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EVOLUTION AND POLITICAL INSTRUMENTALIZATION OF ADJACENT AREA REGULATION IN TURKEY AS A PRIMITIVE FORM OF ANNEXATION PRACTICE

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The aim of this study is to shed some light on the historical evolution of the implementation of the adjacent area regulation in Turkey as a form of annexation practice with particular reference to both its role as a tool of party politics and the struggle between different levels of local government units, and also the inherent tension between the legislative and political processes. What is particularly evident from this study is that adjacent areas as a primitive form of annexation practice have been an active arena of party politics leading to instrumentalization of the regulation concerned beyond its elaborative technical purpose.

INTRODUCTION

Following the enacment of the Constitution of 1982, for the first time in Turkey, the establishment of special administrations required for the planning and government of large urban areas has been permitted in accordance with the Article 127 of the Constitution. As Keleş (1987, 102) remarks, Article 127 was actually "a response to the need" that had been experienced since the 1960s to have special administrations for the metropolitan areas. In the subsequent years, the first greater municipalities were established in compliance with the laws put into practice after the Constitution of 1982. Consequently, following the foundation of the new government in 1983, Law no. 2972 put into force on January 1984 for "Local Elections paved the way for the formation of a metropolitan council in any province which had more than one district within central municipal boundaries, and of district municipal councils in districts" (Keleş, 1987, 102). Only İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir fitted into the above circumstances in 1984.

Subsequently, the Greater Municipality Law (Law no. 3030) was put into force in 1984 in order to create a special administration model for the metropolitan cities in Turkey. Nevertheless, as the Greater Municipality Law was only applicable to the larger cities attaining the greater municipality

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status, for the administration and planning of the middle sized cities or urban conurbations other regulations such as the local government unions have been used for the achievement of socio-spatial unity required for the planning and administration of the respective areas (Beyhan, 2014). In addition to the local government unions, as Genç and Özgür (2008), and Beyhan (2014) remark, adjacent area regulation has also been actively employed in Turkey for both planning and administration of the middle sized and fast growing cities.

Adjacent area actually emerged as a planning concept in Turkey. Basically, it refers to the expansion of the planning boundaries of the municipality concerned. Beginning from the early years onwards, the applications made by the municipalities for the adjacent areas have been assessed by employing a spatial planning perspective requiring the production of a map illustrating the growth direction and boundaries of the adjacent areas of the respective municipality by considering the all findings, justifications, objectives and requests of the municipalities (Tekinbaş, 2001, 57-8). If the neighbouring areas of a municipality or the areas critical for the sustainability of certain resources required by a municipality is declared as the adjacent area of the respective municipality, the development of the areas concerned is planned and controlled by the municipality concerned. Similar practices are observed in other developed countries under different namings. These practices differentiate from regular annexations regulations in terms of their basic characteristics. In this respect, the concept of urban growth boundary (UGB) employed in the US has much in common with the concept of adjacent area in Turkey. An UGB delineates "where urban development may take place (inside the UGB) and where it may not (outside the UGB)" (Nelson and Moore, 1993, 294)(**1**).

It should be emphasized that Law no. 3030 (the old Greater Municipality Law) in Turkey involved no consideration devoted to the expansion of boundaries of the greater municipalities in terms of either enlargement of municipal boundaries or declaration of neighboring areas as adjacent areas for the respective municipalities. Due to the problems associated with the uncertainties embedded in the Law no. 3030, the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement (currently the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization) had issued a regulation on the implementation of Law no. 3030 that was also followed by some circulars among which the one no. 2657-17587 issued by the Ministry on 25.12.1995 clarified the issues pertaining to the approval of the adjacent areas for greater municipalities. In spite of these regulations, the problems associated with the expansion of boundaries of the greater municipalities in terms of either enlargement of municipal boundaries or declaration of neighboring areas as adjacent areas could not be prevented until the recent years that witnessed the introduction of new laws for the establishment and administration of greater municipalities.

There is no doubt that adjacent area regulation has been actively employed for the control of the urban growth experienced around the fringes of the large cities in Turkey. After the 2nd World War increasing car ownership combined with the speculative activities of some actors in real estate market has led to the sprawl of the metropolitan cities in many countries in the form of either planned suburban development or informal housing developments such as squatter houses. Thus, in many respects urban sprawl is an evitable consequence of rapid urban development (Beyhan et al., 2012), and planners both in developed and developing countries have developed, as noted above, certain tools such as adjacent area regulation in Turkey and UGB in

1. In the USA, the concept of UGB "originated out of the efforts to manage growth and preserve prime farmlands in the Salem metropolitan area during the early 1970s" (Nelson and Moore, 1993, 294). In the US, "only land inside a UGB can be converted to urban use before a specified date; land outside a UGB is preserved for nonurban use until after the same specified date" (Knaap, 1985, 26). It is important to note that some of the studies on UGB in the US focuses on the changes in property values caused by the implementation of UGB in the cities concerned. In this respect, Knaap (1985, 31) finds that "urban land is higher valued than nonurban land; nonurban land inside a growth boundary is higher valued than nonurban land outside a growth boundary". With reference to the previous researches focusing on urban growth boundary policy, Beaton (1991, 173) also notes that "non-urban land within the boundary is more highly valued than non-urban land outside the boundary". Assuming that the role played by the development controls "in the price determination process is one of reducing the uncertainty regarding the future characteristics of the neighborhood or region in which the parcel is located", Beaton (1991, 175, 190) concludes that not only the imposition of regional growth controls but also the anticipation of the new growth controls affect "real estate markets both within and near the area directly experiencing the controls".

the US to guide the growth of the city in a planned manner. As Moe (1995, 9) remarks, in the US "[s]ome states have recognized the need for some form of statewide or regional land-use planning mechanism" as exemplified in the innovative "urban growth boundary" legislation. Daniels (2001, 232) argues that with the introduction of UGB that can be expanded parallel to population growth and development needs, some of the local governments in the US "have replaced unplanned sprawl with *phased growth*"(**2**).

Subsequent to the Law no. 3030 and the problems experienced in the implementation of adjacent area regulation in Turkey, in recent years the boundaries of metropolitan regions in Turkey have been extended by introducing several new laws. The first one, the Greater Municipality Law put into practice in 2004, delineates the geographical extent of a metropolitan area in the form of concentric zones defined according to the population it currently accommodates. With the introduction of the respective law (Law no. 5216), the boundaries of İstanbul and Kocaeli Greater Municipalities have been set as the provincial boundaries in which the municipalities are located. For other greater municipalities with a population of at least 750,000, the boundaries have been delimited by drawing a circle around the existing governorship building with a radius whose length is determined according to the population they currently have (**3**). In line with the law, the corporate status of the villages located inside the area defined by the law have been abolished and annexed to the neighboring greater municipalities (**4**).

The second important law (Law no. 6360)(**5**) that was put into practice in 2012 has set the boundaries of 14 existing greater municipalities in Turkey as the provincial boundaries in which the municipalities are located, and also established 14 new greater municipalities (**Figure 1**)(**6**). With the introduction of the Law no. 6360, the boundaries of greater municipalities of Adana, Ankara, Antalya, Bursa, Diyarbakır, Eskişehir, Erzurum, Gaziantep, İzmir, Kayseri, Konya, Mersin, Sakarya and Samsun have been extended to the boundaries of the respective provinces, and 14 new greater municipalities have been established in Aydın, Balıkesir, Denizli, Hatay, Malatya, Manisa, Kahramanmaraş, Mardin, Muğla, Ordu, Tekirdağ, Trabzon, Şanlıurfa and Van by delimiting the boundaries of the respective municipalities with the provincial boundaries. This practice of the central government that seems to be imprinted with some sort of gerrymandering purposes inevitably triggered the discussions about the fact that whether or not the law has been introduced to increase the pool of voters for the

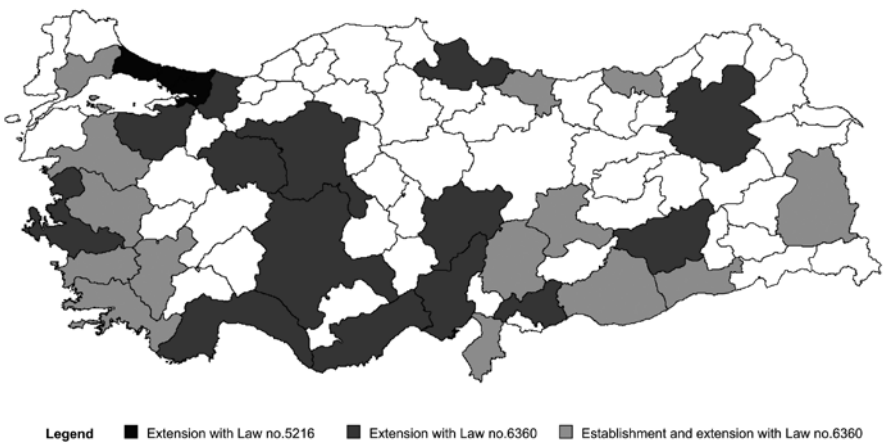

Figure 1. Extension and establishment of the greater municipalities in Turkey.

