

THE PLANNING HISTORY OF TURKEY: POLICIES, PRACTICES, BREAKDOWNS

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ABSTRACT

Turkey went into social and economical regeneration process after pronouncement of the republic in 1923. Although there were many problems and constraints like limited economical sources, external debts from the Ottoman period, and the lack of technical crew the government gave importance to the planned urban development. In the single party period of 1920's-1940's, the industrial investments in particular settlements in the country came into prominence. By the beginning of the 1950's the Marshall aid started to change the economic and demographic structure of Turkey (mechanization in agriculture, migration from rural to urban etc.). In 1950's as a result of the unconsidered circumstances, immigration from rural to urban areas, unplanned urban development (squatter housing or gecekondu), land speculations, unemployment in the urban areas occurred as other problems.

In 1960's by the foundation of State Planning Organization the planned urban development was started and regional planning approach gained importance for the planning practices. The changing political order in that period also changed the status quo. The 1980's were interpreted as the time of chaos for the developing cities as a result of intricacy of the 1970's. The rapid urbanization, migration from rural to urban, unemployment, land speculations, marginal sector developments, the unsustainable uses of land and resources were the primary problems of 1980's. The military coup between 1980 and 1983, the liberal economic changes of 1984 with the political elections, the private TV channels, changes in popular culture shaped the 1980's in the context of planning discipline and social durations. After 1980's the cities were shaped by capital flow, incremental development approach (project based development), globalisation and rapid urbanization.

In this study, urbanization practices, laws and regulations, the breakpoints for social, demographic and urban changes, economic and political processes, planning practices were evaluated in order to execute the relations between different processes.

INTRODUCTION

The examination and evaluation of the spatial planning approach of Turkey in political, economic and social content in 20th century goes beyond the scope of this paper. Within this content the purpose of this study is to define the changes in planning approach of Turkey in social, political and economic transformation periods between 1923 and 2000's.

The spatial planning in Turkey has been influenced by the paradigmatic changes in planning discipline through the history. The reflection of Turkish political history, social transformation and economic development are also seen in the planning approach. The purpose of the paper is to define the changes in the spatial planning approaches and the evaluation of the planning practices in four periods;

- 1923-1950: the modernization and industrialization efforts, economic depression, state investments in public infrastructure, manufacturing industry and social services.
- 1950's-1960: the integration to the capitalist world, the rapid urbanization, changing approaches in modernity project.
- 1960's-1970's: changing tendencies, planning practices, State Planning organization: five-year development plans
- 1980's-2000's: transition to liberal economy, privatization of public services, dispose of public estates, foreign investments, obliteration of modernism project, improvement of communication and information

technologies, globalization, incremental planning-project based development.

The research materials are the several critics on planning history of Turkey, plan reports, planning decisions, master plans, demographic data, industrialization and urbanization rates of different periods.

THE MODERNIZATION IN OTTOMAN PERIOD:

The modernity project which started in Europe -with the industrialization- in 19th century, accelerated the economic and institutional change in Ottoman Empire by 1840's. The first influences of this movement were seen in the economy, which was opened to capitalism in market mechanism and the modern reforms that were handled by the manager elites (Tekeli, 2009 p:107-108). All these alterations accelerated the public and private space differentiation in the Ottoman social structure. After the emergence of the bureaucracy that was shaped by waged civil servants in 1860's the formation of the commercial and business district in the traditional Ottoman city accelerated (Tekeli, 2009 p:107-108). The most appreciate example to that case was the development of Istanbul in 19th century.

In the 19th century Istanbul was the only city with 500.000 inhabitants. The population agglomeration was related with the industrial production rate, international commerce activities, the government agencies and official character of the city.

By the republican period the distribution of population and industrial enterprises changed through the country as a result of modernization movement and state policies (Tekeli, 2009).

1923-1950 PERIOD

Turkey went into social, economic and spatial regeneration process by the pronouncement of the republic in 1923. Although there were many problems and constraints like limited economic resources, external debts from the Ottoman period, and the lack of technical crew, the government gave importance to the planned urban development. There were two main aims of the Turkish republic in 1920's; to constitute / form a nation state space in the country and to organize the cities as a places of modernity (Tekeli, 2009). For the modernization purpose, the Turkish government got assistance of European experts as in Ottoman period. The change of the capital city from Istanbul to Ankara -to form a new modern city in the middle of Anatolia and to constitute an efficient railway system through the country in order to provide accessibility and connection between the cities- was one of the fundamental policies of Modernization period. In this scope, in 1924 the first development efforts (subdivisional planning) started in İzmir which was destroyed in the First World War (Ayataç, 2000 p.108).

