

**BASIC PROBLEMS OF SMALL MUNICIPALITIES
IN TURKEY:
A CASE STUDY**

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Introduction

The number of municipalities has been increasing steadily in Turkey due to the fact that the basic accepted criterion in the formation of a new municipality is the population size of the community. * In 1929 and 1966 the total number of municipalities were 467 and 1085 respectively. Within the space of 37 years, on an average 18 new municipalities were added annually. Almost all of these municipalities were formed in the villages with population just above 2000 and very few of them in the central «ilçe»s (sub provinces) and newly established provinces having population below 2000.

Although the big majority of municipalities (% 85) are situated in the villages and small agricultural towns with population below 10,000, only % 31 of urban population lives within the borders of these municipalities.

The small municipalities situated in small communities in the majority of cases are not as yet sufficiently urbanized. Therefore, they show occupational characteristics of undifferentiated peasant economy and from the sociological point of view are not much different from the other villages. It seems as if municipality status has been forced on them. In the formation of this type of mu-

(*) According to the Law No. 1580, province and sub-province «ilçe» centers with population below 2000 also must have their own municipalities. This group of municipalities consists of % 15 of the total number. It may be useful to make a study of them also, in order to compare their problems with other groups.

nicipality, popular pressure coming from the bottom for financial help of central authorities plays the main part.

Small municipalities have some structural features somewhat different from the big ones.

A big proportion of them are in the different stages of transition from village administration (muhtarlık) to municipal administration. Some of the functions of muhtarlıks have already been transferred to municipalities, but some not being performed by either of them are suspended. According to 1963 figures of 1087 municipalities 722 (% 69 of the total) falls 2,000-10,000 population group. This situation creates administrative problems. For instance, in some situations mayor ise forced to act and use his office like a «muhtar», (Headman) and in some situations muhtar is confused as to which one of his duties to perform.

It usually takes a long time for a newly formed municipality to acquire a full-pledged organizational status. Its administrative organization, not being fully developed, lacks all the necessary organs. Therefore, becomes practically impossible sometimes to assign definite, clear-cut duties to functionaries. There is always over lapping in functions, that is, in addition to their own, personnel have to perform duties which should belong to others. However, despite this, it is surprising to see that some of these small municipalities carry out their work rather smoothly.

There is another point that should also be mentioned.

Allocations assigned from the central revenues and various other assistance to this group of municipalities cause inertia on the part of people.

Citizen's local participation to local services is considerably reduced. People are inclined to form habits of expecting everything from the municipality and the municipality from the central government. Thus local initiative suffers a lot, at the beginning stage and if not reoriented community development eventually disappears completely.

The Problem

The Municipal Law does not differentiate between the small and the big municipalities even though socio-economic conditions, needs and potentialities of the two are not the same. This being the case, the status of small municipalities needs to be reconside-

red. Adoption of new criteria in the formation of municipalities, can be expected to restrict their number to certain extent. In the memorandum of the current Village Law, three separate laws -for small, medium and big cities- were proposed in 1924, forty-four years ago. But this proposal was not put into effect.

According to the present Law, the only difference between small and large municipalities can be seen in the article concerning the application of the principle of allocation of functions proportionate to the income. But in course of time with the depreciation of the purchasing power of money this principle has lost its significance.

The Objective of the Study

The purpose of this study is to show how a small municipality is formed, developed, and what are some of the basic problems that it faces.

The study also aims at realizing the following objectives which need a brief explanation :

What are the important experiences a small municipality go through before it becomes an established entity.

When a village acquires the status of a municipality some changes take place in its administrative life as we already have indicated. Community with such a status first experiences disbalance in relations within its own organization and with outside connections.

Weakening of local initiative diminishing citizen's local participation and over dependency on the central authorities and resources may be taken to indicate disorganization of the old order of solidarity.

Furthermore, as a practical objective we want to know the common practical problems of small municipalities and if possible, suggest measures for their solution.

Scope and the Method

The method followed in this study consists of :

- 1) Written documents,
- 2) Extensive field observations and

3) Concentrated monographic study of Hasanoğlan cummunity.

Although Hasanoğlan may be considered as a favoured community due to the Teacher's College, nevertheless being a small community represents the basic features and problems of the municipalities falling into this group.