2. In their study on the problems of urban sprawl in connection with the evidence on whether and to what extent development inside UCBs of three Oregon communities is contiguous or dispersed, Weitz and Moore (1998, 424) also conclude that "recent development inside UGBs tends to be contiguous to the urban core rather than dispersed".

3. Accordingly, the radius for cities having a population of less than 1 million, between 1 million and 2 million, and more than 2 million was accepted respectively as 20 km, 30 km, and 50 km.

4. The only exception to this was the forest villages. According to the law, forest villages located within the area defined by the law would sustain their corporate status as villages. Nevertheless, they would be part of the adjacent area of the greater municipality in which they are located.

5. "On Dört İlde Büyükşehir Belediyesi ve Yirmi Yedi İlçe Kurulması ile Bazı Kanun ve Kanun Hükmünde Kararnamelerde Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Kanun" [Law Pertaining to the Establishment of the Greater Municipalities and 27 Districts in 14 Provinces, and the Changes in Some Laws and Decrees].

6. It should be noted that in accordance with the Law no. 6360, some of the articles of the respective law (such as the transfer of the estates owned by the town municipalities to the greater municipalities and district municipalities) could only be put into force after the last local elections held in Turkey in 2014. Since the boundaries of the greater municipalities are designated as the provincial boundaries in the law, the adjacent area regulation became useless for the greater municipalities.

political party in power in terms of appropriation of political rent. To a certain extent, the recent elections for local governments confirm the validity of the respective discussions. There is no doubt that changes introduced for seemingly administrative purposes have extensive consequences regarding political participation, local finance, service provision and social relationships.

Compared with the new Greater Municipality Law, Law no. 6360 and the previous Municipality Law (Law no. 1580 dated 14.04.1930), Law no. 5393 (the new Municipality Law dated 03.07.2005), regulating the issues regarding the administration of other municipalities, seems to be more successful and coherent in the delimitation of municipal boundaries. In the law it is stated that the minimum population required to establish a municipality is 5,000 and it should be located at least 5 km away from existing municipalities, which actually, to a certain extent, prevents the uncoordinated administration and planning of conurbations. The fact that until the recent laws the population threshold required to establish a municipality in Turkey was very low (only 2,000) facilitated the proliferation of small town municipalities, particularly within the metropolitan areas and along the coastal areas of the country, where speculation on urban land is very high owing to the rent expectations. Indeed, it is notable that although the number of municipalities serving as the center of a province or district in Turkey has increased from 652 in 1984 to 950 in 1999, the number of town municipalities increased from 1,052 in 1984 to 2,265 in 1999 (Akdede and Acartürk, 2005, 9). As Akdede and Acartürk (2005, 9) argue, there is no doubt that this increase owes very much to the political atmosphere of the time, not to the economic considerations that dictate a reverse practice. Especially, the promises given by politicians during their election campaign were one of the factors that accounts for this dramatic increase in the number of local governments in Turkey.

With the introduction of Law no. 5747 (dated 06.03.2008) on "Establishing Districts within Boundaries of Metropolitan Municipalities and Amending Various Laws", the legal personality of a number of town municipalities that do not meet the minimum population criterion of 2,000 people was abolished, and they became either villages (or neighborhoods of other municipalities) or constituted new municipalities together with other municipalities. According to the law, the legal personality of those municipalities would continue to exist until the subsequent local elections that were held in 2009. Accordingly, 283 first-degree municipalities were abolished and 25 municipalities were amalgamated with the nearby municipalities. As a result of the implementation of the law, after the local elections in 2009, the number of municipalities would decrease from 3,225 (in 2007) to 2,105 (**7**).

Nevertheless, on 9 April 2008 three members of parliament from the CHP (the main opposition party) made an application to the Constitutional Court of Turkey. They requested the Constitutional Court to repeal certain provisions of Law no. 5747. Subsequently, the reform introduced by the law turned into a legal crisis between the courts (Canpolat, 2010, 94-109; Bayraktar and Massicard, 2012, 43)(**8**). Consequently, after the local elections in 2009, the number of municipalities in practice decreased from 3,225 to only 2,951 (**9**) (TÜİK, 2014). However, with the introduction of Law no. 6360, the number of municipalities decreased from 2,950 to 1,394 (**10**). As it is evident from the remarks given above, until recently the establishment of new municipalities has suffered a lot from the lack of concrete and objective criteria regarding

7. 16 metropolitan municipalities, 142 district municipalities in metropolitan municipality jurisdictions, 65 provincial municipalities, 750 district municipalities and 1,132 township municipalities.

8. As Bayraktar and Massicard (2012, 43) remark, "the Constitutional Court gave its partial agreement to" the law, leaving the final decision about the town municipalities to the Council of State, and subsequently, to the Supreme Electoral Council that allowed the respective municipalities to take part in the 2009 elections, by "overruling the formal nullification of their municipal status by the government".

9. 16 metropolitan municipalities, 142 district municipalities in metropolitan municipality jurisdictions, 65 provincial municipalities, 750 district municipalities and 1,978 township municipalities.

10. 30 metropolitan municipalities, 519 district municipalities in metropolitan municipality jurisdictions, 51 provincial municipalities, 400 district municipalities and 394 township municipalities.

the establishment of new municipalities. As argued in this paper, a similar situation can still be observed in the delineation of the adjacent areas for the metropolitan regions and growing cities. The practice of adjacent area regulation in Turkey has particularly suffered from a blatant disregard for the communities living in the areas declared as adjacent areas for growing cities.

One can speak in particular of an evolutionary process for the adjacent area regulation in Turkey as a tool of struggle between different levels of local government units. On the one hand, residents of villages usually resist any proposal regarding annexation or incorporation of their territory into central (town) municipalities. On the other hand, town municipalities located within a metropolitan region inevitably threaten the areal integrity of the respective region by their own independent municipal practices. This two folding characteristics of the annexation regulations can also be easily observed in other developed countries. For example, in the US, local residents of the subject area sometimes oppose to the annexation of their territory to a central municipality and, subsequently, the establishment of larger new municipalities (Hein and Hady, 1966, 702; Blaydon and Gilford, 1977, 1059). Instead, they prefer to incorporate as a separate city.

As Baker (1927, 39) notes, although "metropolitan area might be a physical and economic unit, it does not follow that it is a social unit; and the extension of city boundaries does not always meet the approval of the adjacent communities". As remarked above, this is just typical of the difficulties experienced in the implementation of the adjacent area regulation in Turkey in terms of the famous dilemma between efficiency and democratic accountability. Foreseeing the discussion made in the UK in support of the formation of new regions for the administration and planning purposes (Clerk et al., 1942, 68), Baker (1927, 39) also notes that adjacent communities "may be as old as the larger city and as capable of giving satisfactory local government, and they may have a civic pride in their own municipalities that will not give way before the larger need of the whole region". Thus, it may be the case that "[a]nnexation of such areas seldom will bring about the desired unity of the area" (Baker, 1927, 39).

As the declaration of a neighboring area as an adjacent area in Turkey is subject to the approval of the central government, the struggle between different levels of local governments is mediated through the Ministry responsible for the approval of adjacent areas. The inevitable consequence of this mediation is the extension of party politics into a sphere which is, to a large extent, technical in nature. Accordingly, the Minister tries, on the one hand, to enlarge the adjacent areas of the municipalities whose mayors are affiliated with his or her political party, and on the other hand, to contract the adjacent areas of the municipalities whose mayors are affiliated with the opposition party (**11**). As Voets and De Rynck (2008, 456) state with particular reference to the case of city-regional issues in Flanders by referring to Dewachter (1976, cited in Voets and De Rynck, 2008) and Maes (1976, cited in Voets and De Rynck, 2008), "personal and party political motives at local and central level played an important role in the merger processes, as power bases were at stake".