Between 1923 and 1933, 23 settlements were planned. However, the modern planning period started with the planning process of Ankara -new capital city of the republic- which was developed by Herman Jansen. The master plan of the city, which included green system, university neighborhood, social housing and workers' dwellings, had some social and national concerns. Beside the master plan, Jansen worked on some urban design projects as Vekaletler neighborhood, Ulus Square and Bahçelievler between 1935 and 1938.

The urban development efforts were supported with the rural development. In 1924, the government enacted the Village Law for the modernization of the rural settlements. Depending on this law in 1937 the modern republic village project was prepared. The prototype villages had generally grid plans and certain number of housing units depended on total population. The first example of the republic village "Temelli" was founded in Thrace in 1940's (www.mimarlikmuzesi.org, March 2010).

In 1930's planning practices concentrated on street layout, building blocks and public open spaces. In the same period the foreign planners were dealing with zoning, transportation hierarchy and variety in legend (Ayataç, 2000).

Industrialization efforts:

In ottoman period, the industrial enterprises were mostly located in and around the capital city of Istanbul (In İzmit-uniform and green cloth production for army, and

in İstanbul-green cloth, blanket, textile, military supplies, glass and tile industry) (Makaleler Bildiriler, p:237)

The Turkish republic aimed to sustain the equal distribution of industrial enterprises through the country. In order to provide financial support for industrial enterprises, in 1924 and in 1925, two commercial banks were founded by the government (İş Bank & Sanayi ve Maadin Bankası). In 1927, the Industry encouragement law was enacted in order to provide financial support for private industrial investments.

In 1930's the urbanization approach of the republic was relied on;

- The generation of national economies (economic independence, industry-agriculture integration, cooperative basis in sectors),
- The balance between rural and urban areas,
- Regional integration,
- Central planning organization,
- Urban development on the nationalized land,
- The industrialization and industry-city integration (Keskinok, 2006, p:26).

The macro level spatial strategies of the republic had three bases; 1) balanced regional development, 2) the creation of the connection between Anatolian settlements in order to control the national land and market, 3) the change of the capital city and the redevelopment of Ankara (Keskinok, 2006, p:26).

The small sized Anatolian cities (population: 10.000) were selected for the development of industrial enterprises in the scope of the state policies of 1930's. The urban development in these cities was supported with the state manufacturing investments, public enterprises and transportation investments. The industrial development in small sized settlements enabled the social, cultural and economic improvement. The population percentage of Marmara region compared to the country was decreased from 43% in 1927 to 36% in 1950. Between 1930's and 1950's six settlements with the population over 50.000 developed out of the Marmara region (Çalışkan, 2003). The population and development data of that period proves the success of the national policies and decisions of 1930's.

By the 1930 in order to attain the industrial development, both the state enterprises were founded and the private sector was supported. The first industrialization program which aimed to guide the -capital- investments was put into practice in 1934. In this period the "added value" in manufacturing industry grew in three times and nearly all the foreign capital investments including railways, factories, banks and insurance companies were nationalized (Tekeli, 2009).

In 1932 by the efforts of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk the "public houses" were started to operation in 14 centers (Afyon, Ankara, Bolu, Bursa, Çanakkale, Denizli, Diyarbakır, Eminönü, Eskişehir, İzmir, Konya, Malatya, Samsun). The public houses aimed the society to internalize the reforms of republic.

In 1936, Henry Prost started to planning studies of İstanbul. The plan, which proposed 800.000 population for the city, was applied until 1950. After the Second World War, the rapid population increase and deficient industrialization resulted with rapid and illegal development in the city.

In 1937 in order to provide financial support for the development plans Municipality Bank was founded. By the foundation of "İller Bankası" in 1945 the planning practices in Turkey accelerated (in 1945 Kayseri Development Plan).

One of the most important cases in 1940's was the foundation of "village institutes" that were operational between 1940 and 1954 in Turkey. The village institutes which were seen as a cornerstone of the rural development in the country were established to train teachers for each village and send them back to form new village school. The education included both practical - agriculture, construction, arts and crafts etc. - and classical - mathematics, science, literature, history etc.- courses. The project intended to trigger the enlightenment process of the rural population.

Till 1940's the native experts generally emphasized on the street layout and building blocks in development plans. However, the foreign planners proposed detailed zoning regulations and hierarchical street layouts in plans. Beside the all planning efforts in that period the planning practices were limited by the regulations and laws, which had incremental approaches in practice (Ayataç, 2000 p:110).

