

**SPATIAL PLANNING AND THE IDEA OF PROGRESS:
ZONGULDAK REGIONAL AND METROPOLITAN PLANNING
EXPERIENCES**

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ABSTRACT

SPATIAL PLANNING AND THE IDEA OF PROGRESS: ZONGULDAK REGIONAL AND METROPOLITAN PLANNING EXPERIENCES

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The object of the study is spatial planning; the point of view to spatial planning is idea of progress. Within this framework, this thesis will examine, planning activity, one of the most important mediation between planners and space. Planning activity will express itself as the circulation of purpose (analysis) and action during the thesis. Firstly, spontaneity of objective purpose, partial conscious character of political purpose and conscious position of subjective purpose will be admitted as global irrational action, and so spatial planning will be assumed as *a priori* against idea of progress. Secondly, (partial) conscious position will express itself as the conflict of truth and illusion. Thirdly, totality, the representative of process of becoming, will supply itself as the object of idea of progress. Therefore, while examining concrete forms of planning, totality will become the mean of idea of progress.

Within this context, the first claim of our thesis is that concrete forms of planning cannot bring about the progress directly. The second claim is that they are unconscious about their position in conflict and developing one-sided attitude against space. Lastly, in the sense of totality, the third claim is that planning theories and practices, historically, produce oppositional dynamics in them. Therefore, it will be introduced that two one-sided critiques of *comprehensive planning*- one is materialist and the other is idealist- comes together and produces *structure planning*. Moreover, *structure planning* will be claimed as flexible modes

of becoming, abstractly sublating historical ideologies. As a result the new modes of becoming will be considered, similarly, loading its conflict and opposinary dynamics in it, this conflict is the conflict between concrete form of planning departing from reality and planning theory arriving to reality.

Key words: Planning Theory, Idea of Progress, Structure Planning, Perspective

ÖZ

MEKANSAL PLANLAMA VE İLERLEME FİKRİ: ZONGULDAK BÖLGE VE METROPOLİTEN PLANLAMA DENEYİMLERİ

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Bu tezin çalışma nesnesi mekan planlamasıdır, mekan planlamasına bakış açısı ise ilerleme düşüncesidir. Bu çerçevede, tez, planlılar ile mekan arasındaki en önemli dolayımardan biri olan planlama etkinliğini ele alacaktır. Planlama etkinliği, tez boyunca amaç (analiz) ve eylem döngüsü olarak karşımıza çıkacaktır. İlk olarak, nesnel amacın kendiliğindenliği, politik amacın kısmi bilinçliliği ve öznel amacın bilinçliliği küresel irrasyonel eylemlilik hali olarak kabul edilecek, mekan planlamasının ise önsel olarak ilerleme düşüncesini getirmediği varsayılacaktır. İkinci olarak (kısmi) bilinçlilikler doğruluk ve sahteliğin çelişkisi olarak karşımıza çıkacaktır. Üçüncü olarak, bütünlük, bir varoluş süreci olarak çelişkiyi ilerleme düşüncesinin nesnesi haline getirecektir. Böylelikle somut mekan planlaması deneyimlerinde, bütünlük varsayımı ilerlemenin aracı olacaktır.

Buna göre, tezimizin ilk olarak iddiası, önsel olarak somut planlama çalışmalarının ilerlemeyi getiremeyeceğidir. İkinci iddia, somut planlama çalışmalarının kendi çelişkili konumlarının farkına varamadıkları ve mekana karşı tek-yanlı bir tutum geliştirdikleridir. Üçüncü iddia ise, bütünlük söz konusu olduğunda, planlama teorileri ve pratiklerinin tarihsel olarak kendi karşı dinamiklerini de ortaya çıkardıklarıdır. Böylece, *kapsamlı planlama*'nın tek-yanlı iki eleştirisinin –biri materyalist, diğeri idealist- sonucu olarak kendi içinden *yapısal planlama*'yı türettiği ileri sürülecektir. Bu çerçevede *yapısal planlama* tarihsel

ideolojilerin, esnek bir ideoloji olarak yeni bir *varoluş modu* içinde oldukları iddia edilecektir. Son olarak ise bu yeni varoluşun da benzer şekilde kendi karşıtını içinde barındırdığı, kendi karşı dinamiklerini beslediği savlanacaktır. Buna göre, karşımızda duran çelişki, gerçekliği çıkış noktası yapan somut planlama etkinliği ile gerçekliği varış noktası haline getiren planlama teorileri arasındaki çelişki olarak ifade edilecektir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Planlama Teorisi, İlerleme Düşüncesi, Yapısal Planlama, Perspektif

to my family

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Aim of the Study

The concrete is concrete because it is the concentration of many determinations, hence unity of the diverse. It appears in the process of thinking (of Classical Economy), therefore, as a process of concentration, as a result, not as a point of departure, even though it is the point of departure in reality and hence also the point of departure for observation and conception. (Marx, K., The Method of Political Economy-Paraphrase is mine, Ö.G.)¹

This quotation is necessary to think on *alienation in thought* and a guidance in each time of the study to analyse spatial planning. In the sense of spatial planning, the most important debate of today is on the changes in planning paradigm. It is also introduced that there is a crisis in planning theory. Till 1960's the scope of planning debate has enlarged from space to state and society, or, from aesthetic reflection of space to philosophical reflection of society. However, the term *alienation* which was a significant part of philosophical debates was not introduced in planning debate completely. The most successful examples of philosophy was dominated by the discussions on *alienation*, however, spatial planning focusing on *progress* is still far from interpreting the term as an inevitable category to discuss planning activity.

Philosophically, any consideration on *idea of progress* without considering the term *alienation* could not attain fully developed forms of human life and its essence. The negation and realization of theory, without considering *alienation*, becomes part of *alienation*. In this thesis, *idea of progress* assumes the *alienation* and we attempt to appropriate the endeavour of planning for *supersession of alienation*.

The *enlightening judgment* that criticizes both particular and general critique of concrete forms of planning with reference to new total construction of history and philosophy is a way

¹ In this study, the quotations in English taken from Marx, Uchida and Lukacs were obtained from a CD, which was prepared by www.marxist.org.

of understanding to give the aim of *idea of progress*. Any concrete form of planning in each time assumes a particular critique of spatial reality, so existing planning theory gives planners to overcome this particular problem. However the general critique that also refers to another concrete developments, prepares the condition of new theory and new practice. Therefore the function of *enlightening judgment* is to unite the particular and general critique of reality, to unite history and philosophy, but not to construct a new theory. An effort, attributing philosophy and theory of planning a meaning over history, surely *confirms alienation*.

This framework of *idea of progress* gives planners to unite the particular and general critiques of concrete development and to unite history and philosophy, for *supersession of alienation*. In fact, we necessitate a concrete situation and so concrete forms of planning. The historical account of planning experiences of Turkey has to be seen with these concrete forms of planning. Therefore, Zonguldak, which have criticized or attempted to plan three times for 40 years, supplies us an unobtainable example to discuss the change in concrete forms of planning with reference to *idea of progress*.

Although, Zonguldak has also one more effort of planning in 1940's by Mithat Yenen, the endeavour of spatial planning was mostly at the beginning of 1960's. Therefore in this study the object of the study can be summarized with there different examples of spatial planning such as: Preliminary Planning in regional scale at the beginning of 1960's, Metropolitan Planning at the beginning of 1970's and lastly Zonguldak-Bartın-Karabük Regional Development Project at the end of 1990's.

In fact, to appropriate planning endeavour as the activity of idea of progress is so difficult intention. To construct a connection between concrete forms of planning *idea of progress* or, idea of *emancipation*, it is, initially, necessary to discuss on idea of progress.

1.2 General Framework

Since the 1960's enlarging the scope of planning through philosophy, confronts with the problem of *reorganization of totality and core of planning*. This thesis tries to enlighten the obstacles and to find a way to reorganize the core of planning by utilizing from the Classical German Philosophy, historically full of disagreements. From Hume and Leibniz to Hegel and Marx, history of philosophy produced so creative discussions that can be summarized in the relation of *consciousness* (understanding) and *self-consciousness* involving many other dualities especially *rational-actual, universal-particular*. This study considering the deep

content of philosophical debates during two centuries will try to purify the disagreements through idea of progress in a unique process *from consciousness to self-consciousness* with two explicit results such as: *supersession* and *confirmation of alienation*. In this frame, the process from consciousness to self-consciousness characterizes idea of progress as *confirmation of alienation* and *supersession of alienation*. This connection or definition of progress is surely the base of study and leads any social process to emancipate.

It is to be sure that the term *alienation* is widely neglected in *planning theory*, however, this dominates the thought on social theory. Apart from this term, it is not possible to make judgment on progress, especially social progress, that planning practice and theory cannot be avoided.

Alienation is the object of a dialectical process. Therefore, each process: *process of alienation* and *process of retraction of alienation* is characterized by the term *negation*, realizes in a one unique process as synthesis: *negation of negation*. This process historically and practically may be also concluded positively as *supersession of alienation* and negatively as *confirmation of alienation*. Therefore it is not compulsory for the *process of retraction of alienation* completing as *supersession of alienation*, but *confirmation of alienation* is also a possible result.

For Marx, it was necessary to negate Hegelian philosophy and at the same time the realization of his theory confirming unholy forms such as: state and society, since these unholy forms were also carrying the inverted forms of conscious or the aroma of the religion in them. However, being alive of inverted forms of consciousness in unholy forms was not originated from the thought of Hegel, but from the existing and real condition. Hegel's thought was only the confirmation of the appearance of these real conditions; therefore, for Hegel, *negation of the negation* is not the confirmation of the **true essence**, affected precisely through *negation of the pseudo-essence*.

