

THE LAST 30 YEARS OF PLANNING INSTITUTIONS IN TURKEY IN THE PROJECTION OF GLOBAL ECONOMIC POLICIES

ÖZDEMİR SÖNMEZ

Istanbul Commerce University, Department of Architecture and Design
Inonu Cd. No:4, E-5 Küçükyalı Kavsagi, Istanbul-Turkey
E-mail: osonmez@ticaret.edu.tr

Abstract - There has been a constant pursuit on the part of the planning institution as well as of the central administration, as a result of the political and economic changes that have occurred in the world and in Turkey since the 1980's. The spatial projections created by the changes experienced in the planning institution during the course of this pursuit continues by leaving its profound marks in some regions. This study discusses the role of the planning institutions that have been developed to enable and facilitate the newly chosen spaces as well as the influences of these structures in the process of economic-political change which occurred in Turkey. Within this framework, planning policies that have been pursued, the laws pertaining to planning that have been the determiners of these policies, and the confusion of power between this law and institutions have been investigated. Toward this end, the study discusses which institutions were granted power within the framework of regional and local, upper and lower scale planning stratification after 1980, as well as the content of this empowerment, the sectoral planning approach of central institutions and the "zoning" oriented approaches of local administrations and the types of roles they have assumed.

Keywords - Investment, Planning Laws, Planning Authorities

I. INTRODUCTION

The global economic policies may be mostly explained around two magical words, namely neo-liberalism and globalization. While these words interpreted by some as enrichment, democratization, liberalization, some may construe the foregoing words as inequality in sharing, impoverishment, alienation, imperialism and etc. Such interpretations do, of course, represent and define opposing realities in different social layers. In other words, while it means access to resources for capital, circulation, freedom to access information, enrichment etc. for the prosperous, developed and dominant societies, it, on the other hand, means to be out of competition, being exploited, and impoverishment for the poor societies. Given the policies defined by these concepts in the last three decades, it seems that it is part of the capitalism's effort to overcome its own deadlocks and to maintain its existence. The obstruction of the Keynesian capital accumulation style which is based on "re-distribution of income and encourage demand" put into practice following the first World War within about fifty years and the oil crisis in the 1970s directed capitalist countries, being primarily USA and England, to follow different strategies based on monetarism. The monetarism, which advocates supply-oriented policies, and emphasizes the need to reduce government expenses as well as government's intervention in the economy, forms the basis of neo-liberalism (Acı, 2005). In this way, a set of new formations started to shop in the political and social life, like in the production and organization. Those are primarily "neo-liberal" economic policies, which is new saving regime, new policy and social regulation and which is

defined as the minimization of government's role in the economy (Harvey, 1990).

II. NEW ECONOMIC POLICIES AND SPATIAL CHANGE

In the "free market" economy which is created in line with new policies, the role of the government has been reduced in planning services and spatial intervention like in the general areas, and is defined as "guiding" rather than intervening. Thus, it has been chosen to develop policies to facilitate spatial activity of the capital, in addition to the possibilities facilitating the sectoral activity of the capital. This is because while capitalism creates a geographical environment which facilitates its own saving conditions at a specific moment, after a certain time this same environment becomes a barrier in the capitalist saving. This barrier will be able to be overcome by sectoral change of the capital. By the same token, the capital has started to be transferred mainly to fixed investments thanks to the technological advancements in the field of communication and transportation. This period, where structured environment has increased, is called as "2nd Cycle of Capital" by Harvey. Stating that the production by urban structured environment develops in harmony with the logic of capital accumulation, Harvey advocates that the generation of urban space constitutes one of the basic dynamics of capital accumulation. This is because if the capital accumulation is not transferred to the other cycle, this period will end up with a crisis (Harvey, 1990, 2005).

Particularly the profitability of the construction industry as well as its ability to ensure fast economic growth in the last three decades have played an

important role in helping states to overcome crisis periods speedily. On the other hand, with the thought that the construction industry can activate other industries with reference to its inputs, it has been used to maintain economic boom and the dynamism of urban areas which are commoditized by neo-liberal policies. Accordingly, the mega-projects which are directed from industry towards structural environment creation and realized by the private sector had significant reflections on the space, and urban spaces started to be perceived as the market's focus for new growth (Polat et al., 2003). The conversion of these spaces by the capital and the government into areas of income has increased demand to urban areas, and the cities tended to grow and spread spatially.