At the local level, parallel to other practices and legislations regulating boundary changes, adjacent area regulation in Turkey has also become an attractive tool for mayors in their political and economic operations. For mayors it can be used not only to extend the geographical base for the tax revenues critical for the maintenance of municipal services, but also to direct the growth of the city towards the rural land owned by those supporting

11. The Minister tends to intervene in the implementation of adjacent area regulation in order to increase the pool of voters having potential to support his or her political party in both national and local elections.

both of them in local elections, and also the political party favored by them in national elections.

Hence, political instrumentalization of the adjacent area regulation is theoretically inevitable from the point of view of the powerful actors involved in the process. It is important to emphasize that such a political operation cannot be sustained without a weak regulative framework that is capable of absorbing the interventions of both mayors and the Minister. Nevertheless, a weak regulative framework also cannot be sustained in the long term without any objections from the public. It is within this context that this paper conceptualizes evolution of the implementation of adjacent area regulation in Turkey, not only as an active arena of party politics and the struggle between different levels of local government units, but also as a reflection of the inherent tension between the establishment of proper legislations and the political interventions stemming from the efforts made for the appropriation of urban and political rent.

Although political instrumentalization of annexation regulations through party politics is also widespread in other countries, except for a few studies such as the one conducted by Leland and Thurmaier (2005), one cannot find a study covering a wide range of cases of annexation or similar practices for a particular country. The majority of the studies is rather case specific and based on anecdotal evidence that cannot be generalized to other cases in a country. Based on a detailed database, in this paper the evolution and political instrumentalization of adjacent area regulation that can be regarded as a primitive (**12**) type of annexation regulation in Turkey is exposed by making use of mainly pivot tables and correspondence analysis (**13**). Beyond its focus on Turkey, it is particularly within this context that this study differentiates from other studies characterized by being case specific researches lacking any systematic comparison even within a single country.

Departing from the introductory remarks given above and focusing on the findings emerging from the analysis of the characteristics of the adjacent area approvals made by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization (formerly the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement)(**14**), in this paper firstly the evolution of the legislative framework for adjacent area practice is examined by divulging the nature of the struggle between different levels of local government units. Subsequently, the database and method of analysis employed in the paper is presented. After unveiling the synchronicity between the introduction of legal arrangements for the establishment of the Greater Municipalities and the fluctuations in the number of adjacent area approvals, the political instrumentalization of the adjacent area practice has been revealed by drawing on the databases constructed for this particular study. The last section of the paper draws on some concluding remarks by recontextualising the evolution of adjacent area practice in Turkey.

EVOLUTION OF THE LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK FOR ADJACENT AREA PRACTICE AND THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN DIFFERENT LEVELS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT UNITS IN TURKEY

The adjacent area as a planning concept first appeared in the Development Law no. 6785 put into effect in 1956. According to the 47th article of the respective law, the Ministry of Development and Housing were authorized to define and approve the adjacent areas in order to make it possible for the municipalities to plan the direction of the growth of the cities and to meet the urban land that would be needed in the future. The adjacent area

12. The concept of "primitive" is used in order to refer to the fact that compared with more established annexation regulations and practices the adjacent area regulation is an archaic and simple form of annexation regulation.

13. In many respects, adjacent area regulation in Turkey has functioned as a kind of annexation law owing to the lack of legal arrangements regulating the issues pertaining to the boundary changes required by municipal governments.

14. In 2011, some parts of the Ministry of Environment and Forestry were joined with the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement in order to form the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization.

15. In Turkey, the power to decree annexation or detachment of territory belongs to the Ministry of Interior Affairs.

16. According to the 47th article of Development Law no. 6785, the area adjoining a municipality could be declared as an adjacent area upon the proposal of municipality associated with the decision of Provincial Board of Directors and the approval of Ministry of Development and Housing.

17. See Hein and Hady (1966), and Edwards (2008, 124) for the particular case of the US.

regulation was actually introduced in Turkey basically as a tool for the control of the urban development around the fringes of the large cities majority of which have been granted greater municipality status in the subsequent years because the enlargement of the municipal boundaries through annexation or incorporation of adjacent territories was much more difficult for large cities compared with small and medium sized cities (Keleş, 1987, 98; Tekinbaş, 1992, 6-7)(**15**). Indeed, according to the 5th article of Law no. 1580 the expansion of municipal boundaries was easier for those municipalities having a population below 80,000 people compared with the ones inhabiting more population (Tekinbaş, 1992, 6). Thus, although the adjacent area regulation mainly serves as a tool to control the growth of built environment in the areas contiguous to a city, it has been traditionally used as a tool to expand the formal and legal hinterland of the large and middle-sized cities (**16**).

As it is evident from above, parallel to the annexation and similar regulations of other countries, the adjacent area practice in Turkey was invented as a technical tool for the planned growth of a region or city by preventing the fragmentation of metropolitan areas during the 1950s. Nevertheless political and economic aspirations have gained importance in the subsequent years owing to the vulnerability of low order legal arrangements to the influence of particularly party politics. As a result of these motivations it is observed that both in Turkey and other countries some criteria have been introduced in adjacent area declaration and annexation regulations (**17**). Nonetheless, party politics and economic concerns, as usual, play an important role in the process (Hamin, 2003, 373). For example, in the US Heim (2012) argues, with particular reference to the case of Phoenix, that tax revenues have been a key drive for municipalities to annex contiguous territories.

With the introduction of new clauses into the law no. 6785 in 1972 after the enactment of the the Law no. 1605, in Turkey it became possible for the municipalities to propose not only areas contigous to the municipal boundaries but also the ones non-adjacent to the boundaries of the municipality as the 'adjacent area' of the municipality. In other words, with the introduction of the respective clauses the adjacency specified in the law began to be defined not only in relation to spatial continuity but also with reference to relational-causal continuity. In fact, introduction of the respective clauses was a necessity of the confirmation of the de facto situation at that time (Meriç, 1980, 1; Tekinbaş, 1992, 7). One of the most dramatic changes was introduced into the practice of adjance area regulation when the Municipal Income Law no. 2464 had been put into effect in 1981. With the introduction of the respective law, adjacent areas became remarkable sources of income for the municipalities in terms of expansion of the base for tax revenues (Meriç, 1980, 3; Tekinbaş, 1992, 10-1; Beyhan, 2000).

According to the respective law amended with the laws no. 2589, 3048, 3074, and 3239; as Tekinbaş (1992, 9) remarks, "all the municipal taxes, most of the compulsory levies and all of the operations subject to charge can be collected in adjacent areas, too". Although Meriç (1980, 3) foresees that respective law would lead to a situation in which municipalities rush to extend their adjacent areas, and the villagers or people residing in the adjacent areas resist to this, the transformation of the adjacent area practice into a tool of the struggle between different levels of local government units could not be prevented. Actually, the Property Taxes Law no. 1319 (dated 29.07.1970) also involves measures regarding adjacent areas. According to the Property Taxes

Law no. 1319 amended with Law no. 3239 (dated 04.12.1985), the buildings and parcel of lands located in the adjacent areas are subject to building tax collected by the municipalities concerned. Thus, with the introduction of the Municipal Income Law no. 2464 and the introduction of new clauses into the Property Taxes Law no. 1319, adjacent areas became remarkable sources of income for the municipalities.

Unfortunately, the introduction of Law no. 3194 could not change this trend characterized by the extension of adjance areas of municipalities for economic and political concerns. Even with the introduction of the respective law an era of irregularity in the practice of declaration and approval of adjacent areas began in Turkey as opposed to the expectations from the respective law to regularize the issues concerned in a much more detailed context. According to the 45th article of Law no. 3194, the Ministry can take *ex-officio* decision for one area to include it to or expel it from being an adjacent area when there emerges a need, which actually gives the whole authority about the approval and declaration of the adjacent areas to the Ministry. As Tekinbaş (1992, 8) notes, compared with the previous legislation (Law no. 6785), no criteria are set in Law no. 3194 to determine adjacent areas. Additionally, although Law no. 6785 has no consideration for the exclusion of the villages from the adjacent areas, in the Law no. 3194 it is clearly stated that the removal of the villages from the adjacent area is also subject to the same procedure.