The man who has recognised that he is leading an alienated life in law, politics, etc., is leading his true human life in this alienated life as such. Self-affirmation, self-confirmation **in contradiction** with itself — in contradiction with both the knowledge and the essential being of the object — is thus **true knowledge and life**. (Marx, K., 1844, Critique of Hegel's Philosophy in General)

Thus, the task of history is to establish the contradiction of (pseudo-essence) appearance and (true-essence) essence or, the truth of this world, and of philosophy to unmask the self-estrangement in unholy forms. Within this framework criticism is to be an aim for itself, not to be mean of any theory or philosophical concern.

In the sense of planning theory and practice, criticism of planning theory is not a criticism for any theory, but it is the task for itself, historically. Extracting the self-confirmation in contradiction, or true human life in alienated life, is the **true knowledge and life**. This process is valid for also planning theory and practice. Any planning theory, which discovers and negates only the thought-entity, was contented with the appearance of the motion. Therefore, true knowledge and life becomes illusory, or fantastic realization of planning.

Therefore, negation of planning theory necessitates the disillusion of man think, act, and fashion his reality like a man discarded his illusions and regained his senses, so that he will move around himself as his own true Sun. In addition, it is not possible to catch the true reality of planning endeavour immediately, since it supplies itself with illusory theory of planning. Thus, extracting the self-confirmation of planning activity in contradiction with itself, gives the true knowledge and process of planning.

1.3 The Method of the Study

This thesis surely, with respect to the process from full conception to abstract determination, will trace the method *from abstract determination to concrete for thought*, so that, the duty of examining planning becomes a question on *rationalization*. Therefore *planning in general* is a compulsory category to start and get rid of any abstractly determined forms of planning. But, of course, *planning in general* is in each time a planning for a specific social formation. Therefore it does not belong to “pure thought”. In each debate and practice on planning, it will gain and reproduce its meaning and principle with reference to social formation. The only constant in planning activity is a *circulation between analysis (imagination of product) and action (realization of purpose)*. Besides that, for a general critique, there is the need for principles or, routes based on this circulation of *planning in general* to start examining the theoretical frameworks of different kinds of planning in a capitalist social formation. This general critique will be called as *general form of planning*. General critique is also inevitably to be the critique of concrete form of planning, which assumes the abstract form of planning, or planning theory. There has to a critical standing that gives way us to formulate enlightening judgment in a concrete situation of planning activity. By the way discussing the abstractly determined forms of planning in accordance with the routes shows only the appearance or pseudo-essence of planning activity and *general form of planning* or, general critique is necessary to start self-confirmation of planning activity in contradiction with itself as true knowledge of planning process.

Laclau (1998), considering the debate between Miliband and Poulantzas on the theory of state introduces a systematic on *how to criticize theory*, in four steps:

- 1- The duality between empirical field confronted and theoretical system (regarding the level of abstractions as hypothetico deductive)
- 2- Determining the theoretical problems
- 3- Presenting the inner theoretical conflicts
- 4- Suggesting an alternative theoretical system

As easily seen, abstractly determined theory comprises the first three steps of Laclau. For us the last step is not the duty to construct alternative theory, but what the important is to give way to unite history and philosophy as concrete for thought towards idea of progress. Besides that *general form of planning* is to produce a general critique as the 2nd step of Laclau.

Starting from a *general circulation of planning process* (Part 2.1) and getting rid of concrete determinations by criticisizing the abstractly determined forms of theory (Part 2.2), then, necessitates an enlightening judgment produced from concrete form of planning. An enlightening judgment is a duty to unite the general (*general form of planning*) and particular critique as the critique of both abstract and concrete forms of planning activity.

For us general critique is the *general form of planning* such as: *uniting economy and politics, problem and solution assuming basic question and answers, and the mediation from perspective to action*. Therefore, *general form of planning* which was introduced in Part 2.3 as general critique towards an idea of progress has to be matured as in 1st step, that is the critique of concrete forms of planning in Zonguldak. But to be contended with the results in 2nd step is explicitly not convenient for idea of progress, since theoretical problems has not any meaning independent from the concrete planning experiences. Within this framework the concrete planning experiences (Chapter 4) give us a chance to find a way to realize 1st and 3rd steps.

In studying concrete forms of spatial planning in Turkey enlightening judgment is so important. In *A Contribution to Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*, Marx while studying concrete situation of Germany, he uses a term *salto mortale* synonymously somersault, and asks to Germans,

How can it do a somersault, not only over its own limitations, but at the same time over the limitations of the modern nations, over limitations which it must in

reality feel and strive for as for emancipation from its real limitations? (Marx, K.,
A Contribution to Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right)

In fact, enlightening judgment is a kind of *salto mortale* that uniting particular critique against its own limitations and general critique against the limitations of modern nations which is also real limitations of Germans. Apart from *salto mortale* or, enlightening judgment, the emancipation in Germany can only become an anachronism.

Therefore this study has to focus on the abstractions of the planning experiences in Turkey but not as the planning experience of Turkey in itself. To avoid from pseudo-abstractions as if they were universal, there is again a need to apply *general form of planning* or general critique, and an enlightening judgment to unite general and particular critiques.

CHAPTER II

PLANNING IN GENERAL AND GENERAL CRITIQUE

Idea of progress is assumed in this study as an aim for *human emancipation* or, fully development of human-species. For the duty, the most crucial argument is brought by Hegel, *what is actual is rational, and what is rational is actual*. Any necessity calls the critique of Hegel's philosophy finds its bases in actuality, and the rationality of Hegel has to be reproduced with these critiques rationally. Therefore, within this condition, any effort that striving for realizing theory of Hegel without criticizing Hegel, and any effort negating the theory regardless of realization of critique, cannot bring about *human emancipation* or, idea of progress.

Planning activity, in concrete and abstract terms, is the activity of any authority of planning and the argument of Hegel, *what is actual is rational, what is rational is actual* is also valid for planning endeavour. The duality between actual and rational is surely a duality between theory and practice. The term *praxis* or *philosophy of praxis* aims idea of progress and to unite theory and practice. Within this context, the change in planning theory and practice has to be assessed with reference to activity of any subject regarding the *objectification of planners*. There are two explicit and possible results, one is *confirmation of alienation* and the second is *supersession of alienation*. There is also different appearance of *confirmation of alienation*, which is negating theory without realizing, and realization theory without negating. The unity of these two faults is *supersession of alienation*.

Within this framework, in this study, contrary to Faludi (1983)², planning activity will be discussed considering these philosophical disagreements to break the misunderstandings on pseudo-agreement in the judgments of planning. Admitted or not, it is significant to start

² Faludi (1983) is against discussing planning with reference to philosophical disagreements that many debates and struggles appeared historically. Contrary to philosophy, he defines the field of planning as a field of agreement. Opposinally, we will define the field of planning as full of pseudo-agreements to start discussing *planning theory* as a kind of rationalisation problem in philosophy. [Faludi, Andreas, (1983), Critical Rationalism and Planning Methodology, *Urban Studies* 20, 265-278]

with a claim that *planning process* assumes *production and reproduction of human being* on which philosophers differ by their judgments. As, *production and reproduction of human being* is essence of the activity that can be called as *objectification*.

The motion of essence creates different moments of motion, and the analysis or, exposition of man creates a linguistic communication. The origin of linguistic communication is surely the relation of production. The motion of production disturbs and reshapes the linguistic communication. Language in itself has the characters such as ambiguity and stability. Ordinary men do not start with linguistic communication, but with the production, since, before the actualization of linguistic communication, the relation of nature and subject that is the process of objectification or, production, determinates the linguistic communication.

After actualization of social connection between producers, in the same meaning linguistic communication any analysis or exposition starting with the actualization of linguistic communication *confirms the pseudo-essence of existence*. Hegel's speculative understanding does this, and recognises not the essential being, but only the thought-entity. The duty is to find out not only the appearance and so exposition or, pseudo-essence, but also the true essence that is production that gives us a contradictory being of men.

Alienated life of man in *a priori* determination of social totality gives itself to intellectuals and ordinary men to transform it, and to realize themselves in low level of abstraction, on the contrary, extracting the totality in high levels of abstraction gives us a chance to observe the personalization of social relation in human ability. From this point of view planners who are far from philosophical discussions, are explicitly deprived of recognizing different levels of abstraction. The high level of abstraction gives intellectual to realize high level of objectification, and opposinally low level of abstractions brings about a low level of objectification, or *alienation*.

Unfortunately, planners' efforts on planning process are mostly still far from high levels of abstraction. The avoidable result of this attitude is *confirmation of alienation*. Here, *alienation* is a reality, which is out of planners' subjectivity, and for any low level of understanding on society or space, it cannot be possible to emancipate from the forms of daily conscious. In that sense a transition from *theory in planning* to *theory of planning* has to be assessed as a significant transformation to emancipate from the subjective understanding and to discover the indirect position of planners against social totality. If we extract and act against social totality or spatial relations like ordinary men and directly, in this way to be confused by scoldings of the reality becomes so possible that causes men to be

unhappy consciousness. Therefore to emancipate from the concrete determination of social totality, we have to install from *general* categories. However, we have to insist on the difficulties of this attitude, and to show the obstacles, it is necessary to give an example of Hegel, who even being one of the most important philosophers of 19th century fallen into the trap of pseudo-generalization. This example also opens good discussion on planning in accordance with the need of human being who has to confirm his essential power not his product.

The production and reproduction of human life is necessary to construct the transition from immediately given nature to mediately constructed society. Philosophically, to show the differences between Hegel and Marx on *rationalization of actuality* introducing the distinct usage of the category of *labour* is necessary. Uchida states that,

When Hegel talks about the natural self-reproduction of human life, he treats the human body in isolation from the human mind or consciousness. However, according to Marx the specific characteristic of human life is that it has consciousness. This appears in his Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts (1844). He thinks that when human beings obtain food they not only ingest calories but also generate and express their culture. (Uchida, H., 1988, Emphases are mine. - Ö.G.)