As a result, since the period of industrialization, the cities or urban areas directed and created by the increase capital accumulations on the basis of profit are changing and transforming in parallel with the changing modes of production, technologies and economic functioning at a global level. These changes and transformations are not limited to the urban boundaries; they also change the surrounding rural and urban areas, and become influential at a regional scale.

III. THE CHANGES EXPERIENCED IN THE PLANNING INSTITUTION IN TURKEY AFTER 1980

The changes continuing on a global level from the 1980s revealed its impact in Turkey; rooted revisions have been applied to economic policies in the period following the 1980s and free market economy has become the prioritized programs of governments. Thus, the meaning ascribed by the new policies followed in our country to the urban areas as a new element of development as well as the approaches, have evolved accordingly. Until then, while the government carried out its planning activities by acting generally in centrist structure and with a centrist planning attitude, the government has then chosen to activate the local in planning activities in order to facilitate and speed up spatial investments under the framework of new economic policies.

First and foremost, there are efforts to introduce new regulations in order to ensure the inclusion of shanty settlements and housings into the city. The problems created in the cities since 1960s due to industrialization and urbanization were attempted to be solved through "zoning forgiveness" laws and with the hands of local administrations. The efforts used at the local level to solve its own problems (increasing shanty house problem, the continuation of immigration from rural areas to urban areas) and to get joined to the global economy have increased and there has arisen the need for the government to

support and encourage the local. In this sense, the financial sources and powers have been increased and local administrations have been made more active in planning activities with an eye to support investments at the local level and to reinforce local administrations.

While the developments specified hereinabove were happening in favor of the local administrations on the one hand, the government increased its interest to the real estate industry and undertook giant projects particularly in the housing sector on the other hand. After 2000s, the central institutions have been re-empowered to ensure fast and single-handed intervention to urban spaces, solution tools have been developed like "plans for specific purpose", and central institutions have been re-authorized to define and plan such large projects (Eraydın, 2013).

IV. INCREASING THE VALUE OF URBAN LANDS BY WAY OF PLANNING AND THE POWER TO CREATE INCOME

Among the most important factors that create political power is the market power. These powers (interest groups) can apply easier pressure on the local administrations during the planning process when compared to central administrations. Nevertheless, the local administrations holding a power to prepare and implement subscale plans may, by discovering the power to create income and increase urban land values by way of planning", increase economic power and transform the same into a political power. Thus, the central administration will use the planning as a tool together with the municipalities and then be able to ensure spatial organization at local level and increase political power through technical possibilities. On the other hand, the reasons such as fact that local administration and central administration are under the power of different political parties, and the conflict of the local administrations with the interests of the capital from time to time have caused the central administration to give up on its localization policies. Even under these conditions, the power of the capital still had been an element of pressure in the planning process to alter such planning decisions and an important factor for the determination of central - local balances of power (Şengül, 2008).

Starting from the early 1980s, predomination of the private market conditions has led to the prioritization of private sector in planning approaches and new approaches have been tested by means of leaving the traditional planning approaches followed until then. Local potential has been minded in order to compete in the global system and the local management, which has been considered to reveal such potential, has been supported with the increase of its powers and the institutions responsible for the planning regulated the laws accordingly.

4.1. Sectoral centralization of planning powers

The long-term, comprehensive planning approach adopted in the development plans by the State Planning Organization before 1980 was replaced with a more flexible and dynamic, strategic types of plans with a view to join the global system. As the localization and global competition gained

prominence, the regional development has therefore gained importance in the development plans. However, failure to ensure correlation between the development plans and spatial plans prepared by different institutions and/or organizations has led to a lack of coordination, governance, implementation etc. in the plans.