Thus, majority of the small and medium sized town municipalities has continued try to expand their adjacent areas in order to increase their tax revenues and to retain the meadows and uplands owned commonly by the villagers for the purposes of mass housing and public services (Turak, 1994, 24; Eke, 1998, 94). As Turak (1994, 24) notes, the 45th article of Law no. 3194 disregards the fact that village as an administrative unit has the right to determine the pattern of the land-use within the settlements and areas included within its formal hinterland. Participation of the villagers to the process of planning entirely depends upon the good will of the municipalities. Otherwise, they can easily be excluded from the respective process. Although the adjacent areas approved for small and medium sized town municipalities are always associated with the problems partly described above, there is no doubt that the adjacent area regulation set in the 45th article of Law no. 3194 has been one of the most important tools available for both the planning and administration of the fast growing cities by including the areas contiguous to or a functional part of them to the respective municipalities.

Nevertheless, as the incidence of adjacent area approvals becoming cases for courts to decide increased in number due to the political decisions of the Ministry in Turkey, parallel to the courts the news (Farsakoğlu 1989, 1991, 1992a, 1992b; Kardüz, 1997; Altan, 1997; Karakaş, 1998; Ekinci, 1998) about the problems associated with the adjacent area approvals appeared in the newspapers and media, which eventually led to the establishment of some criteria set by the Ministry for the proposal, approval and declaration of the adjacent areas (**18**). Consequently, from time to time the Ministry issued some circulars setting various criteria for the consecutive processes of proposal, assessment, examination, and approval of the adjacent areas. As discussed in the 4th section, based on the database compiled for this study, one can easily draw some parallels between the fluctuations observed in the number of adjacent area approvals and the introduction of new regulations for the respective practice in Turkey.

18. See the set of circulars issued by the Ministry in 1986, 1990, 1992, 1997, 1998 and 2007. Although all the circulars issued by the Ministry in different years can be downloaded from its website, the adjacent area circulars issued in 1997 and 1998 cannot be downloaded from the website because of the fact that the circular issued by the Ministry on 03.02.2000 cancelled the respective circulars characterized by the establishment of strict regulations for the implementation of adjacent area regulation in Turkey.

In spite of these efforts made for the institutionalization of the adjacent area practice, the respective practice in Turkey has always become one of the important political tools for the struggle between the municipal settlements and the villages surrounding the municipalities (Beyhan, 2000). There are basically four important reasons behind the attempts of villagers to remove their land from the adjacent areas (Turak, 1994, 24; Eke, 1998, 94; Beyhan, 2000, 62); a) fees and duties paid by the villagers to the municipality, b) transfer of village land (meadows and uplands) to general land (public domain) owned by the municipality, c) strict building regulations enforced by the municipality after the annexation of the villages by the respective municipality, and d) lack of provision of public services in the adjacent areas by the municipality in a proper manner. As until recently there was no legal enforcement for the municipalities to bring important utilities (such as sewer and water lines) into adjacent areas and the number of residents of the annexed villages has not been included in the municipalities' formal population that is used to determine the share of the state aid received by the municipalities, the majority of the town municipalities were not willing to construct water and sewer lines to serve outlying sections in their adjacent areas (**19**). Since the residents of villages located in the adjacent areas are excluded as voters in municipal elections, they can not also form a pressure group lobbying for the construction of the basic utilities required by themselves.

The problematic situation described above became much more complicated for the areas covered by the greater municipalities. As some of the villages located within the adjacent areas of greater municipalities were granted municipality status according to the 7th Article of the Municipalities Law no. 1580 amended with Law no. 7469 (dated 04.05.1960), a dual administrative and planning structure emerged within the functional hinterlands of the greater municipalities (**20**). This eventually disturbed the administrative and planning unity of the greater municipalities because those small municipalities located within the adjacent areas had their own administrative structure and applied their plans without the guidance of an upper scale spatial plan prepared for the greater municipality (**21**). Although with the circular no. 521.96/53290 issued by the Ministry of Interior on 16.07.1996, the officials responsible for the establishment of new municipalities were warned against these kinds of problems, perforation of adjacent areas could not be prevented until the Greater Municipality Law no. 5216 came into force in 2004.

Yet, the new law does not take into account the administration and planning of conurbations with a population of less than 750,000 people, in a holistic and efficient manner. Although in the Municipality Law no. 5272 dated 24.12.2004 and enacted for the regulation of the issues about other municipalities, there were some provisions about the adjacent areas, the respective legislation cancelled by the Constitutional Court had limited considerations for the solution of the problem in an efficient manner. Following the cancellation of the Municipality Law no. 5272 by the Constitutional Court, a new Municipality Law (Law no. 5393) was put into force in 2005 without introducing major changes. Hence, the Municipality Law no. 5393 has also suffered from the lack of consideration about the prevention of the struggle between the villages and the town municipalities in the implementation of the adjacent area regulation.

According to the 14th article of the new Municipality Law, the municipalities can provide their adjacent areas with the municipal services in line with the

19. In some of the regulations regarding the taxation of the adjacent areas, it is observed that the municipality is required to bring the necessary services to the areas that will be charged to pay tax for the respective service See Kılıçoğlu (1994, 20) for the case of Environmental Cleaning Tax. Nevertheless, what is evident from both the cases of courts initiated by the villagers and the news items (Erbil, 2000) published in the newspapers, is that some villages were not provided with the required services.

20. According to the 7th Article, those villages having a population over 2000 people and at least 500 meters far from the closest municipality could easily attain municipality status.

21. Not only inside the adjacent areas of metropolitan-greater municipalities, but also inside other relatively large municipalities, granting municipality status to small settlements heavily disturbs the areal integrity in the respective region. See the case of Trabzon in the early 1990s as explained by Aktuğ (1992, 17), mayor of the city. The source of disruption was not always small and medium sized municipalities surrounding a central city, but sometimes central government itself. This was especially so in Ankara, the capital city of Turkey. The local government of the metropolitan region surrounding the capital city has been always affected by the intervention of central government, especially in the case of adjacent area approvals made for the capital city (Bademli, 2001, 14-15; Yıldırım, 2008).

decision of the municipal council, albeit this is not obligatory for them in the law. As Duyguluer (2005) emphasizes, although the provision of the adjacent areas with the some municipal services (more specifically road and water supply) is compulsory for the municipalities according to the 2nd and 11th general notice of the Municipal Income Law no. 2464 issued by the Ministry of Interior and published in the official gazette, respectively, on 16.09.1981 and 25.09.1982 if the municipalities are to collect taxes from their adjacent areas, in the new Municipality Law the municipalities are completely free to bring municipal services to their adjacent areas. Hence, it seems that the Municipality Law no. 5393 has also suffered from the lack of consideration about the prevention of the struggle between the villages and the town municipalities in the implementation of the adjacent area regulation.

DATABASES AND METHOD OF ANALYSIS

The database employed in this paper covers both the adjacent area approvals and the information about the political affiliation of the mayors and the Minister of Public Works and Settlement (currently the Minister of Environment and Urbanization). The database has been compiled from two different sources. The information about the adjacent area approvals has been directly compiled from the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement (formerly the Ministry of Development and Housing). The information about the political affiliation of the mayors and the Minister of Public Works and Settlement is compiled from the websites of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM) and YerelNET (Local Governments' Portal). The database compiled from the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement mainly involves information about the name and location of the municipality for which an adjacent area has been approved by the Ministry, the date of the approval, the number and scale of the maps involved in the approval, the explanation for the approval (for example the names of the villages included in the adjacent area – the ones removed from or added to the adjacent area), the type of the approval (whether it is an approval of normal or *ex-officio* (**22**) type, and whether or not it is an approval imposed by the court). After making some corrections in the database compiled from the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement, a flow data matrix showing the relationships between subsequent approvals made for the same municipality was constructed by employing the original registries that were actually available in stock data format. This data matrix has been instrumental in this study for the analysis and evaluation of the adjacent area practices in Turkey.