In this monographic study of Hasanoğlan a dramatic account of small municipality with its various phases of formation, developments, aspirations, drawacks are described from observations and personal contacts with prominent and ordinary people of the village.

II

Municipality of Hasanoğlan

The Setting

The Municipality and its Environment :

In the province of Ankara there are 29 municipalities out of which 11 are situated in villages, Hasanoğlan is among these eleven.

According to 1935 census figures the population of Hasanoğlan was 1230, in 1965 it has reached 3600 including 1200 in the Teachers' College.

The village is located 34 km. Nourthwest of Ankara, a city of 900,000 inhabitants. Hasanoğlan has close connections with the city.

Every day two local trains coming from opposite directions stop at the village railway station. Village bus has two round trip to Ankara daily. Besides these, state and private transportation services running frequently between Ankara and Elmadağ are also available to the villagers. Thanks to these facilities 150 household heads commute to Ankara everyday. These people have their jobs in the city, but they live in the village, doing some agricultural work whenever they are free.

Economically and sociologically speaking Hasanoğlan is closely connected to Ankara, but since 1958 it is atatched to Elmadağ administratively, in opposite direction, 8 km. to its east. Villagers

complain of this awkward situation and want to be attached again to their old «ilçe», Çankaya, in Ankara city.

From sociological point of view Hasanoğlan is a community in the process of becoming a small town. The indications of this process are the rapid changes that are taking place e.g., physical environment, differentiation of economic activities, increases in the family income, coming from sources other than agriculture, new village services unknown to traditional villages. In this rapid change of the occupational structure, the influence of Teachers College, founded in 1940 as a Village Institute has been unique and very effective (1). One of its most striking examples is the fact that Hasanoğlan could not have acquired its municipal status in 1952 without material (population) and moral help of this institution.

Another benefit that the village gets from the Teachers' College the 1200 extra shares which it receives from the central government in grant on per capita basis. In addition, municipality levies local taxes for adjudications, electricity, property etc.

A Brief History :

The first legal requirement in the formation of a municipality, as already indicated, is the size of population. But this does not mean that every community can become a municipality as soon as it reaches the required size, provided that a majority of the inhabitants in the community must want and decide to have it through a referendum.

A community generally wants to acquire the status of municipality in order to get rid of «salma», the local tax, and to be able to receive revenues and other benefits from the central resources. If these are realized the community may want to have plentiful and clean drinking water, electricity, town planning and some other services usually, impossible to obtain in small villages.

In Hasanoğlan the beginning of a popular desire to have a municipality goes as back as war years (1940-45), when basic commodities were on ration, only in places where union of villages

(1) İbrahim YASA, **Hasanoğlan : Socio-economic Structure of Turkish Village**, Public Administration Institute for Turkey and the Middle East, Ankara, 1957.

(Birlik) and municipalities existed. During those days basic commodities could not have been obtained from the free market (*).

Hasanoğlan together with some neighbouring villages first thought of forming a union, but they could not realize it.

After the war coke, fuel began to be distributed to households in places where municipalities existed. The villages could not get this benefit although they were paying for it to the city people.

In view of these bitter experiences and seeing advantages of a municipality, as soon as Hasanoğlan's population reached its legal size they applied for it.

In 1952, the first initiative came from the notables (eşraf) of the village, among whom the first mayor, his old and new accountants and four others met regularly in turn in houses for several months and discussed the matter.

Some people in the village were reluctant to the idea. Their objection rested on the belief that «if a municipality was formed they would be obliged to dig dirt, make bricks», and if they threw ashes and garbage out, they would be fined». These objections were met by other people, «on the contrary, if we had a municipality, we would get rid of «salma» and «imece» imam's (priest) salary, watchmen's fees ... we would not have a village budget anymore».

The muhtar and some of the members of the village council were enthusiastic and they were even getting ready to prepare list for the contemplated election. In June 1952 a plebisit was carried out, the majority of the eligible voters participated in. At the end of the election, one of the leaders of this cause was chosen as mayor and several others his council members. Thus, the village notables who previously had the political power in their possession, but preferred not to use it openly and accustomed to play their roles behind the scene (**), pushing «muhtar»s and the council members ahead whenever they found it necessary, now come out in the open and acted accordingly as real rulers of the community.