The planned development and modernization movement of 1920's were interrupted in 1950's. The mechanization in agriculture as a result of Marshall aids caused the unemployment of rural population and resulted the migration to urban areas. The railway investments increased the accessibility and mobility of the rural population which caused the migration and the population agglomeration in urban areas. The squatter housing, land speculations related with private ownership, and unemployment in cities were the main problems of the period (Tekeli, 2009).

However, Bozdoğan emphasizes that the modernization process of Turkish republic which was planned and implemented is comparatively successful than the akin projects in the underdeveloped countries (cited from Çalışkan, 2003).

1950'S-1960 PERIOD

The second period covers the 1950's which was mainly shaped by the shift to multiparty democracy (in 1945) from single party democracy, changing statements in politics, Marshall aids from the USA, migration from rural areas to urban areas, mechanization in agriculture and rapid increase in urban population. The public houses and village institutions were closed down in 1950's. The American alliance subtly affected the climate of political debate in Turkey in the late 1940s and 1950s (By 1960, \$3 billion of aid accepted from America, which caused the mechanization in agriculture and reorganization of Turkish army).

Ayataç (2000) emphasizes that between 1933 and 1945 the planning practices was shaped by the neighborhood planning, village planning, redevelopment of existing settlements, planning of new settlements and zoning regulations. As a result the inadequacy of existing development law no 2290, the law no 6785 was enacted in 1956. By this law;

- Master plan
- Implementary development plan
- Development and street plan were put into practice (Köroğlu & Ölmez, 2002).

The law;

- Allowed the central authority to control and legitimate the development plans,
- Put into practice the public interest approach in development plans
- Allowed the expropriation of private land (Ayataç, 2000 p.112).

In order to obtain the planned development in urban areas some legal compulsories were imposed and the international competitions were used (competition for İzmir in 1952, for Ankara in 1955). The foundation of Chamber of Turkish Engineers and Architects in 1954, the legislation of new development law no 6785 in 1956, the foundation of ministry of development and settlements in 1958 were the main institutional regulations of 1950's (Ayataç, 2000 p.111, Tekeli, 2009).

In 1958 the Ministry of development and settlements was established for the purposes of carrying out civil works and major repairs concerning public buildings, and highways as well as providing services related to physical planning, land development and housing for low income. The approval of development plans were taken under the authorization of ministry (<http://www.bayindirlik.gov.tr>, March 2010). The Ministry of development and settlements put emphasize on the regional planning and national planning approaches (Köroğlu & Ölmez, 2002).

In 1960, the Bursa master plan which including the CIAM principles in regional scale was developed. After 1960's Ministry of development and settlements enhanced the East Marmara Region Plan. This study was followed by Zonguldak, Antalya, Çukurova, East and southeastern Anatolia, Elazığ- Keban Regional Plans (Aru, 2001).

Despite the all planned development efforts, the illegal development was not prevented; in 1950's 67253 illegal squatter houses were built in Ankara, 8238 in Istanbul. Till 1956 the number increased to 31914 in Istanbul. Since the economic resource inadequacy, the defects in expropriation laws, legal and operational constrains and the lack of technical crew, the municipalities did not apply the 84% of the proposed development plans in 1950's.

1960'S-1970'S PERIOD (PLANNED DEVELOPMENT PERIOD)

The following 20 years which will be described as the mixed economy period, was predominated by public investments. Tekeli (2009) indicates that in 1960's there was no radical change in the implication of development plans. However, the significant development in the municipality management and urban planning approach were seen (Ayataç, 2000). The foundation of the first Urban and regional planning department in METU in 1961, the development of SPO, social issues in planning, the works of Ministry of Development and settlements show the gaining importance of urban planning process in 1960's and 1970's.

By the foundation of the State Planning Organization, the comprehensive and rational planning process started in Turkey. The quinquennial development plans which aimed the economic development depended on state economic enterprises, accelerated the industrialization in different locations. The first development plan (1963-1967) in which the industry was the primer sector, intended the 7% growth in economy per year. The organized industrial zones and small industrial estates were supplied and founded by the government in that period (Ereğli steel plant, Kütahya nitrogen enterprises started to operation and assembly industry, electrical machines, agricultural machinery, ship industry rapidly developed). During this period the first metropolitan planning studies were started in planning agencies.