As a second step in the construction of a more informative database required to analyse the political dimension of the adjacent area practice, the database compiled from the Ministry is linked to the more political one compiled from the websites of TBMM and YerelNET in order to test whether or not the adjacent area approvals are imprinted with the political processes in terms of the association between the political parties in power in central and local governments. For this purpose, firstly the names of all the City Mayors and the Ministers of Public Works and Settlement have been identified historically. Subsequently, the database showing the period during which the politicians served as either the Minister or Mayor, and their political affiliation in terms of being a member of a political party is linked to the one compiled from the Ministery of Public Works and Settlement by enriching the registries in the latter one in such a way that one can easily trace the political dimension of each adjacent area approval in terms of the politicians who are responsible for the proposal (the Mayor) and approval

22. If an approval is realized according to the formal demand of a municipality providing a justification for the declaration of the adjoining areas as the adjacent area, the respective approval is qualified as a normal type of approval. Otherwise, it is classified as a type of ex-officio type of approval. Nevertheless, it is known that some of the ex-officio type of approvals stems from the fact that municipality concerned does not re-submit adjacent area proposal to the Ministry requiring small revisions in the origional proposal, which inevitably leds to an ex-officio type of approval by the Ministry. Yet, it was not possible for this study to obtain the number of such kind of approvals.

(the Minister) of the adjacent areas. This joint database has made it possible for this study to show how the adjacent area practice in Turkey has been politically instrumentalized by the Ministers and Mayors.

For this purpose, the database compiled from the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement is further enriched by classifying each incidence of adjacent area approval according to whether or not it is a case of an approval adding (or removing) villages into (or from) the adjacent area of a municipality, and whether or not it is a case of an approval for which there is a positive or negative association between the political parties in power in central and local governments. In order to properly support the arguments put forward in this paper, the municipalities are also differentiated in the database according to whether or not they are greater, town, district or provincial center municipalities. First of all, there are different regulations for the greater municipalities and others. Therefore a differentiation between the respective groups of municipalities is not only a necessity of the arguments elaborated in the paper in terms of the struggle that is assumed to be mainly operational between villages and town municipalities, but also the laws regulating the municipal affairs for greater and other municipalities.

After constructing the database a series of pivot tables is created by employing the database compiled for this study in order to expose the political instrumentalization and the historical evolution of the adjacent area practice. In addition to these pivot tables, correspondence analysis is also employed in order to divulge the pattern of associations between the categories given in the pivot tables. The outcome of the correspondence analysis can be plotted on a graph that actually shows the association between the items of two categories subject to the analysis. Due to the reliance of the correspondence analysis on the graphical outcomes (known as bi-plots), the method of analysis based on the examination of the positions of the items located on the bi-plots are called Geometric Data Analysis. In a bi-plot produced by employing correspondence analysis, two nodes are located closer if they are intensely connected directly or through other nodes. Thus, items located closer to each other in a bi-plot are more likely to be in the same block, and each block represents an integrated group of items in terms of the relationships examined (**23**).

CHANGING NUMBER OF ADJACENT AREA APPROVALS OVER TIME: PERIODICITY OF LEGAL ARRANGEMENTS PERTAINING TO THE GREATER MUNICIPALITIES AND ADJACENT AREA PRACTICE

As a first stage in the quantitative analysis of the evolution of the adjacent area practice, the number of adjacent area approvals is plotted over time, which unveiled the fact that the number of approvals regularly fluctuates. It is particularly interesting to note that, as Beyhan (2000, 69-70) reveals, the fluctuations observed for the number of adjacent area approvals coincide with the introduction of new regulations for the respective practice in Turkey. Accordingly, one can speak of a periodicity of adjacent area approvals whose number increases whenever the number of criteria for declaration of an adjoining area as adjacent area decreases (**Figure 2**). There is no doubt that the content of the criteria is more important than the amount of criteria. Nevertheless, the association of the fluctuations observed in adjacent area approvals in **Figure 2** with the introduction of new criteria into the implementation of adjacent area regulation in Turkey, rests on the fact that the content of new criteria is always characterized by a set of rules making it difficult for the municipalities to easily prepare

23. Correspondence analysis is rather an exploratory method of analysis devised for the examination of the categorical databases. It is important to note that bi-plots produced by employing correspondence analysis only represent the scores (coordinates) calculated for the first two eigen vectors (also known as dimensions). Nevertheless, in correspondence analysis the number of dimensions can be defined as high as the lowest number of items included in any of two categories minus 1. In correspondence analysis, sum of all eigen values calculated for each dimension is called inertia value that is also equal to overall Chi-square value. Eigen value calculated for each individual dimension show the extent at which the respective dimension can account for the inertia. In other words, higher the share of eigen value, the higher the explanatory capacity of the dimension for which it stands.

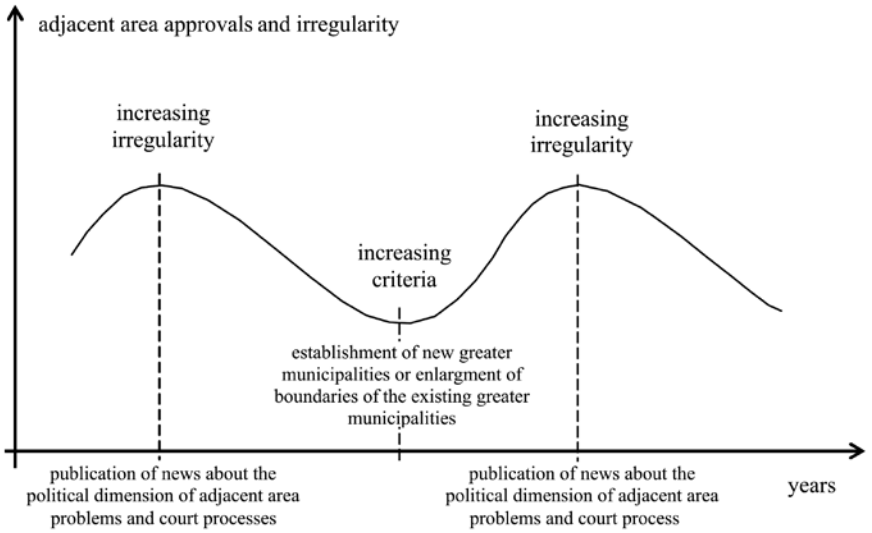

Figure 2. The relationship between adjacent area approvals and legislative processes over time. Source: Adapted from Beyhan (2000, 70).

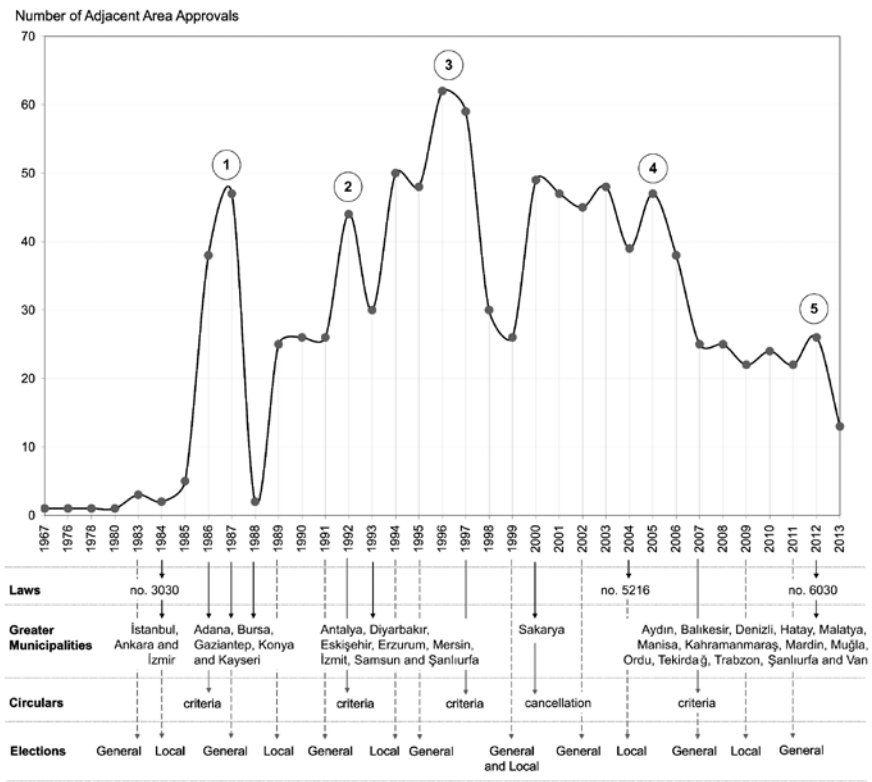

Figure 3. Adjacent area approvals made by the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement over time.

arbitrary adjacent area proposals, without taking into account the issues and problems that may be experienced after the declaration of the adjacent area.