(*) Commodities such as bread, butter, olive oil, sugar, kerosen, soap, clothes, et ...

(**) For instance, these people run for «muhtarlık» and became «muhtars» in the history of the villages.

Municipality Today :

The municipality of Hasanoglan now occupies a well kept building constructed in 1934 by the collective labor of the villagers as People's Reading Room as well as muhtar's office. Surrounded by stone garden walls, the municipality is an attractive construction by village standards. Its front door is always kept closed, but not locked. By pulling a string, it can be opened and any body can get in without hesitation.

At the entrance, at the right corner, the room of municipal police and doorman is situated. Opposite to it there is a W. C. account's and mayor's rooms face entrance door. Excepting the W. C. all these rooms are always open. Any villager without a previous appointment or notice can get in and while pursuing his business can chat with the officials.

In mayor's room, there are two plain armchairs when the council members meet. The size of room is 3 by 3.5 meters.

In the room there is only enough space to put things in, such as books, radio, some plans. Windows are ornamented with flower pots.

The mayor has a revolving chair, behind which Atatürk's portrait hangs right above his head. He faces a window through which he can see the garden and plants of the village.

The accountant and the electrician occupy the room in the middle, in which there are three tables, several Steel cabinets, a safe-case, and a few plain chairs for the clientele to sit on.

Of the two tables, one account's, and the other electrician's. The third table is used to put on two typing machines and pile up files and papers that have no immediate use. The two small and colorless cabinets left over from the muhtarlık complete the list of the office equipment.

Side by side with modern and old office, equipments, a hundred year olds safe-case bought for 1400 «liras» from an auction house stays as a historical relict.

The peculiarity of this antique is that it cannot be locked or unlocked unless two keys, one account's, the other in the electricians. The safe-case painted in brown color has a wooden appearance which makes it look somewhat out of this decor.

Municipality besides this building and the equipment in, it has a horse-cart for carrying garbage and a minibus and is likely to get a station wagon from the agricultural department of the province.

Organs :

M. E. was elected as the first mayor in 1953 and held that office until 1960. After the revolution of May 27, 1960, for six months an army officer, a captain, was appointed to this post. The accountant of the Teachers' College succeeded him, and served for about two years. In 1963, following the elections, the first mayor was reelected.

The two appointed mayors undertook the completion of some long term projects already in force such as setting up electric poles, bringing water, constructing bridges and to a great extent succeeded in their undertaking.

Before 1960 the mayor was elected by municipal council. The election of the same person as the mayor by the people themselves shows that he (in fact his family) had a well established prestige and political influence, long before the foundation of the municipality.

The municipal council consists of 12 members. Before the May 27, 1960 revolution, the membership was shared between the Democratic and the People's Republican Parties. In 1953 and 1955 elections, the people's Republican Party was represented only by one member. By the adoption of proportional representation system in 1963, it could have four members. This is not because of this party's increasing votes, but it is as the result of the abolition of the majority system. The Justice Party, of which the mayor is a member, has replaced the legally abolished Democratic Party, and is represented by two third of the members. By the same reason, the two elected members of the municipal committee came from the same party.

The municipal committee meets once a week on Friday afternoons in mayor's office. Membership in the committee carries an annual remuneration T.L. 1400. The accountant participates in the meetings as rapporteur. In the meetings conversation among the members goes on rather formal. Members may keep on their coats, be shaved, act a little stiff, but in very rare occasions wear neckties.

We had a chance of attending a meeting in which a pasture crop belonging to the municipality was put on auction. There were two persons who wanted to buy the crop. Just before the auction started, some whispering took place and afterward, one of the applicants declared his withdrawal. This would be a pretended withdrawal on behalf of his friend. When the auction was opened by the chairman, the applicant was requested to pay TL. 50 (5 \$) as a deposit. The auction went on informally in an atmosphere of neighbourliness: Municipal Committee asked for TL. 200 (20 \$) for the crop.