While *labour* a midst category between nature and society, Hegel distinguishes it in two parts; such as mental labour and physical labour. But, for Marx, this differentiation is not a *natural* differentiation, but a *social* differentiation originated from *social division of labour*. Therefore Hegel *naturalizes* and *legitimises* this un-preferable trend in society as if it was a natural separation.

Cohen, (1998) indicates this differentiation between the material content and the specific form of society as a revolutionary duality in Marx's analysis³. (Cohen, 1998) Marx stating it as *social* differentiation chooses to study on *Capital* with the category of *labour in general*.

³ According to Savran (2003), analysis of Marx is based on two historical periods that are determined with reference to the relation between the conditions of direct producer and labour, (subjective and objective). Firstly, direct producer, representing the natural period, is defined as belonging to a community and have a direct relation with its objective conditions. In this period, nature determines the whole objective conditions and also the community. The existence of individual in a social totality is not defined with labour, oppositely individuals' labour is determined by being a member of community. This first historical period is *natural unit*.

Second historical period indicates the opposite that is an indirect unity or, *mediated totality*, which the objective conditions of labour are mediated to labour. For Savran this opposition originated from that Marx examines the pre-capitalist formations from the eyes of the specific capitalist formation. Conclusively, the opposition between the *immediateness* of pre-capitalist and *mediateness* of capitalist formation refers to two different levels of abstraction and historically from nature to society there is process of increasing mediations in each time. For the last stage, the earlier seems, as immediateness and the level of abstraction, we assume, make possible to use this differentiation for different debates.

This category is certainly used to produce a way to get rid of the socially determined character of any category. Without starting from this method that is *from abstract to concrete*, it is misleadingly simple and possible to admit the determined phenomenon, as if they were *eternal and general*.

This misconception is so widespread in planning debate on *planning theory*. To avoid this misconception it is necessary to start from *planning in general* or, *planning as such*. Therefore starting from *material and universal content of planning* is inevitable to avoid generalizing the socially determined categories in planning.

2.1 Planning in General

2.1.1 Imagination of Product and Realization of Purpose

Marx, defining the basic difference between animal and human in the sense of *labour-process* indicates a helpful formulation as below,

What distinguishes the worst architect from the best of bees is this, that the architect raises his structure in imagination before he erects it in reality. At the end of every labour-process, we get a result that already existed in the imagination of the labourer at its commencement. He not only effects a change of form in the material on which he works, but he also realizes a purpose of his own... and to which he must subordinate his will. (Marx, K., Capital I—Emphases are mine, Ö.G.)

This characteristic of labourer, *arising structure in imagination before actualisation and realization of purpose of his own* is an entrance to the discussion of planning regarding the *planning in general*. In the first stage of *labour-process* this formulation has to be in an instinctive form. (Lukacs, 1999:38) It is to be sure that *labour-process* starting as *instinctive image and purpose* realizing dialectically between subject and object is a *labour-process*, called *objectification*.

Objectification is not an individual or, *subjective* but an *objective process* relevant to two distinct objects like in the relation between sun and plant, that is “the sun is the *object* of the plant, just as the plant is an object of the sun”. A being, which has no object outside itself, is not an *objective being*. That is to say, the *objects* of his instincts exist outside him, as *objects* independent of him; yet these objects are *objects* that he *needs* and *essential objects*, indispensable to the manifestation and confirmation of his *essential powers*. (Marx, K., 1844 Manuscripts) The *need*, whether related to stomach or, fancy, its being is *outside the men*. Marx indicates this character of product produced in *labour-process*, in *Capital* as an

initial argument. Therefore *imagination before actualization and realization of purpose* is also a *need outside us to subordinate men's will*. In addition in a process of *objectification* or realizing the needs, both the *needs* and *objects* changes. Since the *objectivity* representing the integration of object and subject, changes totally.

Conclusively, the dialectical process between analysis (imagined product) and action (realization of purpose) in planning defined by Friedman is only a *general need-oriented process* as an activity of *ordinary man* in everyday life. And planning in the process of *the (re)production of human being* has to mean the *confirmation of men's essential powers and imaged needs and realization of purpose (or, needs)* as a process of *objectification*.

2.1.2 Imagination and Realization of Proportion

This part of the study related to actualization of *social totality*⁴ signifies the dilemma between form and material, first with reference to relation of exchange. Relation of exchange involving fetish categories, which Marx indicates both the difficulty and the easiness as below,

A commodity appears, at first sight, ... easily understood. (but) it is, in reality, a very queer thing... because the relation of the producers.. is presented to them as a social relation, existing not between themselves, but between the products of their labour. So far as it is a value in use, there is nothing mysterious about it. (Marx, K., Capital I -Emphases are mine, Ö.G.)

In *social totality*, the *relation between direct producers* seems as a *relation between their products*. Producers' own social action takes the form of the action of products, which rule the producers instead of being ruled by them. For this alienated situation, Marx criticizes the *analysis* of 17th century economists in later paragraphs as below,

Scientific analysis of those forms, take a course directly opposite to that of their actual historical development. He begins, *post festum*, with the results of the process of development ready to hand before him. (Marx, K., Capital I)

⁴ Savran (2003) states that, if labour is admitted as a process of "objectification" that labour exposes itself, then it is explicit that the forms of determinations of labour gains a concrete attribute. In this view the base of the historical transformation is these concrete relations, *concrete totality* or, the forms of organizing the production activity, that is for Marx, mode of production. For her, this totality is *mediated totality* and there is no case for being of pseudo-autonomy. At this stage, nature at the beginning of human being is any more a nowhere nature and it is exactly *humanal nature*. But, nature is a base of social life, and via historical process, it is reproduced and transformed. Therefore totality is a *heterogeneous totality* and it is the result of a historical process and historical process assumes this *heterogeneous totality*. As a result, the base of the human history is the *continuity of totality*.

This critique constitutes the *backbone of the thesis*, similarly continuing in the third form of labour-processes: *alienation of labour*.⁵ It is to be sure that *rationalization of actualised form of society* shows itself also in planning. As generally defined, the relation between analysis (imagined product) and action (realization of purpose) in planning refers to the needs of men to confirming his essential power. But after *the actualisation of the relation of exchange and the alienation of labour*, the relation of products seems to produce as a “real” relation of producers, and the actualised form of society produced by activities of producers determines both producers and the process of *objectification*. At this point it is necessary to think on the process of *mediated totality* and *alienation* contradicting with *objectification*. This totality characterized by political power or religion, is dominated by *alienated life*. The essential power of the producer cannot be *retracted from alienation*; oppositely, the pseudo-essence of product, capital and *alienation* is confirmed. Therefore the inverted form of conscious determined the all processes of *objectification*.

Within this framework, the economic relation personalizes in direct producer, and the ordinary imagination of product (or, now proportions) and realization of purpose (action) shows a contradictory position that involves both confirmation of alienated and true human life. Therefore, analysis in the process of *objectification* retracting itself with action now concludes as a result of actualised form of society. Moreover, with this tendency that confirming the pseudo-essence or, appearance of production, all the conscious and ordinary activities even the scientific studies reproduces this alienated life one-sidedly. After the society is emerged as the *process of alienation* concretely, then all the categories and

⁵ To give the meaning of *process of alienation* and its basic conclusion clearly it is helpful to deal with the different forms of *ground-rent* such as: *labour-rent*, *rent in kind* and *money rent*. In Capital III, for Marx, *labour rent*, where the direct producer, using his instruments as plough, cattle, etc., cultivates soil actually owned by him during part of the week, and works during the remaining days upon the estate of the feudal lord without any compensation from the feudal lord, in this situation rent and surplus-value are identical.

In *rent in kind*, the labour of the producer for himself and his labour for the landlord are no longer palpably separated by time and space and compared with labour rent, the producer rather has more room for action to gain time for surplus-labour.

Lastly, for *money rent*, the direct producer turns over instead of the product, its price to the landlord. This transformation creates both the capitalist tenants and property-less class as “a nursery school” for general development of capitalist formation. From a normal form of surplus value and surplus-labour, rent has now become transformed into an excess over that portion of the surplus-labour and profit, instead of rent, has now become the normal form of surplus value.

At this stage both the means of production and also the products alienates to the direct producer (propertyless class) who is the real collective producer of all process and realizes the separation of economical and the political one, and means of productions and surplus-value becomes the property of capitalist class. In reproduction of capital to confirm in this highest mediation of the conditions of labour, and objectification confirms the alienation. (Marx, K., Capital III, p:694-704)

phenomena are determined and finished, since the society is actualised. Lukacs in *History and Class Consciousness* claimed that,

The dialectical conception of totality can enable us to understand reality as a social process. For only this conception dissolves the fetishistic forms necessarily produced by the capitalist mode of production and enables us to see them as mere illusions which are not less illusory for being seen to be necessary. These unmediated concepts, these 'laws' sprout just as inevitably from the soil of capitalism and veil the real relations between objects. (Lukacs, 1998, Emphasis is mine-Ö.G.)

In his late studies, he introduces a category of *generalization* to get rid of the degenerative character of *daily reflection* in a revolutionary meaning. (Lukacs, G., 1999) Therefore to avoid the misleading and degenerative character of concrete, it is necessary to start *from abstract determination to concrete for thought* or, *concrete analysis*. Otherwise it is widely possible to confirm the pseudo-essence of the reality by keeping on the dualities of economical and social, intellectual and ordinary and so on, by tracing the method from *full conception to abstract determination*. The history of thinking on planning mostly traced the way from "full conception" as actual to "abstract determination" as rational. The deeper examination on the fault of degenerative attitude in planning will be given later while discussing change in planning theories. Now it is necessary to notice strong routes to get rid of *un-preferable generalizations* accepted widely in planning debate and specific to field of planning.