The need to introduce new criteria for the declaration of adjacent areas interestingly coincides with the increasing number of both adjacent area approvals becoming a case for courts to decide and news (Farsakoğlu, 1991, 1992a and 1992b; Kardüz, 1997; Altan, 1997) mentioning the political processes behind the adjacent area approvals. From time to time it is also

observed that the Ministry has cancelled some criteria for the declaration of adjacent areas in Turkey in order to make it easier for the municipalities (particularly greater municipalities) to declare adjacent areas (**24**). In Turkey, as explained above, the criteria defined for the declaration of an (neighboring) area as an adjacent area are subject to change according to the interventions of politicians in power both in central and local governments, which inevitably leads to some fluctuations observed in the number of adjacent areas approved by the Ministry (**Figure 3**).

Combined with the introduction of new laws that reduce the need for the employment of adjacent areas as a tool of enlargement of the legal hinterland of a (metropolitan) municipality, the fluctuations observed in the number of adjacent area approvals become much more intelligible. In this respect, five rapid drops especially deserve attention in **Figure 3**. The first and sharpest one was experienced between 1986 and 1988 during which a number of large municipalities including Adana, Bursa, Gaziantep, Konya and Kayseri were granted greater municipality status by introducing a series of laws (in order of municipalities Law no. 3306, 3391, 3398, 3399 and 3508). Parallel to the first one, it is no accident that the second rapid drop in the number of adjacent area approvals was experienced during the period between 1992 and 1993 that also witnessed the establishment by law of new greater municipalities in Turkey. During this period in 1993 Antalya, Diyarbakır, Eskişehir, Erzurum, Mersin, İzmit, Samsun and Şanlıurfa were granted greater municipality status with the Decree no. 505.

As the boundaries of the municipalities were usually expanded after they were granted greater municipality status, the need of these greater municipalities for the declaration of the adjoining areas as an adjacent area decreases. Although it is relatively easy to explain the underlying reasons behind the first two rapid drops in the number of adjacent area approvals observed in **Figure 3** above, it becomes much more difficult to explain the subsequent decrease in the number of adjacent area approvals with reference to the designation of some of the fast growing cities as greater municipalities by the introduction of new laws. The subsequent sharp drop in the number of the adjacent area approvals made by the Ministry between 1996 and 1999 was effectively explained by Beyhan (2000, 64, 69-70) especially with reference to the sinusoidal movement in low order legal arrangements (**Figure 2**). Beyhan (2000) hypothesizes that whenever the criteria set for the declaration of a neighboring area as adjacent area are tightened, the number of both applications for declaration of adjacent areas and the adjacent area approvals drastically decrease.

Before the set of criteria introduced in 1997 and leading to a sharp drop in the number of the adjacent area approvals between 1996 and 1999, it is interesting to note that another set of criteria was introduced in 1992. Since, as discussed above, the respective period also witnessed the establishment of new greater municipalities in Turkey, it remains unclear to what extent the set of criteria introduced in 1992 for the declaration of a neighboring area as an adjacent area was affective in decreasing the number of adjacent area approvals during the period between 1992 and 1993. The same also holds true for the sharp decrease observed for the period between 1986 and 1988, because it is known that the first circular that introduced some criteria for the declaration of adjacent areas was issued by the Ministry in 1986. The fourth sharp drop in the number of adjacent area approvals is observed for the period between 2005 and 2007 that actually coincides with the last adjacent area circular issued by the Ministry in 2007. Actually the first

24. See the circular issued by the Ministry on 03.02.2000. https://www.bayindirlik.gov.tr/turkce/html/genelge59.htm

signal for this sharp drop can be observed in 2004. Indeed, it is no accident that the Greater Municipality Law no. 5216 extending the boundaries of the greater municipalities according to the radius determined in line with the population of the greater municipalities came into effect on 10.07.2004.

The last sharp drop in the number of adjacent area approvals has been realized between 2012 and 2013 that coincides with the last law (Law no. 6360) introduced in 2012 to set the boundaries of 14 existing greater municipalities in Turkey as the provincial boundaries and to establish 14 new greater municipalities. With the introduction of laws no. 5216 and no. 6360, adjacent area regulation has become unoperational in 30 provinces in Turkey, which has inevitably led to a rapid decrease in the demand for the declaration of neighbouring areas of the growing cities as adjacent areas in the country.

Another interesting finding emerges from **Figure 3** when the synchronization between the elections and the number of adjacent area approvals is analysed. Accordingly, except for the general elections in 1983 and 1987, it is observed that the number of adjacent area approvals increases after a general election (handing over of the power from one political party to the other one). The sharp increases experienced after the general elections held in 1991, 1995 and 1999 are particularly noticeable. This can be attributed to the promises given by the winning political party during the election campaign. The association between the local elections and the fluctuation in the number of adjacent area approvals is not characterized by a clear match. In other words, it is observed that although the number of adjacent area approvals increases after some local elections, it also decreases after some other local elections. This oscillation in the correspondence between the local elections and the fluctuation in the number of adjacent area approvals can be attributed to the changing associations between the party in power in central government and the parties in power in local governments after the local election concerned.

REVEALING THE INHERENT CHARACTERISTICS OF ADJACENT AREA APPROVALS: POLITICAL INSTRUMENTALIZATION OF ADJACENT AREA PRACTICE BEYOND ITS ELABORATIVE PURPOSE

In this sub-section, which is devoted to the revelation of the political instrumentalization of the adjacent area practice, the general characteristics of the adjacent areas approved by the Ministry are analysed by creating some pivot tables and conducting correspondence analysis on these tables in order to divulge the imprints of the struggle between different levels of local government units through the central government in terms of party politics (**25**). In this respect, what is particularly evident from **Table 1** and **Figure 4** is that the association between subsequent adjacent area approvals made for the same municipality reveals a structured pattern of relations between the approvals concerned. Accordingly, it is observed that compared with the normal approvals, a great portion of *ex-officio* approvals is followed by an approval imposed by the courts. It is also remarkable that all the approvals subsequent to the approvals of the *ex-officio* type and imposed by the courts are characterized by the abolition of the adjacent area. As argued in the introduction, the Ministry has politically tended to instrumentalize the adjacent area regulation and practice in Turkey by employing the *ex-officio* approval mechanism introduced with the 45th article of Law no. 3194 (**Table 2**).

25. All the bi-plots of the correspondence analysis (**Figure 4** and **Figure 5**) used in this paper were produced by using the biplot and singular value decomposition macros written by Lipkovich and Smith (2002) for Excel©.

Although 22.22% of *ex-officio* approvals become a case for courts to decide, only 7.2% of normal approvals are followed by an approval imposed by the courts. This is especially remarkable when one considers the fact that the majority of the approvals fall into the category of normal approvals. Indeed, only 90 out of 591 adjacent areas approved by the Ministry are cases of *ex-officio* approval. This ratio is lower for the approvals that are not followed by any other approvals (17 out of 246 implying that 92.68% of the approvals for which there is no subsequent approval are of normal type). Hence, one can easily argue that adjacent area regulation and practice in Turkey have been functioning properly in spite of intervention in the process, from time to time, by the central government.

Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that 21.11% of all *ex-officio* approvals are again followed by an *ex-officio* type of approval, which gains importance when one notices that this ratio is the highest one among the other types of approvals subsequently followed by an *ex-officio* type of approval. Indeed, compared with the share of *ex-officio* approvals subsequently followed by an *ex-officio* type of approval (21.11%), the share of normal approvals followed by an *ex-officio* type of approval (10.32%) is considerably lower. What is further remarkable is that an important segment of the approvals imposed by the courts requiring the abolition of the adjacent area set for the municipality is followed by an *ex-officio* type of approval, which illustrates

			type of subsequent approval				
type of first approval		continue	normal	ex-officio	court decisions		total
					negative	positive	
normal		228 (48.0)	164 (34.5)	49 (10.3)	33 (7.0)	1 (0.2)	475
ex-officio		17 (18.9)	34 (37.8)	19 (21.1)	20 (22.2)	—	90
court decisions	negative	—	9 (37.5)	3 (12.5)	9 (37.5)	3 (12.5)	24
	positive	1 (50.0)	—	—	1 (50.0)	—	2
total		246 (41.6)	207 (35.0)	71 (12.0)	63 (10.7)	4 (0.7)	591

Table 1. The distribution of the adjacent area approvals according to the types of the first and subsequent approvals (1967-2006).