The remaining bidder found the price rather high by saying that the yield was not good this year. One of the committee members answered him by stating that in his opinion crop was not so bad and that he himself would have bought it if he was not a member of the committee. Eventually the auction was settled on T.L. 125 (12,5 \$). The head of the Committee wished the buyer good will (*hayırlı olsun.*) The electrician acting as treasurer filled a slip of TL. 125; handed it to the bidder and got the money there right on the spot. The bidder, then, in accordance with the old village custom ordered coffee for everybody including us, attending the meeting, to show his satisfaction in this transaction.

Functionaries :

The municipality has four permanent officials; accountant, electrician, the municipal policeman and janitor (doorman). None of them is a specialist in his domain of activity; none of them has only a single duty to perform. Electrician besides his own perform duties of a treasurer, a tax-collector, a clerck. The accountant carries out functions of a wedding official, a chief-clerck, a rapporteur in the meetings of the municipal council. The municipal policeman works also for the Union for the Protection of Farmers' Properties. The janitor is at the same time a scavenger and a public crier.

Between the accountant and the electrician no clear-cut division of labor exists; jobs are not defined. Whoever is not occupied takes care of anything that comes along. There is as if a gentleman's agreement between the two. Since no secretary is available everyone does his own typing. The relations of these officials between themselves and the public are informal; almost all the time face to face.

The technician, who lives in Ankara, carries out his duties honorarily. Whenever needed, he is called upon. In this connection it

must be pointed out that all these people are the natives of Hasan-oğlan; all had their schooling in the village, were brought up and raised there. None of them has professional training; they are all auto-didactes. Whatever they know about their arts, they have learned it by doing, by hit and miss procedure.

Finance :

Before the municipality, for the village services, on the average, T.L. 6000-8000 was spent annually. Half of the revenues was collected by «salma», (a local tax), one third in the form of obligatory manual work (imece). Expenditures on the needs of the school consumed the main portion of the revenue. The rest went to health-social assistance, wages of muhtar and village personnel, public works, and the other services.

The budget of Hasan-oğlan at that time differed from the other villages in that the highest proportion of the revenue went to educational and cultural activities, not to administrative and personnel expenses. This is a very significant point as it shows village attitude toward formal education.

The municipality budget of the first year (1953), was twice as much of the previous years. From that date up to present the budget has increased from T.L. 12,550 to T.L. 135,000, ten times higher than that of 1953.

Today the grant from central sources and provincial government (il özel idaresi) make up % 70 of the municipal revenues, only % 10 is obtained from the local taxes, % 7 from lighting, cleaning and public crying (tellallık).

Fees obtained from the sale of electricity, railroad tickets, telephone subscription and conversation all add up to % 5 of the total revenue.

The highest proportion of the expenditure goes to personnel expenses and it reaches % 30, the highest limit allowed by the law. If administrative and other miscellaneous expenses are added to this amount the proportion goes up to % 40. Of the remainder % 23 goes to maintenance, % 7 to of primary education and İller Bankası, and % 30 to services.

When the final accounts of the budget of the period 1953 to 1965 are reviewed it is seen that big proportions of the estimated incomes have been collected, but the expenditures contemplated

on the contrary, have not been made, the fact is that all of the important projects have been realized either by donations or by borrowings. As a result of this policy municipality, expecting administrative and personnel expenses, did not spend much money on other services.

The mayor realizing this said that some of the savings in the future will be used in constructing buildings such as a bazaar and a public meeting parlour.

The municipality is very much dependent on the central authorities on the subject of securing revenues and knows of the ways of securing it. The municipality also knows very well how to handle a situation to its advantage. Auctions carried on in Teachers' College now, could have been done in Ankara, and to the advantage of this institution. But municipality has a share in the auctions it performed within the borders of its domain; now 4 percent of municipal revenues comes from this source. Again soldiers' families are encouraged to register and get their monthly allowances (T.L. 140), from Ankara Municipality. By this way Hasanođlan Municipality saves T.L. 17 every month from each family. Since military service is a compulsory duty for men this is not a very high but a permanent source of income for the municipality.

Electricity, water and bus enterprise have separate budgets. Administratively they are autonomous. In the budget of municipality there is no indication whether they have been gaining or losing.

Project That Have Been Realized :

1. Electricity

Electricity is taken to the Village through a central transformer, located in Elmadađ, from high voltage lines and after being lowered distributed to subscribers.