2.1.3 Routes for General Critique of Planning Theories

2.1.3.1 Policies in Planning as Contradictory Forms

It is to be sure that planning is socially determined phenomenon, and involves all the characters of social formation. Therefore it has to be generalized according to the real and basic needs of labour. The types of planning to be defined in Part 2.2 are mostly the planning endeavours *beginning with the results of the alienation*. Firstly capital or, the private enterprises use the way of planning to increase their profit particularly with reference to *centralization of capital and concentration of property* and it is explicit that they keep the basic dualities. Secondly there is *state planning or planning activity of state* determined by social totality and the bases of state. In this study, planning is limited neither to planning activity of state nor to the planning of private enterprises, but surely planning is for social totality.

Firstly it is to be claimed that concrete *mediated totality* drawn in this study is the base of both state, enterprises (or, capital) and civil society as the parts of totality and also the totality determines them all. The claim that, state is simple instrument of capitalist class, or state has its *relatively autonomous* character, and the duality of state and civil society, has to be considered within this framework. By introducing that we are not naively admitting the totality annihilating *the priority of economical motives*. But economical motives are the contradictory essence of reality so it involves actuality of both the appearance (pseudo-essence) and essence (true-essence). Surely, the term *social totality* corresponds to that contradictory character as *infrastructure or base* actualised historically and practically. Therefore state as a *superstructure*, is not autonomous and has both alienated and true human life in social totality. Any policy of state or self-affirmation of state has to be understood in contradiction with itself. To clear the schema the *separated character of economy and politics* in capitalist society will be admitted as *the main landmark* of social totality.

The separation of economy and politics is a character valid for capitalist social formation. In addition planning practice of the state has to be meaningful and defined within this *landmark*. It is to be sure that state policies that planning endeavour starts, are also determined with this *landmark*. In Turkey, in the period of institutionalisation of State Planning Organization, planners were in favour of this institutionalisation. However state itself is not a reality that can be understood without considering other determinants and contradiction. Therefore in rationalization of the period of institutionalisation the attitude of planners is also to be meaningful with state's contradictory position. Any actualised form of society such as, economic trends, state policies, crises etc. has to be contradictionally rational in thought and the rationality could not be simplified without historical development.

2.1.3.2 Analysis and “Analysis” in Planning

Lukacs, discussing *theoretical reflection*, distinguishes two different usage of the term *science*. To define the intensive reciprocal interaction of *production* and “science”⁶ he uses in *degenerative* meaning. For *theoretical reflection* in *progressive* meaning there is a need of getting rid of the basic characteristics of *daily reflection*. Similarly, Harvey states that,

The “scientization” of social science seems to have been accomplished by masking real social relationships -by representing the social relations between

⁶ Natural science is so convenient to the term “science”.

people and groups of people as relations between things. (Harvey, D., 1996:176-197-Emphasis is mine. - Ö.G.)

Therefore it is necessary to make a distinction between “science” and *science* in also planning. In fact, “science” of planning is a *technical standpoint to justify and legitimise* the social order. In planning debate most of the planners accepts that *science* attempts to rationalize actuality, but planning endeavour is related with non-actualised and future. (Bademli, R., 2003, p:6-20) But it is to be sure that there is a dialectical relation between *rationalisation by science and realization by planning*. They are not two distinct arenas. Neither, *science* deals only with actualized history and nor, planning related only with idealized future. Idea of progress necessitates us to unite actual and rational, history and philosophy. Therefore freezing this duality in thought unmasks the motion of essence and to be contended with “science”. Lukacs defines this relation as below,

... simple an enumeration of ‘facts’ may be, however lacking in commentary, it already implies an ‘interpretation’. Already at this stage the facts have been comprehended by a theory, a method; they have been wrenched from their living context and fitted into a theory. (Lukacs, G., 1998)

Planning endeavour, since Geddes, assesses analysis as an compulsory part of planning process. Therefore, within this framework, separating analysis (rationalization) and planning (realization) in two distinct arenas, causes a contradiction in planning, like state and policies. Therefore Geddes’ definition on planning process as survey-analysis-plan involves the contradiction between analysis on actualized history and plan for rational future. Therefore, conveniently to separation of *science* and plan, analysis with simple an enumeration of “facts” hides “interpretation” and reproduces history by wrenching and isolating “facts” from their living context. Therefore, within this framework, it is so possible to call Geddes’ definition as survey-“science”-plan.

In addition urban problems are not only noticed after *analyses*, but they are also defined historically in *daily reflection*. The crucial question is whether the problems are historically or philosophically (via *science* or “science”) given. In an historical and practical account, the basic problem in *objectification* is characterized the question of confirming men’s essential powers. The difficulties of getting the usage value of a thing are problems. Similarly after the *actualisation of commodity exchange (or fetishism)*, producers’ question is, “*How much of some other product they get for their own? In what proportions the products are exchangeable?*” (Marx, K., Capital I)

And in capitalist social formation,

The question why free labourer confronts him in the market has no interest for the owner of money, who regards the labour-market as a branch of the general market for commodities. (Marx, K., Capital I)

These problems are given historically to men, direct producer, owner of capital etc. and men, direct producer, owner of capital as personalization of economic motives attempts to realize themselves. Moreover, “science” verifies the truth of these pseudo-problems. Philosophy, to capture the contradiction in history and not to be contended with these appearances, has to negate “science” and to catch the contradiction between pseudo and true problems. That is why negation of “science” is not adequate; it also has to realize this critique via plan. It has to be added that the aim of idea of progress is not to establish *science*, and *science* is to service history.

This duality in philosophy can also be seen or formulated to another judgment. Bademli introduces that in process of planning not an answer to the questions, but a solution to the problem is inquired. (Bademli, R., 2003) “Science” is contended with pseudo-problems, but *science* has to notice the contradiction living together such as: pseudo and true problems. Besides that pseudo-solution deepens and confirms the contradiction, however, *science* enlightens the contradiction via *salto mortale* or, enlightening judgement. Therefore problems assume contradiction and solutions assume enlightening judgment. A problem is to be understandable, if all its faces, all connections and all determinant elements is discovered and examined. Otherwise the problem related to a specific object could not be appropriated fully, and a subject or a planner dealing with the problem becomes a part of other pseudo-problems unmasking the contradiction.

2.1.3.3 The Two Appearances of Struggle between Illusory Structure and Actor: Determinism and Voluntarism

In a capitalist society, mistakes of analysis surely bases also on confirmation of intellectual and ordinary men. The social differentiation is accepted as if it was a general separation. Therefore the one-sided attitudes: *voluntarism and determinism* is so common. The effect of this mistake reflects to planning as the *elitist attitude* and *anti-planning attitude*. For the first planning is as an *intellectual manner*: the economical and technical capacity needed to achieve planning became a sole essential activity. Moreover for the second attitude: *invisible hand* of market regularly solves the problem spontaneously.

At this stage Marx's assumption as below is so helpful to generate a perspective,

It is not enough for thought to strive for realization; reality must itself strive towards thought. (Marx, K., Introduction - A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right)

We can also formulate this argumentation as *it is not enough for philosophy to strive for history, history must itself strive towards philosophy*. In this way *both theory and practice finds their objects in other's being*. Sharp oscillation between *voluntarism* and *determinism* results from the limited understanding on social totality. For thought, social totality is extracted or rationalized as structure. What the important is whether we extract also the contradictory character of it or, not. In other words, the contradiction between pseudo-structure (appearance) and true-structure (essence) is important to get rid of these illusory structures. Illusory structure could not comprise the individual and so the actor. Actor in this framework becomes also an illusory actor. The contradictory being of actor with its appearance and the essence flourishes, what reminds is illusory actors. Illusory actor against illusory structure can be defined as *voluntarism*, and illusory structure against illusory actor can be defined as *determinism*. Therefore as the method *from full conception to abstract determination*, both *determinism* and *voluntarism* are the complementary poles face to face with the history postponing striving towards them.

According to Lukacs (2000), the reason of the fault originates from disregarding the *internal elements* between theory and practice, so it is necessary to discover also the *moments or the way of gripping masses* that convert the theory and dialectical method into a vehicle of revolution or, history. (Lukacs, 1998) We will use these *internal elements or, moments* as enlightening judgment in general critique. Thus both rationalization and realization is a process mediating to orderly, contradictory character of *social totality* and *moments (or, internal elements)*. The direct or immediate rationalization on social totality causes illusory appearances, and direct or, immediate realization causes freezing these illusions.

This argumentation originates from the understanding of materialism: the reality is outside us. In other worlds the history is outside the philosophy. Like history is for itself, philosophy has to critique for itself. To establish a philosophy or a *science* is not the aim, but the aim of history is to negate the science, so the aim of *science* is to negate itself. Moreover, the negation of *science* or philosophy for history is not adequate; this critique has to be realized again for history, and for critique of *science*.

2.2 Changes in Planning Theory

This part of the study is for general critique of planning theory. Surely, planning theory is an abstraction on a definite planning activity or, concrete forms of planning. General critique of planning theory will capture the appearances and transition between thought-entities in planning theory. Of course the transition from one appearance to another has the projection in concrete forms. In Part 2.1 we have attempted to show initially the circulation between imagination of product, realization of purpose, then secondly imagination and realization of proportions, later in Part 2.1.3, we have illustrated contradictory character of policies, analysis, problems and solutions and lastly the two appearance of the struggle between illusory structure and illusory actor as *determinism* and *voluntarism*. All the initial interpretations have to be a preparation against the planning theories that we will introduce below.