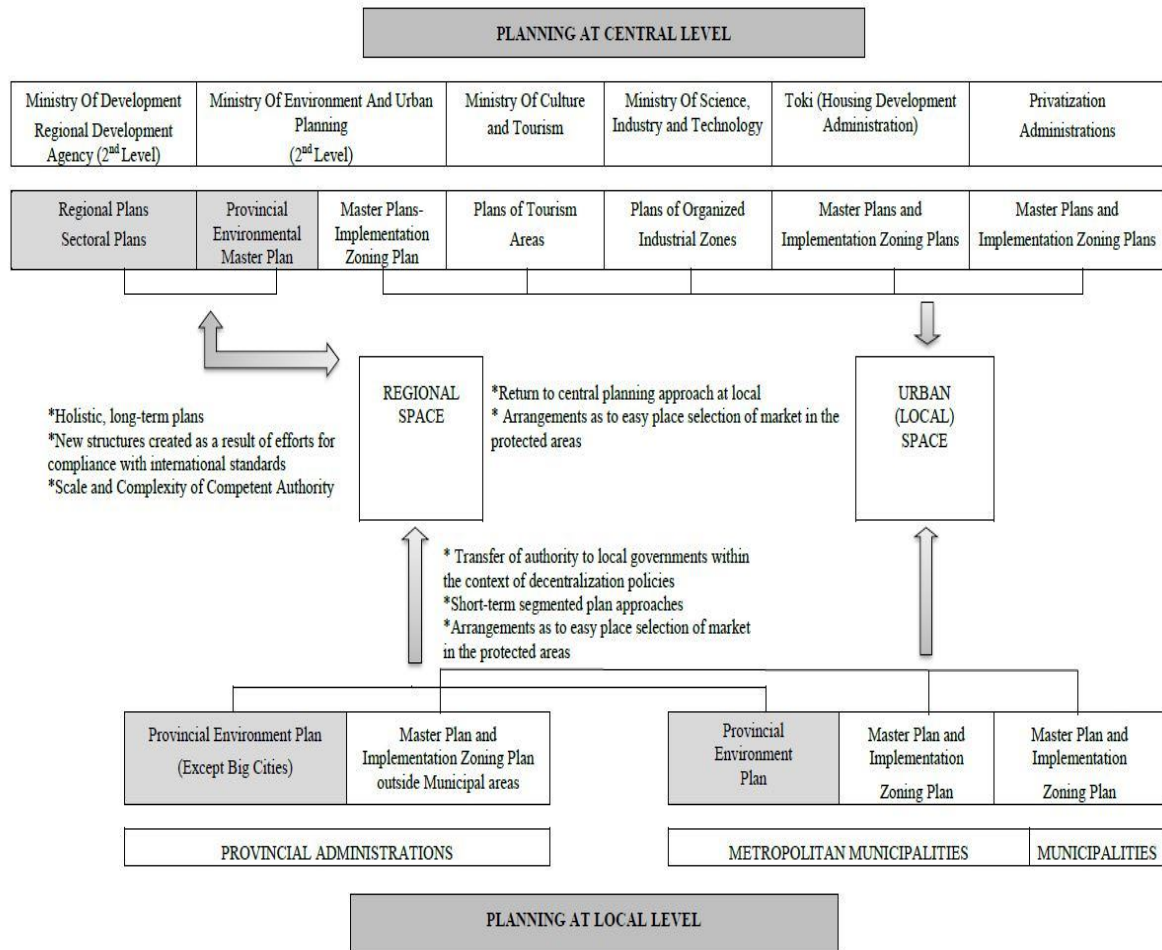


Figure 1: The institutions empowered to make upper scale and subscale plans and the plans which they are responsible for preparing

After 2000, Development Agencies were established and equipped with powers to create region plans, and in this way, it was intended to increase the investments at the local level, to ensure fast movement of capital and to give the freedom to select place. This approach, which seems to be right theoretically both in respect of local's participation to decision-giving processes and the acceleration of the implementation, has brought various conflicts in practice. The local plans which need to be in harmony with the plans determining the upper scale general decisions are sometimes prepared completely in

opposition to upper scale decisions, with contents conflicting with general strategies since no inspection mechanism has been taken into consideration.