This enterprise with very low operational expenditures cost 1.000.000, of which % 60 of the credit was the Agricultural Bank as against the shares on the guarantee of the Provincial Bank.

In obtaining this credit, several factors had their separate influences, such as Teachers' College, Housing Cooperative, but most of all politics.

The % 40 of the remaining cost was met by NATO installations and State Farm of Lalahan.

In 1962 this installation began to operate, subscriptions among the village families along steadily increased as can be seen below :

Table : 1

Electricity Subscribers (Families)

Increases in Subscriptions (Village Families Only)		
Years	Subscriptions	Annual Consumption Klw/h
1961	105	112.740
1962	170	149.372
1963	220	151.923
1964	265	798.431
1965	313	234.195
1966 (June)	330	62.260

In five years the number of subscribers doubled. Now in the village there are very few families without electricity. These families are either very poor or do not want to spend money on it as they expect to change to their household living. There is a noticeable increase in the consumption of electricity also as figures show. Electricity is used generally for lightening. Families use electricity also for ironing and radios. There are only two subscribers who benefit from electricity in industry, one flower-mill man using 22 k.w. and the other baker, consuming 8 k.w. daily. To these two % 20 reduced tariff is applied.

The electricity used by subscribers varies between 3-50 k.w. monthly. Among the high consumers are the accountant, electrician and teachers, who are better educated and have reasonably higher standard of living.

Whether they use it or not subscribers are obliged to pay 10 k. w.'s charge, T.L. 5 monthly. About one-tenth of the subscribers consume either ten or less k.w. electricity every month. This consuming behavior is related to the size and the income of the family.

One k.w of electricity costs -lost one the way not included- the municipality 17 «kuruş»s, it is sold for 38 «kuruş»s. Taxes included, subscriber pays 44 «kuruş»s per k.w. The same tariffs applied to the Teachers' College. The Ministry of Industry's fixed price is 90 »kuruş»s for official buildings; 19 «kuruş»s for indust-

rial enterprises, and 60 «kuruş»s for domestic use Municipality charges lower rates than these official figures.

2. Drinking Water :

The water, previously distributed to different quarters of the village through public fountains was not very clean and plentiful. It was decided to improve the old water pipes, and increase the amount of water. Hasanoğlan's population at that time having exceeded 3000 was not entitled to receive any help from the State Water Supply Administration, instead, could ask for credit from the Provincial Bank. But some how, Hasanoğlan managed to get its water project accepted by This administration.

In order to carry out the enterprise a fund amounting to T.L. 880.000 was needed. T.L. 349.000 of this amount was Jointly secured by the Teachers' College and the Municipality and the State Water Supply Administration gave priority to the project and has completed it. In the near future when the installation of electricity pooles is completed water will be pumped and the village, with 13 new public fountains will have more water than needed.

3. Sweage Disposal :

Although a previously prepared canalization project was lost and a new one was not made, never - the - less Hasanoğlan people has-succeeded in having a sweage disposal system which many cities lack. The fund necessary for the completion of this project was secured from the Provincial Bank. In the construction of this canal no body participated. The people were asked only to dig their own ditches from houses to the main canals. Nine sewer tubes consisting of 13 km. stratches in and around the village, 700 meters of which was contrsructed by Yeni Mahalle Housing Cooperative, joining Hasanoğlan.

4. Bus Service

In 1955 Hasanoğlan bought an used bus holding 35 people and after having repaired its body put it in service between the village and Ankara. The bus having been amortised long ago is now a source of revenue to the municipality. It is run by a driver who is also the ticketman, salaried T.L. 450 a month. A round trip fare is T.L. 300. One way fare of T.L. 1.50 to go and T.L. 1.75 to come is charged for each person. No heavy loads are allowed to be taken on the bus.

Although much more expensive than the train fares some villagers prefer to travel on the bus. T.L. 3200 worth of tickets are sold every month.