Explicitly the general critique is for *general form of planning*, and is not adequate till the examination of concrete forms of planning activity. This part of the study will be limited with partial negation of theory. It is partial negation due to that negation of theory could not be completed without realization of the critique. However, we will attempt to find out the negation and negation of negation at last we will gather them all with our general critique.

2.2.1 A System View of Planning and Public Interest

A systems approach is an important guide for *land use planning practice*. In this study, it will try to be understood, by Mcloughlin, J. B. (1971) and Chadwick, G. (1978). For both Mchloughlin and Chadwick, society is also the extent of natural realm and it is called, *eco-system* and principled by *competition, least effort*. Moreover, contrary to nature, in society there is a rapid change in its climax situation, capable of modifying environment etc. This characteristic causes the problem of exploiting the nature and an absurd length of man to destroy his species. Therefore there is need to plan, to make effective control over the problem and to manage the resources of the whole human environment.

With respect to this need, Mcloughlin, presenting the steps and the *cyclic process of planning*, he uses basically Chapin's approach with a small change as below,

- Environmental scanning

- Goal Formulation

- Possible actions and alternatives

-Deciding (Evaluation)

-Action

Therefore, this approach surely admits planning in special social formation as if it was *planning in general* by *legitimising the alienation* and conflicts. Here we will discuss A Systems View of Planning in two stages such as *environmental analysis and goal formulation*. Since the other parts of the steps in planning process surely is determined abstractly and related to *goal formulation*.

Firstly, the general understanding on society starts with *environmental scanning*. According to Mchloughlin, the activities of individuals, groups, firms and families cause *immediate* determination of physical surroundings in a particular time. The ripple repercussions caused from particularities alter the context for other particularities at subsequent times. That results with a systematic change and wider repercussions. Of course, that systematized understanding in mind to manage the environment is so complex process to understand. Therefore *structural simplification* is conceptually necessary. In their systems view, there is certainly a need of analysis for effective and responsible regulation and control. In addition such an approach is not limited with the understanding of actions and communications of individuals or, groups and to be extended through the whole spatial relations. It is explicit that the movement of society or, *eco-system*, principled by *competition and least effort* and causing ripple repercussions and systemic changes is started by the results and the appearances of the society such as: family, firm, group or individual without considering their essence.

Mchloughlin shows the qualifications of this *fullest possible understanding* as below,

-Necessity of continues process

-The activity linkages, affecting climate for change in another by feedbacks

-Due to the random aspect of human interaction, there is need of probabilistic view rather than deterministic view.

-Interrelation of policy, proposal and action-phased

This continues character originated with explicitly from the changing character of ecology is taken account by not an explanatory way, but by a descriptive way, so that a systems view

has to disregard any determinant and use the method of probability.⁷ Even they state that planning is a conceptual system independent of, but correspond to real world system and conceptual system as the representation of real world, this approach fully *takes a course directly opposite to that of their actual historical development*.

Secondly *goal formulation* that Chadwick claims is a relation between objectives and actions as a part of analysis. He determines truth of action degeneratively with its results of grading in Objective and Action Matrix (O/A Analysis) abstractly. However, “The question whether objective truth can be attributed to human thinking is not a question of theory but is a practical question.” (Marx, K., Thesis on Feuerbach)

Therefore in the process of planning the stage that we choose the convenient action becomes concrete only after the action. But for Chadwick, whole process from goal formulation to action is defined as if it was the attribution of pure thought, disregarding the practice. In his late contributions, he is awareness of his position in favour of *rational comprehensive planning*. Therefore like Faludi (1973), Chadwick in late editions of his book considering the reciprocal relation between analysis and implementation states that,

For too long, town planning education and town planners have been over-concerned with the content of plans (substantive) rather than with the nature of the process of planning (procedural), with physical artifacts rather than with qualities of human judgment. (Chadwick, G., 1978:24, Emphases and parentheses are mine. - Ö.G.)

In this quotation Chadwick defines *environmental analysis and goal formulation* as the *content* and the reciprocal relation between analysis and implementation as the *form* of planning. Günay (...), states that discussions on the *form (procedure)* and the *content (substantive)* of planning are both the components of capitalist relations. (Günay, B., ...) Therefore, we are still in the context of “planning in general” and still far from understanding the society and the *process of alienation* or where the *content* of planning lies in. Later when the formal body of planning is captured Chadwick claims the necessity of *feedback* and the need of “Theory of Planning”. But he does not work much on this study.

However there is a new possible fault causing from this consideration of planning process. It became possible to *throw baby*, the perspective, *with dirty water*, feedback. Chapin, (1957)

⁷ Method of probability has not to make in use only if planners disregard any determinant, but also choosing the deterministic view it can be valid with respect to the condition that planner could not attain the other related determinants or internal elements from perspective to reality. Therefore the assumption for systems view of planning corresponds to an inevitable result originated from their overall perspective.

takes into account the *public interest* as a value, perspective and an abstractly determined answer to solve problems of public planning practice. But for Chadwick and McLoughlin, there were no any sign about this consideration. According to Chapin⁸, there are two determinants of simplification the urban reality: economic determinants and social determinants. Chapin criticizes the unhappy mixture of these levels, and distinguishes determinants socially rooted, in two processes such as *ecological process* and *organizational process*. *Ecological process*, as economic level, involves physical, spatial and material aspects of urban life, and *organizational process* is related to social structure in the city with its concern for human values, behaviour and interaction as reflected in such social institutions as the family, the church, government, business, and so on. (Chapin, 1957)

Because of standing far from explaining the specific form of planning in capitalist society and considering planning as if it was a general formulation as so perspective of *public interest*, Chapin brings *organizational level* as a critique of economic level reinforcing the *separation of economy and politics*. The totality comprising both economy and politics historically couldn't have been appropriated yet and the conflict between them couldn't have been explained. Therefore the only conflict is still between human being and nature. There is no any other historical conflict in social formation with this emphasis. All activities become natural even the organizational processes and planners defending *public interest*. Therefore, social conflict seems to be surmounted theoretically and abstractly. As a result with this consideration there appear a conflict between the perspective of *public interest* and the reciprocal relation between analysis and implementation. The first works against the second and the second against the first. Therefore the question to be answered is which one wins the struggle. The other parts of this chapter present the efforts to answer the question.

2.2.2 Root and Branch Method

2.2.2.1 Lindblom and Branch Method

The conflict between organizational level and economic level continues in this part of the study too. The choice made by Lindblom (1959) finishes the conflict in favour of the reciprocal relation between analysis (rationalization) and action (realization). Lindblom rejected the preceding of values, instead of policy itself. He distinguishes rational

⁸ Economic determinants, Chapin stating, are actually the critique to Chicago School. Since ecological understanding of Chicago School is dominated by economical factors and processes. On the contrary for Chapin, there is a need to work also on the social determinants that are involving values, institutions and organizations.

comprehensive (Root Method) from “successive limited comparison” (Branch Method). Lindblom suggests *branch method* due to the faults of *root method* such as disagreements on values and objectives to avoid ordering values in abstract terms. But this critique on *public interest* or values finds its premises on the critique of degenerative character of O/A Analysis. Unfortunately the possibility of throwing the perspective of *public interest* that is realized and adopted by Lindblom. Besides that, surely the basic fault of *root method* defined above continued introducing “successive limited comparisons” as a supplement of theory. (Lindblom, 1959) Here he conserving the descriptive attitude of economic theory and the new foundation of theory bases on administrative experience continued together.

Stating the importance of past experience of administrator, he presents an indecisive attitude as below,

Comparative analysis as in the branch method, is sometimes a systematic alternative to theory... it (theory) might be helpful if available. (Lindblom, 1959-Emphases are mine, Ö.G)

Similarly, this indecisive attitude is valid for the economic theory,

It is greedy for the facts; it can be constructed only through a great collection of observation. And it is typically insufficient precise for application to a policy process that moves through small changes. (Lindblom, 1959:288-304,-Emphasis is mine, Ö.G)

What is constant for Lindblom is that *agreement on policies precedes agreement on values*. Since agreement on values in case the agreement on policy is again necessary. Administrators simply, deal with the value problems by producing policy alternatives. However, policy is not made once and for all; it is made and re-made endlessly. Policy-making is a process of successive approximation for some desired objectives in which what is desired itself continues to change under reconsideration. (Lindblom, 1959) Moreover, in *branch method*, administrators chose ends by selecting the means at the same time, so there is no any process necessitating the production of ends before means. To be sure that Lindblom throws any perspective or, a question and answer to start planning. The policies he introduces are originated from the solutions that are produced by the experiences of administrator or, by the consensus for specific problems.

Lindblom summarizes Root Method as below,

1-Theory is often heavily relied upon

2-Analysis is comprehensive as very important factor

3-Clarification of values and objectives as prerequisite to empirical analysis

4-First the ends isolated from means then, the means to achieve ends are sought

5-The test of a “good” policy is the most appropriate means to desired ends

He constructs *branch method* by reclassifying them in three groups, such as 1 and 2, 3 and 4, and 5. Since Lindblom reducing or eliminating the reliance on theory he also limits the analysis in decision-making process. Secondly, by integrating means and end, reduces the stages of *root method*'s stage into one. And thirdly, constructing the criterion of “good” policy on an agreement on a policy, he does not relied upon to look for ends in each time. Besides that, Lindblom notices how the incremental pattern of policy-making fits with the *multiple pressure patterns* signifying United States.