Note: Values in parentheses show the row-wise share of the respective cell. Court decisions can be either a negative or positive decision for the Ministry regarding the adjacent area approval concerned.

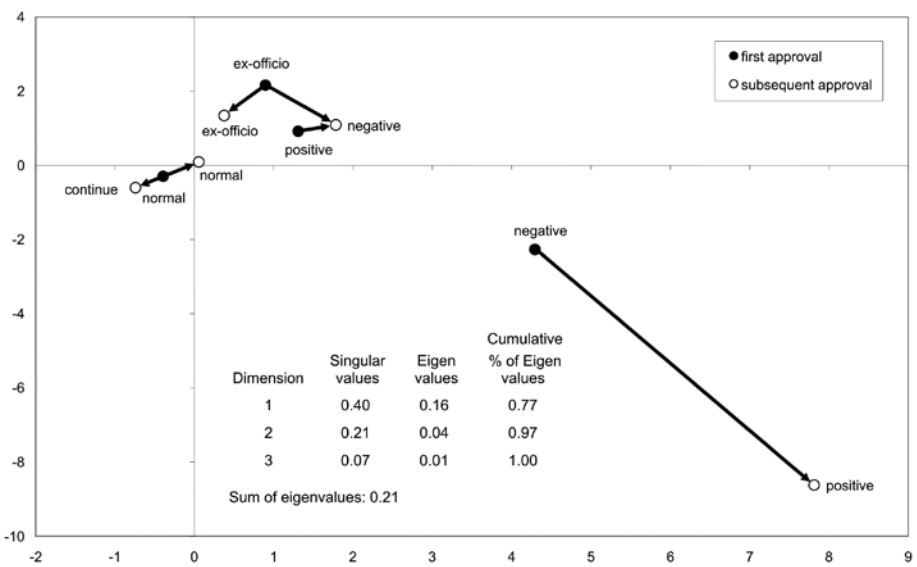

Figure 4. Correspondence between the first and subsequent approvals according to the type of the approval (Correspondence Analysis) (1967-2006).

the insistence of the central government in challenging the authority of the courts and the will of the people residing in the adjacent area concerned.

It is also very evident from Figure 4 that *ex-officio* approvals are usually followed by either another *ex-officio* approval or an approval imposed by the court to abolish the adjacent area set by the first approval (*ex-officio* approval). It is again not surprising to observe that normal type of approvals are frequently subsequent to each other, which unveils cases of adjacent area approvals not politicized by the actors involved in the process. If an approval becomes a case for courts to decide, it is observed that those approvals confirmed by the courts are usually followed again by an approval imposed by the court to abolish the adjacent area defined for the municipality. It is also noteworthy that the relational distance between the approvals that became a case for courts to decide is longer for the pair of subsequent approvals that involves re-approval of an adjacent area by the decision of the court after the abolition of the adjacent area as a result of again the decision of the court. Overall, the associations between the first and subsequent types of approvals on the bi-plot of correspondence analysis divulge that the implementation of the adjacent area regulation has been highly and politically instrumentalized.

When the influence of party politics on the implementation of the adjacent area regulation is analyzed in a detailed context, what is particularly evident from **Table 2** is that the majority of adjacent area approvals that contract the adjacent area of a municipality is characterized by the mismatch between the parties in power in the central and local governments. Indeed, 81 out of 130 of adjacent area approvals that introduced a contraction in the adjacent area of a municipality belong to the category defined for the cases of associations in which the party in power in central government is different from the one in power in local government. This finding signals the fact that as a tool of administration and planning of growing cities adjacent area practice has been increasingly and politically instrumentalized in Turkey.

It is also remarkable that although only 6 out of 34 (17.65%) of adjacent area approvals introduce an *ex-officio* contraction for the adjacent areas of the municipalities aligned with the political party of the Minister, the respective ratio for those municipalities aligned with the opposition political parties is 34.57% (28 out of 81 adjacent area approvals contracting

Table 2. The distribution of the adjacent area approvals according to the type of spatial operation and the type of association between the parties in power in the central and local governments (1967-2009).

Note: In Table 2 "type of association between ruling parties" shows the match between the parties in power in the central and local governments. Accordingly "ruling party" indicates that the parties in power in the central and local governments are the same; "coalition partner" shows that although the political party of the minister is different from the one of the mayor, their political parties are members of the same coalition; "supporter party" indicates that although the political party of the minister is different from the one of the mayor, the mayor's political party supported the minister's political party in the establishment of the central government; "opposition party" indicates that the parties in power in the central and local governments are different parties not supporting each other; "continuation" stands for the fact that although the political party of the minister is different from that of the mayor, the respective parties evolved from each other; "independents" indicates that the party in power in the local government is an independent; "military ruling" stands for the approvals realized under military regime. For Table 2 it is also important to note that although for those records indicating a normal type of approval, it can be assumed that some villages are added to the adjacent area, and concurrent to this, for these records indicating an approval imposed by the decisions of courts eliminating the adjacent area, it can be assumed that some villages are removed from the adjacent area, the records concerned are placed under "not known" category if no detailed information is available. The values in parentheses in Table 2 shows the share of each "type of the spatial operation" from the total incidences of approvals for which there is some sort of information in the raw data in order to derive the type of spatial operation (i.e. "known" column in the table).

type of association between ruling parties	type of the spatial operation			spatial operation		total
	removing villages	adding villages	adding and removing villages	known	not known	
ruling party	34 (11.3)	260 (86.1)	8 (2.6)	302	89	391
coalition partner	12 (18.2)	54 (81.8)	—	66	32	98
supporter party	3 (42.9)	3 (42.9)	1 (14.3)	7	4	11
opposition party	81 (33.8)	150 (62.5)	9 (3.8)	240	123	363
continuation	—	5 (100.0)	—	5	—	5
independents	—	7 (100.0)	—	7	7	14
military ruling	—	3 (100.0)	—	3	1	4
no information	—	10 (100.0)	—	10	5	15
total	130 (20.3)	492 (76.9)	18 (2.8)	640	259	901

the adjacent areas of the municipalities aligned with the opposition parties are characterizsed by being an *ex-officio* type of approval). The political party in power in the central government tends to expand the adjacent areas of the municipalities having the same or close political affiliation with itself. Yet, it is always reluctant to enlarge the adjacent areas of the municipalities affiliated with the opposition parties. On the contrary, it tends to contract the adjacent areas covered by opposition municipalities.

It is important to note that the number of approvals presented in **Table 1** does not provide us with the actual number of municipalities for which the Ministry has approved an adjacent area. It is partly for this reason that **Table 3** is constructed in order to show some statistics in relation to the number of approvals made for the same municipality. The increase in the respective number signals the cases illustrative of the growing cities and the need to control the urban development within the fringes and surroundings of the cities concerned. It is interesting to note that although the number of municipalities whose adjacent areas have been approved only once constitutes 54.45% of the total number of municipalities, the number of adjacent area approvals made for these municipalities constitutes only 29.19% of the total number of adjacent area approvals. For a majority of cases, it is observed that there is more than one approval for the adjacent area of a municipality though the number of approvals for each cohort illustrating the number of approvals made for the same municipality decreases with the increase in the number of approvals made for the same municipality.