The Trust System :

The municipality in constructing new buildings or putting in use new services resort to «Trust» (self-supervised) system instead of letting the construction to contractors. By this system the cost of construction is reduced a great deal, buildings are built, stronger, quicker and with better quality of materials. For instance, two bridges with an estimated cost of T.L. 39,000 were constructed for T.L. 11,000 by this system. But the municipality people find the top limit allowed by the law -T.L. 30,000- for this system as too low. For instance, the construction of a contemplated new building is estimated to cost T.L. 100,000, whereas the mayor is of the opinion that this building may be constructed for only T.L. 50,000. Although it may be possible to divide big sums into pieces less than T.L. 30,000 and carry on the construction piece by piece, this is a time consuming procedure which causes a lot of gossip among the people. In addition to the above indicated advantages «Trust» system encourages citizen participation in community affairs. Here, since no third person like a contractor has to make a profit, people end to contribute money or services and take up the enterprise more seriously.

In small communities where plenty of labor supply exists this system may be useful, but in order to fully encourage it the law related to it must be amended.

Citizen's Participation (Contribution)

Citizen's participation in local affairs can be grouped into two categories; financial and political.

Political participation begins by participating in the elections and ends when elections end. With the exception of some common personal complaints ordinary citizen is not much concerned with municipal affairs.

The place of the Village Assembly, the embodiment of direct democracy is replaced by the representative democracy as represented in the authority and responsibility of the mayor and the municipal council.

In the village, people's financial contribution is very limited. After getting rid of the «salma» the people do not pay directly any

substantial tax to the municipality, with the exception of lighting and cleaning fees. People who benefit from the services pay only small fees. The participation of the people in installation or construction cost of the services have not been indicated in Hasanoglan budget. Only in the budget of 1965, a sum of T.L. 10 is shown for water, roads and canal installation. The mayor explained why it was like this, «we did not have participation shares in the budget in order not scare people. In sweage disposal problem we are getting good results as people dig their own ditches and join them to the main canals.»

İmece (Collective Labor)

«İmece» is a form of collective labor for the fulfilment of a local scheme of common benefit by the eople. «İmece» has been provided in the village Law as a way to accomplish things collectively. Although the municipality law lays down that people should countribute financially in carrying out certain services, made no provision concerning participation by labor.

Before the municipality various village enterprises were realized by «imece» in Hasanoglan (2). Since, especially in the earlier years, no drastic and sudden changes took place in the village, the disappearance of «imece» is closely related to the existence of municipality. It is obvious that after the formation of municipality this traditional institution was pushed aside and had become an unwanted practice.

The realization of some village schemes by collective labor «imece» even after the formation of municipality has drawn the attention of some foreign writers, too. But now this tradition has been completely lost for all practical purposes. According to the mayor, «in a small municipality many things may be accomplished by «imece» cheaper, better and faster if you can get people together».

As the mayor's quotation shows in community development projects in small places «imece» may be one way of solving problems; if this doesn't work grants-in-aid may be tried. (3).

(2) YASA, *Ibid*, p. 31 and sce also chapter X on Village administration.

(3) Cevat Geray, **Toplum Kalkınması, Deneme Çalışmaları: Bünyan Örneği** (Pilot Activities in Community Development: the Case of Bunyan), Ankara, 1967, P. 107-8.

From Muhtarlık to Municipality :

In Hasanoglan passing of «muhtarlık» to municipality is not as yet completed, speaking sociologically. Some of the functions of «muhtarlık» are suspended, continuing. The municipality is still considered by the people something similar to old «muhtar»'s (headmen's) office, where people can go whenever they feel like. In judicial complaints the people first sees the mayor. For instance, nine partners of a tractor having a dispute how to run their business resorted to the mayor to solve it.

Then other tasks left over from «muhtarlık» to municipality must be taken care of. Recently a sewing and tailoring course was going to be opened, municipality was requested to provide a place, light and other equipments. The shepherds are also hired according to old customs.

The Union for the Protection of Farmers' Property not having its own budget and personnel has also transferred its responsibility to the municipality. For this service, fines levied for animals damaging crops are pooled with municipality's own fines in the budget and are being used for the maintenance of this service. The salaries of watchmen and field-guards' pays are provided by farmers either in kind or in cash by distributing a «salma» among the families.

With the formation of the municipality the «village muhtar» has been substituted with a «neighbourhood muhtar».