Lindblom assessing degenerative character of *root method* and so the fetishized forms of economic theory completes his critique with the reciprocal interaction of analysis and action in sole administrative level disregarding the answer or, a perspective to the basic question. Here the *separation of economy and politics* as basic conflict of actualised *social totality* seemed to be solved practically. Therefore, the degenerative character of practice itself replaces the degenerative character of theory.

As Lukacs introduces that, *history supplies us with instances where the correct action has been taken on the basis of false theories.* (Lukacs, G., 1998) Since the critique bases on abstractly determined values and action is completed by *deprivation of perspective* and surrendered to administrators' practice and consensuses. Therefore *alienation* and possible dynamics for *supersession the alienation* is left to the policies of administrators.

2.2.2.2 Etzioni and Mixed Scanning Approach

Etzioni notices fault of Lindblom, *deprivation of perspective*, and considers finding an optimum point indicating the necessity of both *root and branch method*. By pairing fundamental decisions with *root method*, and small steps with *branch method*, he introduces conceptually, a dialectical relation as below.

The incremental steps... cannot be understood without fundamental decisions, and the preceding steps are useless unless they lead to fundamental decisions. (Etzioni, Amitai, 1967)

With this claim Etzioni appropriated *feedback* for also fundamental decisions or, perspective and elevates the planning to a level of *programming* or *mixed-scanning*. The dialectical relation of incremental and fundamental steps is a real contribution to *planning theory*.

Here it is necessary to find that how Etzioni approaches the perspective. For Etzioni, programming approach of planning is an *ideal*, not an *actual form*. Appropriating *root method* to Totalitarian Societies and *branch method* to Modern Democracies, he certainly brought a new ontological consideration. He, as a result, tried to build a new principle to society, *active society, politically*.

Faludi claps his endeavour to optimise these approaches. According to Faludi,

Mixed-scanning is one of the most important things that have happened to planning theory in recent past, and that planners and planning theorists will have to devote their attention not only to this concept but also to the whole framework devised by Etzioni around it. (Faludi, Adreas, 1973:125)

For Etzioni, there is a high degree of control over decision-making situation in Totalitarian Societies. On the other hand, *muddling through* assumes less command over the environment in Modern Democracies. By the way he identifies the first as utopian the second becomes conservative.

It is to be sure that by introducing the social totalities, he integrates economy and politics politically. Etzioni indicates that *fundamental decision* is for unordinary periods of Modern Democracies such as: at a time of wars etc., oppositely *small steps* for ordinary periods. Similarly, Carr, considering the beginning of NEP period in USSR confirms the contradiction as below,

As far as the war goes on, the daily policies are inevitable: the end up of the war necessitates the reassessing these policies in the sense of long-range thoughts. (Ö.G.-Carr, E., H, 1998:247)

However, the reason of this contradiction is described by Etzioni, but not explained for each society. Etzioni wants both societies to be an *active society*. But the general features of active society are not a starting point to analyse these societies; it is only an arrival point. The conditions and difference of social totalities, the difference of situation between economy

and politics as a reason of this contradiction is neglected. Therefore, *active society* as an ideal becomes an *abstract determination* reproduced by *full conception*.

It is assumed that the dialectical relation of *fundamental and incremental steps* in Modern Democracies and in Totalitarian Societies is crippled. The reason of these crippled dialectical relations is a *high degree of control* and *less command over environment*. At this stage there can be two critical positions against Etzioni's approach: such as immanent and transcendent.

An immanent critique comprises and demands from Etzioni that he has to start from the reason of this contradiction with reference to these different social formation. Secondly, a transcendent critique interrogates the truth of this judgment of Etzioni. But, for Etzioni, this situation or a contradiction is assumed politically not theoretically. Here for us, apart from any *ideal dialectical relation* between *fundamental and incremental steps*, the structure that the dialectical relation is resulted, is important. While Etzioni's discussion opens a road to politics, he disregards the *actualisations of different social structures* that have to be defined as the *separation of economy and politics* and also especially the *separation of intellectual and ordinary men* for our study.

2.2.3 Liberal “Direct” Planning and a Defence of Direct Planning

Historically, liberal critique of planning introduces the anti-planning ideology by replacing planning with market, not the case only after 1960's, but also since the emergence of capitalist economy. The most crucial dichotomy that is market and planning is matured by 1980's. In this part of the study, apart from the approach of liberal ideology to planning generally, it will be presented regarding the basic dichotomies between liberal ideology and the defence of planning.

The maturance of the debate developed on the *feasibility and liveability of socialism* is characterized by the debate between Nove and Mandel. Disregarding the content of this debate, they reproduced creative dualities such as: public-private, society-machinofacture, plan-anarchy, democracy-despotism, demand-need, market-real value, *ex ante-ex post planning* etc. to construct *planning theory*. In this study the crucial dichotomy will be selected as *ex ante* and *ex post* planning.

While Mandel defining planning, claims that planning is not identical with excellent resource allocation, “scientific” allocation and “more humanist” allocation. It just means directly,

ex ante allocation and the opposite of markedly, *ex post, allocation*. Even they sometimes integrates, they are basically distinct. (Mandel, E., 1992a)

Planning, in each its form historically, is immediately chosen of *apriori resource allocation* by any social agent. The opposite is *aposteriori resource allocation* by objective market laws confronting the autonomous, private and fragmented decisions. Historically after 19th century the determination of *aposteriori resource allocation* by market principles contradicted with the rational planning of production in huge industries and firms. Mandel defines this synchronous conflict as *partial rationality* and *global irrationality*. (Mandel, 1992a)

Contrary to Mandel, Nove claims that,

Explicitly, whether it is based on market inquiries or, agreed contracts, a kind of pre-planning or ex ante forecast is a rule for capitalist market economies... (Similarly), in socialist economies, production and cultivation takes places on forecasting (A predict which might be inaccurate and need to be *ex post* verified) the demands of clients on shoes, skirt and cabbage. (Nove, 1992:112-Emphasis is mine. Ö.G.)

However Mandel does not ignore the predictions of pre-planning in capitalist economies, the question is the *certainty* of these decisions. For Mandel, *ex ante determination of needs* involves *certainty* but *ex post determination of demands* is *uncertain*. To define exactly, Mandel gives an example of *planning in an industry*.

If the sales of automobiles reduces from 2 million to 1.5 million, then,.. .Market does not insist on producing 7 million wheels and 1.5 million axles. In an industry, not a market, but technical coefficient administrates. If the resource allocation is decided automatically and rigidly as producing x number of automobiles, it does not float by the quantities of sale or, profits. ...Therefore the priorities of all society are determined with apriori allocation. (However), due to the uncertainties (of market) economical floats and unemployment emerges. (Mandel, E., 1992b:124, Emphasis is mine-Ö.G.)

Now it has to be clear that in market economy there is also prediction before the production, but this does not annihilate the *ex post (indirect)* character of social totality. The prediction of capitalist enterprises starts from the actualised social formation and confirms the duality of *partial rationality* and *global irrationality*. Nove in his interpretations, by admitting *ex ante (direct)*⁹ determination as general condition, strictly omits the real existence of private enterprises. He confirms the pseudo-essence of enterprises and confirms the *uncertainty* of social formation.

⁹ In this type of determination we will use *ex ante* as “*direct*”. This means that we assume its direct character but at the last instance, due to the confirmation of *aposteriori resource allocation*, it is determined *indirectly*. To show the difference we will use the term as “*direct*” with commas.

Prediction is in general not means *uncertainty*; it just means the *lack of knowledge* or to be ready for surprises, since *prediction is the pre-condition of objectification*. Therefore identifying *uncertainty* with *lack of knowledge* or being ready for unexpected situation is an ideological standpoint as a kind of *level of alienation or, "false consciousness"*. Since the truth of prediction is to decrease *uncertainty*. Prediction in planning assuming surprises and unexpected developments do not have to confirm the conditions, producing *uncertainty* of social or, *global irrationality*, after the reason of *uncertainty* is known and enlightened.

Lastly, the *certainty* that Mandel introducing desirous and free collaboration is that democratically centralized or articulated self-rule is only a slogan for Nove. This debate is not on the term self-rule but on centralized, democratic, free collaboration and preferable character of planning drawn by Mandel. For the study Mandel's suggestion is only a *perspective that integrates both economy-politics and intellectual-ordinary*. In addition, Mandel's frame not makes analysis of social totality unnecessary. He assumes *political perspective as part of its analysis*.

2.2.4 Planning in Two Distinct Social Formation

2.2.4.1 Strategic Planning in Capitalist Society

2.2.4.1.1 Strategic Planning in Managerial Practice

Strategic planning called also *structure planning* is emerged in 1960's in huge firms. (Günay, B.) Nevertheless, it is used also for public planning. *Strategic planning* as a highly development form of planning in capitalist social formation deserves to be taken into account. In this chapter of the study we will focus on the usage of *strategic planning* in private sector then, examines it in public planning shortly to show the *ex post* character of *strategic planning* related to *social totality*. Peter F. D. (1974), a management philosopher, defines the necessity to *strategic planning* with difficulty of forecasting.

Similarly, King and Cleland state that there is certainly an *uncontrollable environment* that *strategic planning* involving. In this atmosphere the purpose of firms by using *strategic planning* is to steer the company toward tomorrow's opportunities and profits. (Ryans, J., K., Shanklin, W., L., 1985) As claimed in Part 2.2.3 forecasting assumes the *uncertainty* and represents the *ex post* character of market. We also witnessed the certainty and *ex ante* character in industrial process. Here, it is assumed that the environment is *unforecastable* and uncontrollable. Even, in this condition firms do not give up the endeavour of planning

but oppositely institutionalise or organize the planning *to forecast*. It is to be sure that the disappearance of the possibility of forecasting and the more organized version of planning *to forecast* does not solve the conflict between *partial rationality and global irrationality*, but oppositely deepens it.