As discussed in the second section, the most problematic adjacent area practices are usually associated with town municipalities that try to expand their adjacent areas in order to both make it possible for certain interest groups to easily achieve their rent seeking activities and raise the financial resources of the municipality by extending its legal hinterland in which it can collect certain taxes and fees. Indeed, what is evident from **Table 4** is that the ratio of approvals becoming a case for courts to decide (10.6%) is the highest for town municipalities compared with other types of municipalities. It is not surprising that in terms of row-wise profile showing the distribution of different types of approvals according to a

number of approvals made for the same municipality	number of municipalities	number of municipalities as % of total	number of approvals	number of approvals as % of total
1	263	54.45	263	29.19
2	123	25.47	246	27.30
3	43	8.90	129	14.32
4	24	4.97	96	10.65
5	13	2.69	65	7.21
6	12	2.48	72	7.99
7	2	0.41	14	1.55
8	2	0.41	16	1.78
total	483	100.00	901	100.00

Table 3. The distribution of the adjacent area approvals according to the total number of approvals made for the same municipality (1967-2009).

type of the municipality	type of approval				
	normal	ex-officio	court decisions		total
			negative	positive	
greater municipality	32 (64.0)	13 (26.0)	4 (8.0)	1 (2.0)	50
center of a province	92 (85.2)	9 (8.3)	6 (5.6)	1 (0.9)	108
center of a district	299 (78.5)	50 (13.1)	30 (7.9)	2 (0.5)	381
town municipality	176 (68.8)	52 (20.3)	27 (10.6)	1 (0.4)	256
total	599 (75.4)	124 (15.6)	67 (8.4)	5 (0.6)	795

Table 4. The distribution of the adjacent area approvals according to the types of the municipality and the types of approval (1967-2006).

category of municipality it is the town municipalities (20.31%) that benefit much from *ex-officio* type of approvals just after the greater municipalities (26.00%). In terms of column-wise profile, the problematic situation of town municipalities becomes much clearer. Indeed, it is striking that 41.94% of all *ex-officio* approvals have been made for town municipalities. One can notice that the share of *ex-officio* type of approvals is also very high for greater municipalities. Nevertheless, as discussed in the second section, the geographical extent of each individual greater municipality comprises a great number of villages that are actually in close interaction with the metropolitan center and the adjacent areas of greater municipalities should be treated as a different category together with the urban conurbations that also seem to be quite different from the category defined for simple town municipalities.

The correspondence analysis as a method of geometric data analysis can help us to visualize the relationships between different types of adjacent area approvals and municipalities. In this respect, it is evident from **Figure 5** that town municipalities are strongly associated with the approvals imposed by the courts to expel villages previously included in the adjacent areas of the municipalities concerned. The normal type of adjacent area approvals are more closely coupled with the municipalities that function as

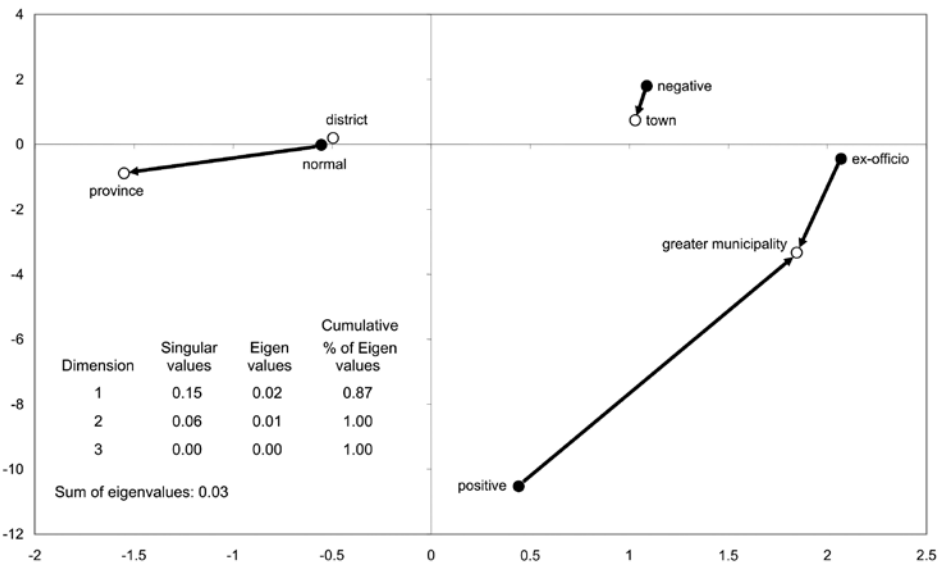

Figure 5. Correspondence between the types of municipality and approval (1967-2006).

the centre of either a province or a district. The greater municipalities are co-associated with *ex-officio* type of approvals and approvals confirmed by the courts. Thus, if the approvals that become cases for the courts to decide are considered as a problem in the practice of adjacent area regulation in Turkey, it is very evident from **Figure 5** that they are mainly town municipalities that are responsible for this problem.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

There is no doubt that boundary changes introduced for planning purposes have wide-ranging consequences, because the changes concerned do not only influence planning activity in terms of patterns of land use, but also begin to change behaviour in political participation, local finance, service provision and social relationships. What is evident from the evolution of the implementation of adjacent area regulation in Turkey is that in spite of employment and potential of this regulation as an active tool of administration and planning of metropolitan regions and growing cities, it has been politically instrumentalized by the parties involved in the consecutive processes of proposal and approval of adjacent areas. This is closely associated with the primitive nature of adjacent area regulation as a form of annexation law. Compared with more established annexation laws and practices, adjacent area regulation, in many respects, can be described as an archaic and simple form of annexation regulation. In the early years, the original function designated for adjacent area regulation was the specification of urban growth boundaries for metropolitan regions and fast growing cities. Nevertheless, over time it has been associated with some other functions, such as extending the geographical base of the municipalities for tax revenues and voters.

However, this process has not been associated with a parallel improvement in the technical and socio-legal aspects of the adjacent area regulation that has evolved into a kind of annexation regulation in terms of its implementation. That is why, in this paper, based on the database compiled for the adjacent area approvals firstly it has been shown that there is a synchronicity between the introduction of legal arrangements for the establishment of the Greater Municipalities and the decreases in the number of adjacent area approvals, which reveals the fact that adjacent area regulation functions as a temporary solution for the establishment of regional unity required for the administration and planning of growing cities. As the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization (the former Ministry of Public Works and Settlement) can take *ex-officio* decision for one area to include it into or expel it from being an adjacent area, the implementation of the adjacent area regulation is also very vulnerable to the influence of party politics. Taken together with the vulnerability of low order regulations to the interventions of those engaged with party politics, adjacent area regulation in Turkey has been politically instrumentalized in order to expand (or contract) the economic and administrative hinterland of proponent (or opponent) municipalities.

Nevertheless, instrumentalization of the regulation beyond its elaborative purpose that seems to be technical in nature can be prevented by making it possible for regulations to employ proper scientific models developed for the delimitation of local or regional administrative units and planning regions according to the interaction patterns exhibited by the communities assumed to live in the respective units and regions. Otherwise, the employment of the adjacent area regulation as a tool of political struggle

between both different political parties and different levels of local government units cannot be prevented. In this respect, in relation to the employment of annexation regulation in the establishment of regional integrity, future studies may delve into the identification of criteria that can be employed for the delimitation of local and regional administrative units for administrative and planning purposes. Following the research outlined in this study, future studies may further attempt to build more comprehensive theoretical frameworks concerning political intervention in such technical issues. From a planning point of view, delimitation of administrative and planning regions according to commuting patterns also constitutes another prospective area of research for future studies in terms of the establishment of regional unity essential for the administration and planning of cities.

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TÜRKİYE'DE MÜCAVİR ALAN DÜZENLEMESİNİN İLKEL BİR KATMA BİÇİMİ OLARAK EVRİMİ VE POLİTİK ARAÇSALLAŞTIRILMASI

Bu çalışmanın amacı, mücavir alan düzenlemesine ilişkin uygulamanın, hem parti siyasetinin ve farklı düzeylerdeki yerel yönetim birimleri arasındaki mücadelenin bir aracı olarak oynadığı role, hem de yasal ve politik süreçler arasındaki içsel gerilime gönderme yaparak ilgili düzenlemenin ilkel bir katma biçimi olarak tarihsel evrimine ışık tutmaktır. Bu amaç doğrultusunda, mücavir alan uygulamasının Türkiye'deki evrimi, Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı tarafından yapılan tüm mücavir alan onamaları tarihsel bir bakışaçısı içerisinde incelenerek, özet çizelgeler ve denkleştirme çözümlemesi yardımıyla çözümlenmiştir. Bu çalışmanın sonuçlarına göre, her ne kadar ilkel bir katma biçimi olarak mücavir alanlar, Türkiye'de metropoliten bölgeler ve büyüyen kentlerin gereksindiği coğrafi birliği tesis etmek amacıyla etkin biçimde kullanılsa da, söz konusu uygulama, mücavir alan düzenlemesinin incelikli teknik amacının ötesine taşınarak araçsallaştırılmasına yol açan parti siyasetinin etkin bir faaliyet alanı haline getirilmiştir.

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