In 1966, Istanbul Master Plan Office was founded under the Ministry of Development and Settlement. In the following five years 1/25000 scaled Istanbul Master Plan was completed. In 1968 Izmir Master Plan Office, in 1969 Ankara Master Plan Office was founded (Köroğlu & Ölmez, 2002),

Till 1965, first Ministry of Public Works then Ministry of Development and settlements produced urban development plans and some national and international competitions were organized (Köroğlu & Ölmez, 2002). Between 1960's and 1970's urban planning competitions obtained the evolution of planning methods in the country. (Adana-1966, Konya-1964, Bafra -1996, Sivas-1967, Erzurum-1968, Zonguldak-1971, İzmit-1970, G.antepe-1972) (Aru, 2001; Köroğlu & Ölmez, 2002). The detailed analysis and synthesis which were prepared by "İller Bankası" in order to provide data for competitions, documented the social, economic and natural data of the settlements. In the following year Mersin promenade (1965), Edirne Selimiye Mosque and surroundings (1967), Akşehir (1973), İzmit promenade and fairground design (1977) competitions were arranged.

The regional development approach maintained its influence till the second half of the 1970's and urbanization was seen as a phenomenon that needs support in the economic and social development. In the regional development plans rather than social dimension physical and spatial dimensions were highlighted.

The third development plan (1973-1977) aimed to determine the natural resources and human capital of the settlements in order to trigger the development and to solve the problem of uneven development in regions. Within this content, the state planning organization (SPO) determined the constraints, problems, opportunities and infrastructure utilities of the specific cities.

In the first two development plans the main approach was regional planning for underdeveloped regions. However the third plan put emphasize on development priority zones (Keleş, 1993).

In this period, the private sector enterprises were supported and bureaucratic formalities were reduced in order to trigger the economic and social development. Private sector was the primer investor in the manufacturing industry between 1968 and 1972. By the national policies of 1960's, between 1963 and 1972 the export revenue of the country increased from 65 million dollar to 242 million dollar (makaleler bildiriler p: 260).

In 1970's the floor area ratio and total area ratio (TAKS KAKS), plan notes, local circumstances and sub divisional planning approach gained weight in planning implications.

1980'S- 2000'S PERIOD

In 1980's the rapid urbanization, migration from rural to urban and population agglomeration in urban areas were proceeded as in 1970's. The neoliberal policies which have started to dominate the western countries in 1970's also became effective in Turkey by 1980's. The neo liberal approach and policy caused some functional changes in development plans; after 1980's development plans lost their role and power in enforcement (makaleler bildiriler p: 261). The economic stability decisions of the 24th January 1980 and military coup in the 12th September interrupted the planned development efforts. The Planning which was an economic policy tool became an inactive instrument after the SPO was neutralized. However, the SPO maintained the development planning process (Kepenek, 2002, p:33).

Depended on the elaborate researches; the SPO classified the cities in terms of socio-economic development levels and gave precedence to underdeveloped cities. The analysis and synthesis proved that while the most developed cities were located in the western part of the country, the underdeveloped settlements concentrated in the eastern part.

By the Development Law No. 3194 which was enacted in 1985, planning process gained a new aspect from regional and urban scales to building scales. The planning stage method was also included in the process. By this law, the local municipalities gained the authority in planning practices. The regional planning, conservation planning and tourism planning approaches were also came into practice by the related laws in this period (Tourism encouragement law no: 2634, Protection of Cultural and Natural values Law No. 2863, Bosphorus Law No. 2960 etc.) (Köroğlu & Ölmez, 2002).

In 1982, the Tourism Encouragement Law No. 2634 was enacted to accelerate mass tourism development. The Law induced many private and public entrepreneurs to undertake large amounts of fixed investment in tourism by building hotels, yacht ports, swimming pools, etc and it provided a wide range of fiscal and monetary incentives. It also appropriated State-owned land for tourism development, reduced bureaucratic formalities for tourism investors, relaxed restrictions on the employment of foreigners in the tourism sector, introduced vocational education and training development projects, and gave precedence in communication services. These incentives were given to tourism investments that took place in tourism regions, tourism zones and tourism centers as determined by the Tourism Incentive Act No.2634. It is argued that the incentives that were given to the tourism sector are a result of the adoption of a liberal capitalist economic policy.

In 1980's the regional planning approach also came into prominence and the government accelerated the implementation of the first regional development project called "Southeastern Anatolia project" (GAP). The project area covers 9 administrative provinces (Adiyaman, Batman, Diyarbakir, Gaziantep, Kilis, Mardin, Siirt, Sanliurfa and Sirnak) in the basins of the Euphrates and Tigris and in Upper Mesopotamia (<http://www.gap.gov.tr/28> march 2010).

The basic strategies of the project include sustainable human development, fairness in development, public participation, environmental protection, employment generation, spatial planning and infrastructure development (<http://www.gap.gov.tr>, March 17, 2010).