Steiner states that intuitive-anticipatory planning versus Formal Strategic Planning (FSP). Intuitive anticipatory is in one-person brain, does not result in a written set of plans, short term horizon, based on past experience. FSP is organized, research based, documented, written set of plans, developed on the basis of procedures and involving participation of many people in organization.

Firstly, the single most important facet of Strategic Planning is external *environmental analysis*. (Ryans, Shanklin, 1985) Secondly, FSP is far from interpreting planning in capitalism as if we were discussing still *planning in general*.

King and Cleland states the dichotomy between existing and future situation as,

A natural dichotomy within the framework of the organization: the current generation of outputs and resources versus future organizational missions and generations of “products” and resources. (King and Cleland, 1978:10)

Thirdly, FSP is claimed to be *flexible* enough to deal with *changing circumstances*, and step one begins before step two begins, through the *feedback loops*. It should also be conceived as a *continuous process*, because changes in the business environment are continuous. The idea here is not that plans should be changed everyday, but that thought about planning must be continuous and supported by appropriate action when necessary.

According to Steiner, FSP involves three basic parts such as: premises of planning, formulating plans and implementation, covering the steps as below,

1- Premises of planning

- a- Plan to plan- what is expected from the planning practice?
- b- Substantive information needed in the development and implementation of plan
 - I- Expectation of major outside interests
 - II- Expectation of major inside interests
 - III- Data base (past, current, future)
 - IV- WOTS UP analysis

2- Formulating plans-major ends and approaches, no standard approach to planning

- a- Master strategies

- I- Basic missions
 - II- Purposes
 - III- Objectives
 - IV- Policies
- b- Programming strategies concerning the use and disposition of specific projects
- I- Middle-range programming- preparing specific plans to achieve long-range objectives, missions and purposes
 - II- Short-range programming
- 3- Implementation-plans should be evaluated, reviewed

The *premises of planning* as a comprehensive analysis involves question, answer, inside and outside interests and also opportunities, threats, weaknesses and strengths. WOTS UP analysis assumes the basic question and possible answer. Therefore the *premises of planning* express the perspective and the organizational and environmental trends and analysis. In addition, FSP signifies the dialectical schema of Etzioni, as implementation or action *feedbacks* by the help of concrete evaluation till to the answers or, perspective.

This maturance of planning in private sector as we claimed, could not overcome the structural conflict that it is emerged. Lukacs, while discussing the reciprocal interaction of “science” and industry, he notices that, the progressive character of techniques or technologies goes on without producing a radical change in the consciousness of *daily reflection*. (Lukacs, 1999) Men not only with fetishistic character of commodity exchange but also in production are surrounded by the ideological motives of FSP that reproduces the *confirmation of alienation*. Besides that it reproduces the *fools proof* character of means and objects produced materially. Therefore the perspective in managerial practice is surely degenerative in its total content, deepening the duality between *partial rationality and global irrationality*.

2.2.4.1.2 Strategic Planning in Public Planning

With a simple analogy, *strategic planning* can be reproduced as *public planning* and as a relation between organization and environment such as the relation of state and civil society. However at this time we make strictly a mistake. Since ontologically and politically the adaptation of *strategic planning* (in private sector) to *public planning* is different. Any expectation on more control of state over private property surely becomes a fantasy. Since, oppositely and actually, *strategic planning in public planning* means to abolish the central role of the state.

The reason of this opposition cannot be understood by disregarding *social totality* comprises state and private enterprises. As Mandel claims, the conflict of *partial rationality* and *global irrationality* is inevitable as a historical conflict. The organized capitalist production and its rationally planned character develop the *global irrationality* again and again. In these conditions for *public planning* conserving its descriptive character it is so possible to lose its object becoming more irrational. (Camhis, M., 1979)

These conditions of *public planning* in capitalist societies evaporate its consistency of planning. Since the relation or the *separation of economy and politics* in each time reproduces itself in new context. The relation of *fundamental* and *incremental decisions* always makes sharp oscillations from one to another. For planner, being out of politics or static in decisions is surely only a temporary situation. I will here, use the term spontaneous and conscious to state the qualification of politics. Besides that I will use conscious political character of planning for Mandel and Etzioni. Ersoy's assumption above is adequate to summarize this position,

In market economies, the affect of the planners is limited on the structure of power and property... (But) planners in a planning process possess the function of controlling knowledge, a significant power. Therefore, a course of how to use this power changes related directly to their ethical understanding. (And)... it is also necessary to contribute the reality that value judgments are determined ...socially and historically. (Ö.G - Ersoy, M, ...:120)

Being a spontaneously political planning in capitalist society both suffers from society and becomes a threat to it. If planner annihilates the political character of planning and avoids producing perspective bases on the main dualities of *social totality*, he makes difficult to conceive the form and content of planning in a healthy way by planners. In each time the reconstruction of planning is crippled. Since, there is no any perfect condition or balance for planning in capitalist social formation in the sense of economy and politics, even thinking on any perspective becomes problematic. If any possibility to generalize perspective or, any perspective owned to reproduce capitalist society have to become eclectic, or involve conflicted elements.

The position of Keleş is so interesting. He admitting the political character of planning as an ideal situation claims that the necessity of planners to work with politicians, or planners to be more political and politicians to be more technician, is originated from the system. (Keleş, R., ...) However, it is not the only tendency and reality of capitalist social formation, but the opposite is also true. That is why he uses the title of *From Planning Without Politics to Politics Without Planning* as Planning versus Politics.

Lukacs defining and criticizing his own position in Preface of 1967 of *History and Class Consciousness*, states that,

If Faust could have two souls within his breast, why should not a normal person unite conflicting intellectual trends within himself when he finds himself changing from one class to another in the middle of a world crisis? (Lukacs, 1998)

This can clearly give the difficulty to producing a perspective in *public planning* in capitalist social formation. This difficulty will show itself also in planning experiences in Zonguldak. Even it is traditional planning practice, or participatory planning practice.

2.2.4.2 Perspective Plan in Socialist Society

2.2.4.2.1 Warning to a False Analogy

The relation between planning and politics or economy in socialist and capitalist society is structurally different. This emphasis comprehends our three *routes* defined in Part 2.2. Here, it is so enlightening to start with a quotation of Carr, E., H., (1967) : *The original face of Soviet Planning does not lie in the strategy followed, but especially in planned realization.*

In any endeavour of constructing or conceptualising the process of planning in socialist countries especially has a risk of making analogy with capitalist societies. Firstly, even Nove, as a planner of socialist country by confusing *ex ante* or apriori determination with *partial rationality* it is also possible for other planners. The basic distinctive assumption of this debate is a category of *global rationality* and *global irrationality* attributed to society.

Secondly, the simple attributes of planning in capitalist societies or in capitalist enterprises can also be demanded from socialist planning. Schumpeter gives a good critique to this expectation on affectivity. According to him,

A system benefiting excellently from existing opportunities in a specific time might be behind a system that is not capable to do this. Since inability of the second system can be a condition of the speed and level of performance of long-range. (Ö.G. - Schumpeter, J., A., 1959:83)

2.2.4.2.2 Form and Content of Planning

To discuss the substantive difference of socialist society in the process of planning starting from Boratav's hierarchy of goals is so convenient. (Boratav, K., 1973) According to him, there is a *hierarchy of goals and plans* in *Soviet Planning Model* as below,

1-General economic and social goals

2-Planning Strategy or, development strategy

3-General Plan or, Perspective Plan¹⁰

4-Operational Plan

According to Boratav, *hierarchy of plans* starts from the 2nd article and involves the 3rd and the 4th articles. (Boratav, K. 1973) Besides that he states that,

One of the feature of the planning experience in socialist economies, essentially and conceptually, is even it comprises an important part in the logic of Socialist planning, development strategies, not always expressed explicitly and textually as perspective plan. (Ö.G. - Boratav, K., 1973:21 - Emphasis is mine.)

Here, it is possible to introduce the distinction between the *form and the content of planning*. *Development strategies* seem closer to the *content of planning* regarding the other parts as the forms that helps us to understand the content also. To define the *content or, essence of plan*, a long quotation from Dobb's creative approach is necessary. According to Dobb,

... The essence of planning economic planning lies in the fact that decisions which in a capitalist society are diffused among numerous units are embodied in a single complex decision which constitutes the plan. ... In practice, however, it will be impossible for a plan to embody decisions about everything. ... A plan has to be constructed on the basis of information that can be expressed in generalized form...The crucial obstacle to any attempt to impose a set of centralized decisions upon a capitalist economy is the tendency of entrepreneurs, (Ö.G.-having the rights of economic sovereignty)...

In a socialist economy, by contrast, the managers of industry are no longer persons... maximizing profit-earnings on such property...

... Upon an efficient and untroubled decision of such questions a very great deal depends. Stress has been laid in Soviet economic literature since the early 1920's upon the need to combine centralized control over the main direction-lines. (Dobb, M., 1972:29-31 - Emphasis is mine. - Ö.G.)

Between 1920 and 1927, Soviet economy was managed with *orientirovka* that means *supervision, not obligatory* and the opposite of *directive plan*. (Dobb, M., 1972) In this period, *electrification plan*, by GOELRO (1920) was defined as a *perspective plan*. (Dobb 1972, Boratav 1973) However, in 1922 the duties of GOSPLAN (1921) were defined to prepare two

¹⁰ The term "Perspective plan" surely does not corresponds the term perspective that we used since the begining of this chapter. It is to be sure that perspective that we used refers to the essence, content, principle, thesis and the answer to the basic questions.

kinds of plan such as; long-range plan (*perspektivnyi plan*) and urgent action plan (*eksploatsionnyi plan*) and, to supervise *electirification plan*. Even, *electrification plan* was expressed as if it was the *content of planning* with political statement of Lenin (a second program of party), later the duty on *perspective plan* was supervised by GOSPLAN. But the *supervision on the content of planning* is problematic but possible to overcome.