In 2010s, contrary to the efforts for localization, the planning powers were re-centralized. It has been chosen to introduce many regulations which gives the urbanization under the control of center through new legal arrangements and particularly the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization has been monopolized in terms of planning. Furthermore, the ministries such as the Ministry of Industry and Technology, Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Ministry of Environment and Urbanization were equipped with the power to prepare and approval plans of any scale. This process is defined by Balaban (2008) as "sectoral centralization of planning powers". This inevitably creates a great many conflicts within the planning system. For example; the Ministry of Culture and Tourism has been equipped with the power to prepare

plans in regions which are declared tourism centers, the Housing Development Administration (HDA) has been equipped with comprehensive and priority powers in terms of planning and has turned into an important player in the construction industry and has become to be in the center of market activities (Tezcan and Penbecioğlu, 2010). However, the Ministry of Industry and Technology which has the powers for planning with purposes of identifying organized industrial zone areas, creating built environment, and environmental development etc., may face with the decisions of the local administration at urban and regional levels. And the Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning may conflict with the upper scale Level 2 region plans and Level 2 region plans prepared by the Development Agencies (Figure 1).

While there should be interaction between the institutions and they should exchange information cooperatively and, most importantly, although such institutions should be aware of the fact that all stakeholders representing the institutions are in a joint venture, to the contrary, the institutions go for making plans with different goals and strategies.

4.2. Simultaneous planning by different institutions in the same region

As seen in Figure 1 and Table 1 where the institutions and the plans for which they are empowered are summarized, while the different institutions of the same scale could have the power to make plans in the same fields, the same institution exercises the power to prepare and approval plans of different scales. Therefore this results in the simultaneous preparation of plans by different institutions. For example, while Environmental Planning with a scale of 1/25,000 prepared by the Special Provincial Directorate of a region is in effect, the Environmental Planning with a scale of 1/25,000 prepared by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism or a coastal area plan with a scale of 1/25,000 prepared by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization may also exist at the same time. While, within the plan staging, these plans are expected to direct sub-scale plans, the resulting situation may create a big plan confusion. The municipalities may from time to time suffer indecision and concern as to which sub-scale they will take as the basis for their master plans.

Large-scale region plans prepared by central administrations and including long-term solution offers may conflict with short-term sectoral plans such as housing, industry, tourism etc. plans which were also prepared by the central administration.

For instance, while, in a plan prepared by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, it is anticipated to limit the industry in order to reserve natural areas, a plan prepared by Regional Development Agencies may anticipate the encouragement of industry investors and development of industry. Such conflicts may also be

seen with respect to the plans of different stages and scales. To exemplify, in contrary to the decisions at regional or environmental scale approved by any metropolitan municipality, the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization may create zoning plans anticipating different uses for the same law under the Law no. 6302 on the Transformation of Areas Bearing a Risk of Disaster or the Decree Law no. 644 on the Organization and Duties of the Environment and Urbanization as well as the Decree Law Amending Certain Laws and Decree Laws, and the Ministry of Industry and Trade under the scope of Organized Industrial Zones (OIZ) law number 4562, and HDA under the scope of law no. 5162 may likewise create zoning plans anticipating different usages. Likewise, under the framework of the law no. 5302, zoning plans that conflict with upper scale places may be prepared by institutions such as the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, HDA, the Ministry of Industry and Trade under the scope of environmental planning applied in non-metropolitan provinces by the Special Provincial Administration.

CONCLUSION

One of the most important conflicts within the planning institution itself is that, while rules/laws are introduced on one hand to protect natural and historical values, in the face of resulting strong demands, continuously new laws are introduced in order to overcome or deregulate such rules/laws. This dilemma which is applicable to capitalist communities has turned into a quite common practice in the planning institution of Turkey particularly after 1980. A great part of the protected areas in Turkey are owned by the public and the use of such areas were mostly limited to agricultural and livestock activities until 1980s. After 1980, and particularly starting from 2000s, the government's sensitivity with respect to protection has started to decrease and new laws are introduced to commercialize protected areas with "entrepreneur" policies. Thus, these areas are gradually commercialized, privatized and deregulated with the new laws introduced (Eraydın, 2006). These laws, as an example, include the Forestry Law No. 6831, the Law 2634 for the Encouragement of Tourism, National Parks Law 2873, Mining Law 3213, Pasture Law 4342, Coastal Law No. 3621, Soil Protection Law no. 5403 and etc. While the government imposes restrictions for the protection of natural sources and areas, it also introduces new laws to overcome such restrictions or to legalize breaching practices. For example, the Privatization Law entered into force in 1994 and pursuant to that law the High Board of Privatization (HBP) privatized natural site areas, archeological areas, forestry, agricultural and green areas, stream beds, and other similar protection areas which belong to the state treasure, and paved the way for the commercialization of such areas. Through the regulations relating to Environmental