His main duties center around several things, e.g. to give cadastral and residential documents, to register births and deaths.

Our observations and the interviews clearly show that the present «muhtar» has a function as a representative between the people and municipal authorities. People for personal problems go straight to the municipality, but if a matter concerns people collectively the muhtar functions as an emissary between the two.

Conclusions and Recommendations :

As it is indicated in the introductory part of this paper, the descriptive observations that were used as hypotheses have been to a large extent ascertained. On the basis of these ascertainments it will be possible to formulate some tentative generalizations concerning small municipalities evolving from «muhtarlık»s into more complicated socio-administrative structures.

The study has shown the existence of small municipalities of village origin in their stages of transition serving people like fully organized, stereotype city municipalities.

Our conclusions that follow are concerned only with this group of municipalities.

1. From sociological point of view towns with population less than 10,000 are transitional places between rural and urban communities. They are in the process of passing from «muhtarlık»s to fully organized municipalities. These places not yet adequately organized, cannot be considered real cities. Most of them are continuations of villages or «muhtarlık»s. The people expect the municipality to look after them. In case of legal and administrative problems they resort to it. Duties like protecting farmers' properties although legally out of its scope of responsibility have been taken up by the municipality.

2. The organization of small municipalities is inadequately developed to perform functions which are legally required of them. No differentiation of duties and authority exist among the personnel, division of labor is very restricted.

3. The activities of small municipalities have been oriented towards social overheads which could be achieved by central resources. Though, these services been rendered by the municipality, some of these could have been rendered efficiently by the central government units, even without a municipal status being given to these villages.

4. Small municipalities depend upon the central aids to a great extent like Hasanoğlan. The shares distributed by central authorities together with aids from provincial government make up % 73 of revenues of small municipalities.

5. Some of the main motivations in the formation of a municipality are getting rid of «salma», «imece»; the main resources in cash and in labor of a village body, to get large assistance from central resource.

6. Very strong dependency on central authorities has weakened the Local initiative and participation in the village affairs. Before the formation of the municipality the local people were in the habit of realizing things collectively now they expect practically everything from the central government. Even the legal obligati-

ons of participation in village public works enterprises are not taken seriously anymore.

In addition to certain activities, like Teachers' College, created and run by the central government, in these small communities by giving a municipal status and by allocating central resources to them, a category of more favoured village communities has been created getting benefits denied to others. This is sheer injustice, unless it is related to the application of a country wide settlement policy of creating regional rural centers.

Recommendations :

In the light of the above conclusions, the following recommendations can be made :

1. The newly formed municipalities together with those in transitional stages must be subjected to different statuses. The Municipal Law does not make any distinction between the two. Forty years ago, in the memorandum of the Village Law the need for separate laws for different sizes of municipalities, such as small, middle and big city municipalities, has been mentioned. Later, instead of three separate laws only, one municipal Law was introduced, in addition to Village Law.

2. The formation of a municipality should not be allowed without developing local resources, with the exception, of those where the realization of specific policies, for instance, settlement policy, deems it necessary . The criterion of 2,000 population for the creation of municipality must be raised.

3. The special conditions of transitional municipalities must be thoroughly studied with the purpose of encouraging local initiative, citizen's participation and getting rid of blinding politics. The possibilities of applying community development method to small municipalities, as process based on local felt-needs and voluntary effort aided by the government, must be searched for. Small municipalities must take their proper place in the community development programmes drawn and carried out through «ilçe» which is accepted as the administrative unit for this purpose. (4)

(4) Cevat Geray, "«İlçe» as a Unit for planning and execution of Community Development in Turkey" Reprinted from «Papers : Eight Seminar on Housing and Planning», Ankara, 1964.

4. The list of duties indicated in the Municipal Law must be replaced by more flexible principles allowing for projects based on felt-needs and local conditions. Thus, projects aimed at economic development should be encouraged. The participation of the people in these projects should be maintained, and aided by technical and financial sources of the central authorities.

5. All the personnel of small municipalities must be subjected to special in-service training. A special professional training should be given to those who choose this field, and therefore a training institute for local government officials is necessary. Both in-and-pre-service training should not only deal with municipal Law and legal procedures, but other technical and human aspects of the profession must also be emphasized.