Besides the regional planning approach, in 1990 the coastal law no: 3621 aimed to regulate the urban development along the seashores by limiting the development in the first 100 meter. By this law, the coastal line was taken under protection and opened to public use.

Although the conservation and protection efforts of natural, historical and social values, 1980's was shaped by the incremental planning decision in metropolitan cities. In İstanbul, construction of Tarlabası Boulevard, demolition of historical buildings, modification of master plan decisions in conservation areas (Bosphorus), increase in urban density, transportation and infrastructure problems with land use changes in public -open- spaces caused the deterioration of urban pattern. Depending on the Tourism Support Law no: 2634 (in 1983) some districts, sites and

parcels were declared as tourism centers without considering the master plan decisions in upper scales.

Tekeli (2009) emphasizes that the public participation approach in planning process started to be discussed in 1980's and the first example was put into practice between 1977 and 1983 in Ankara municipality. In the following years the participation approach was taken into consideration in several municipalities such as Aliğa, Çeşme, İstanbul, İzmir and Bursa.

In 1980's mass housing projects were also started to develop in order to provide feasible housing for middle and low income groups.

By the beginning of 1990's, the rapid economic redevelopment movement of 1980's appeared as globalization and regional economic integration approach. In this period the urban planning concentrated on social process rather than spatial organization. On the other hand, the big scale redevelopment projects -such as Dikmen valley residential and recreational development project- were commenced in Ankara, İstanbul, İzmir and Antalya.

During the 1980's and the 1990's, the privatization of public economic enterprises and public estates affected both the industrial and agricultural production and employment levels, especially in small sized settlements, which developed through the state industrial enterprises in 1930's.

Tekeli (2009) considers the post 1980's as a distinct period in the planning history of Turkey. He indicates that, after 1980's the money and population redistributed in urban space in a different way as a result of migration, urbanization and industrialization. The redistribution of capital also strongly related with the foreign affairs and export rates of the country. Concerning the economic integration of Turkey in international level and the being a part of worldwide cyberspace, the telecommunication infrastructure was rapidly developed, new institutions such as free capital market and free zones were developed. All these reforms resulted the change in the structure of the settlements; İstanbul became more powerful in economy, population increased to 9 million and the industry decentralized in Marmara region.

Tekeli (2009) also emphasizes that at the same period Turkey also experienced the tourism development in coastal settlements and industrialisation in Anatolian cities depended on the international trade.

Related with these movements in national scale, in 1990's the number of foreign enterprises rapidly increased from 100 in 1980 to 3100 in 1995. By the effects of globalization and the devolution of central power, local governance, public participation, NGOs, privatization in public services and democratization were came into prominence (Keskinok, 2006).

The growth of central business districts related with the transportation facilities, high-rise headquarters of companies, luxury housing, the increase in car ownership were the outcomes of this globalisation process of 1990's (Tekeli, 2009).

In this period Turkey seek for solutions to both the integration to international market and the mass housing and squatter housing issue in national level. In this process the comprehensive rational planning approach was separated into two branches; strategic planning and flexible planning. In this sense the social processes and public participation came into prominence (Tekeli, 2009).

Beside the national political processes and the unique characteristics of Turkey, the planning practices and urban development in 2000's has been shaped by the world wide circumstances, globalization and localization, alteration in economic relations, EU adaptation process, democratization, public participation, privatization of public estates, and capital movement in metropolitan cities.

IN CONCLUSION

The planning history (from 1923 to 2000's) of Turkey exhibits the role of changing political and economic circumstances -in the national and international levels- in the formation of planning practices. The literature survey executes that, the planning approach and planning practices are strongly related with the economic, political and social circumstances of the period. The international movements also have significant effects on development process, planning practices and implications.

The influence of modernity project in Europe and the modernization policies of Turkish republic in 1930's, created significant alterations in social and spatial structure of the country. Till 1950's the approach of designing the city as an object gave way to planning in social content. The planning education also institutionalized in that period by the foundation of first city planning department in Metu. The evaluation of comprehensive and rational planning approach in Turkey was also parallel with the case in western.

Before 1980's, related with the regional planning decisions, the planning approach was concentrated on the estimation of landuse decisions of the settlements with the consideration of regional dynamics. The planning process and the planning approach mainly resisted to public interest in that process. After the 1980's the economic and political conversion in the world, caused the lose of the function of this method in the planning of large cities. The increasing complexity in the mechanism of the cities created the need for a new and flexible planning method; the public participation is included to the process. This approach is still new for both the planners and politicians in Turkey. However, the public participation will be cultivated as the citizenship consciousness increase and as the planners gain political roles in managements.

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