance between citizens and the government has been reduced by the new system ?

- 19- The municipal revenues have increased in the post-1981 period. Do you think the revenues of your municipality is appropriate for an optimum service quality now ?
- 20- Have there been any conflicts between your district municipality and Greater Istanbul Municipality ?
- 21- Do you think there will be any conflicts in this sense, in the future ?
- 22- The budgets of the District Municipalities are being discussed and accepted by the Metropolitan Municipal Council. What do you think about the convertibility of these figures by the Council and Metropolitan Mayor?
- 23- Do you think the municipal health services are efficient ?
- 24- The demands of the citizens are always for better services, thus, they never end. What kind of complaints do you usually get from the citizens ?
- a) Not knowing the level of administration he is going to apply
  - b) The insufficiency of the cleaning ,construction and maintenance services
  - c) Insufficiency of the health services
  - d) Supervisory services on markets and food prices
  - e) The new application on land use planning
  - f) Other

- 25- Do you believe in the arguement that, the new decentralization agencies have increased the expenditures on the municipal base ?      a) Yes      b) No      c) No comment
- 26- Could the autonomy of the District Municipalities result to a diminishment in the coordination of policies among the levels of government?
- 27- How can you summarize the three year period of application as far as the district municipalities are concerned ?
- a) We are in a transition period.No comments can be made.
  - b) Created an efficient municipal organization.
  - c) Although there are some restrictions,it is a reformist step.
  - d) Only increased the tensions among different levels of government.
- 28- Do you have any further suggestions to be studied about the municipalities ?
- 29- Do you have anything else to add on this subject.Please summarize..

THANK YOU

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