Impact Assessments which were brought into force in 1993 and revised many times in favor of structuring, the industrial investments overcome the restrictions prescribed under the Environmental Impact Assessment regulation, and made to be easier and faster (Çoban et al. 2015). Likewise, while the Law no. 5403 for Soil Protection and Land Use introduces rules for the protection of agricultural soil, it may also be excluded from the protection by means of granting permits to "non-agricultural use requests for plans and investments decided by the Ministers for public interest". Besides, a transitional article included legalizes many unauthorized industrial areas built on many agricultural areas.

As a conclusion, since 1980s, while the concepts of "neo-liberalism" and "free market", which were put forth by developed countries to ensure the rebirth of capitalism, are implemented in such countries within certain limits and rules, the same concepts have been implemented in Turkey in the way of overcoming the barriers as much as possible instead of intervening in the planning services and spatial settlement. Therefore, in the face of the magical word of "economic development" which is capable of opening every door, it has been the basic approach to develop policies facilitating sectoral and spatial activity of investments and to formulate the planning rules accordingly.

On the other hand, although more localization is expected in the axle of democratization and participation, the planning institution is gradually shaped in the direction of centralization. Toward the institutional structuring, while it is necessary that the duties of the actors in the planning institution be clarified, and they have to be aware of the fact that

they are in a joint venture with one another and they have to ensure intensive cooperation in that respect, it has gradually become a complicated structure unaware of one another and generating conflicting decisions.

REFERENCES

- [1] Acı, E.Y., (2005). "Neoliberal Approaches and Governance Concept, Marmara University", İ.İ.B.F. Journal, 20 (1):201-216.
- [2] Balaban O., (2008). Capital Accumulation, the State and the Production of Built Environment: The Case of Turkey, Ph.D Thesis, METU Institute of Science and Technology, Ankara.
- [3] Çoban A., Özlüer F., Erensü S., Akdemir Ö. ve Üstün B., (2015). "Siege of Ecology by Neoliberal Policies in Turkey, Resistance and Reconstruction", Architecture Seminar, March 5-6-7, 2015, İstanbul.
- [4] Eraydın, A., (2006). Changing Space, Dost Bookstore, Ankara.
- [5] Eraydın, A., (2013). "Changing Neoliberalism and Reflections thereof to Urban Areas: thinking of options and future", 4th Urban and Regional Research Symposium, November 28-30, 2013, Mersin.
- [6] Harvey, D., (1990). The Condition of Postmodernity, Blackwell publishers, UK ;Translated by: Sarvan, S., (2003). (The Condition of Postmodernity, Metis Publications, İstanbul).
- [7] Harvey, D., (2005). A Brief History of Neoliberalism, Oxford University Press, New York.
- [8] Polat E., Bilsel, S. G. and Yılmaz, N., (2003). "A Quest for Method for Sustainable Urban Innovation: Strategic Priority Conservation and Development Urban Design Project in Kayseri City Center", 14th International Symposium on Urban Design and Applications, May 2003, İstanbul
- [9] Tezcan, M. and Penbecioğlu, M., (2010). "Neoliberal Urbanization Process and Coastal Gentrification; A Study on İzmir Alaçatı", 33rd World Urban Town Planning Day Colloquium, November 6-8, 2009, Antalya
- [10] Internet
- [11] Şengül, H T., (2008), Capitalist Urbanization Dynamics and Turkish Cities, www.planlama.org, July 22, 2014

★ ★ ★