It is to be sure that contrary to formal and textual feature of planning the *content of planning* is covered and vivacious. Any agent of state responsible for planning or its parts were changed continuously between 1917 and 1927. Workers' committee, Vesenka¹¹, Goelro, Gosplan shows institutional and practical *the movement of the content of planning*. Since the *moments* and *a way of gripping masses for the content of planning* is expressed itself in different scopes, scales and fields. Therefore the only constant becomes the thesis or the answer to a basic question between 1920 and 1927 as a *healthy core of planning* to discover the consistency of planning endeavour. But it also changed in a *general plan*, shaped in 1929 on a new thesis such as; *socialism in a single country*. Between 1920 and 1927 the basic question was whether to survive or to vanish, but after 1929 the basic question was whether socialism is possible in a single country or, not. The answer was to survive and to construct socialism.

At this stage the two quotations shows the conditions of planning in socialist economies. Firstly in the discussions between *a general plan* and *a partial plan*, as the opposition of Lenin to unique plan (general) that is *the party is sick* and, secondly attaining the correct Control Figures or, estimates to be certain and to apply *directive plan*, that is, *Gosplan had its eyes and ears closer to the ground*. (Dobb, 1972)

The first opposition between *general plan* and *partial plan* surely completed with the dominance of the *partial* one in 1920's. But this does not annihilate the necessity of the *general* one. The needs of electrification and transportation as *partial plans* defined as the elements of the *general plan*. Since planning endeavour was separated into ordered basic duties that were in a reciprocal interaction. (Carr, 1998) Contrary to Etzioni's approach, surely this definition of the dialectical relation now gains a materialist character. Since, the dominance of *partial plan* was a *moment, a way of theory or, perspective gripping masses*. A fault to fall into a trap of *exaggeration of perspective* is possible. Therefore the answer to the question of how the dialectical relation between fundamental and incremental decisions

¹¹ Vesenka is *Supreme Council of National Economy* founded in December 1917 to reorganize economic activity and financial resources of government and to lead the whole central and local authorities of economy towards the same target.

combine is not a theoretical but practical question related to the problems of uniting intellectuals and masses and the problems between theory striving to realize and reality striving towards theory. Therefore the approach of planning could not be on the hand of technocrats who are far from extracting reality; the solution of the problem is in labour committee, Vesenka, Goelro, Gosplan that there are technicians, politicians and the representatives of labour unions together. Therefore, technical character of planning becomes mainly political. Besides that by admitting the political character of planning, masses has to be politicised and the organization and technology has to be changed structurally. *Participation* is not a subjective will but a necessity to progress and increase the velocity of planning, depends on the *achievements on moments*. Enlarging the scope and the scale of planning needs more participants towards a rational society in each stage.

The second result of an intervention to the moments to gripping masses or, of uniting intellectuals and masses is to attain correct knowledge from enterprises. This attitude bases on two special processes such as: analysis of social formation and attaining the material and mental knowledge of enterprises. In capitalist society these two analyses are differentiated structurally and socially. But here it can be claimed that there is a reciprocal interaction and a process uniting this differentiation. This differentiation refers to political economy and technical knowledge and “science”. Uniting them is also shaped with the organization and *the achievements on the moments* discovered by political economy. Here political economy is the base of technical knowledge and so integration level is not the technical one.

The necessity to unite political economy and technical capacity and knowledge of enterprises also depends on mediation or *internal elements*. The difficulties in organizing the whole economy and also analyses, as *sectoral analysis* based on the qualities of means of production (*department I and II*) emerges from the *adaptability* of intellectuals, technicians, politicians, workers both materially and consciously on this moments. The inadequate conditions in USSR is concluded tracing two distinct processes: *orientirovka*, that is a *partial electrification plan* opening the way to this integration, and *directive plan*, after setting of planning organs at the lower levels of economic activity or, “closing to the ground” due to the imperfect statistical data supplied to GOSPLAN.

2.2.4.2.3 From Perspective to Relative Balance

As discussed above, the integration of distinct approaches that is political economy and the technical analysis is surely a dialectical practice and determined by the participation and organization level of different actors. The adaptability of different actors to centralized

decisions certainly determines the success of perspective. Therefore, any perspective or answer to the development is limited with the organizing capacity of both mental and physical conditions.

A perspective as a centralized decision goes on with its ready organization, knowledge and reproduced analysing techniques. A step forward and backward has to base on the only healthy organization that is party. But in each time the scale and the scope of organization enlarges. Without this consideration the reason when the perspective steps backward and forward cannot be understand. Therefore, even integrating technical analysis with analysis of political economy is to be pre-condition of a plan and the condition of party determines the situation. For example, the step backward in NEP Period is surely understandable with the condition and organization of party, which is summarized with the assumption of Lenin, "The party is sick". But in this process electrification plan and benefiting from the bourgeois technicians surely a way for politicising the society uniting the urban and rural forces and a preparation to more organized planning institutions and a certain *Annual Figures*. That is why, Lenin defines this period as the second program of party and politicise society as "Soviets plus electrification equals communism". Secondly, the experience gained in the first period is affected the choice of sectoral approach. In this period also the analysis and the experience to create and apply perspective plan is almost finished with correct data and organization.

In all these processes the mental, physical requirements and the new types of organizations appeared. It is to be sure that electrification in old rural enterprises becomes a great conflict in society as rich farmers: *kulaks*. In the second period of plan this conflict is solved by again both political and technical means. In each implementation and transformation, it is gained more socialist character with its principles. These principles surely comprise the property relations, exchange relations between urban and rural settlements, distribution relations and also the employment. The assumptions on perspective to realize are also valid for these principles. In each stage arrived, the new conflicts and problems emerged. According to Mao,

Balance and imbalance are the two point of conflict, imbalance is absolute, but balance is relative...This is a universal law valid for socialist society, that I believe. Conflict and struggle is absolute. Union, alliance and solidarity are relative. The balance reached by planning is periodical, temporary, conditional and so relative. (Ö.G. - Mao, Z., 1980:83)

In planning, any effort to stable balance or define it as absolute balance falls into trap of exaggeration of perspective. If we assume the answer of surviving as perspective then neither a perspective of a general plan to construct socialist society, nor a perspective to adopt partial plan becomes absolutely balance point. Since both approaches neglects that balance is surely

relative. It is also true that a way of development strategy for primitive accumulation is not an absolute point attaining the satisfaction point is not determined by the coefficients and quantitative figures, but oppositely by the necessity of primitive accumulation. Therefore, there is a continuous process of planning; the consistency of the processes could not be solved technically like in *strategic planning* in managerial practice simply by feedback system. Because efforts on changing objectivity are not limited with conscious internal elements of plan, but surely, related to different objects or, different faces of the same object that are political, economical and ideological. Therefore the consistency of the planning process lies in the concentration of all these faces and so centralized decisions. The difficulty lies in the aware of all these elements with these centralized decisions to achieve high level of objectification.

2.2.5 Communicative “Direct” Planning

2.2.5.1 Habermas and Communicative Rationality

Communicative planning is the extent of *communicative rationality*, Habermas’ social theory. But practical experiences of this context changes when it becomes a planning practice. *Structure planning, strategic planning, communicative planning, collaborative planning, participatory planning* can be all the derivatives of *communicative rationality*. Therefore to make difference or to discuss them in detail it is necessary to start firstly discussing Habermas’ *theory of communicative action*.

Habermas is called as one of the last representative of Frankfurt School. But surely the changes are more than the constants. Initially, we will start with the basic assumption of Horkheimer (1990) in *The Eclipse of Reason*. According to Horkheimer,

Sovereignty on nature brings sovereignty on human. (Ö.G.-Horkheimer, M., 1990:120)

Today, the biggest obstacle towards utopia is the imbalance between the overwhelming weight of social power machine and the weakness of atomized mass. (Ö.G. - Horkheimer, M., 1990:187 - Emphases are mine.)

Philosophy has to be sensitive to the witness of language transformed to the whisper, and to embrace the life layers conserved in language. (Ö.G. - Horkheimer, M., 1990:171 - Emphases are mine.)

And lastly, philosophy is for *emancipating the independent thought from its chains*. (Horkheimer, M., 1990:144) First one shows the causality between the relation of human

nature and the relation of human-human, the second shows the basic problem of actualised society, and the third and fourth brings the solution. Here we will trace this route to analyse the thought of Habermas. For him the duality between *purposive-rational action* and *communicative action* is the basic dichotomy for both philosophy and social formation coming from the second assumption of Horkheimer. However consideration of Habermas on this dichotomy changes in times. In his first studies orderly the objects represented economy against state, but later on it represented *system*, integrating state and economy, against *life-world*. (Habermas, J., 1997) This transition surely changes the premises of both Horkheimer and Frankfurt School. The first change is surely on the materialist character of the philosophical understanding stated in book entitled *Technology and Science as "Ideology"*.

According to Habermas, three elements and processes to be signified in Classical German Philosophy are *language*, *work* and *interaction*, and orderly as process *exposition*¹², *working*, *reciprocal-recognition*. From *consciousness* to *self-consciousness*, Habermas tries to show the dialectical relation and *organization among these processes*. In the *organization of these processes*, *symbol* related to *language* and *working tools* related to *work* representing the two means of *interaction* involves the two-fold face as *temporary (particular)* and *permanent (universal)*. This duality implies orderly *immediateness* and *mediation* that we used above. *Permanent* face of *symbol* and *working tools* emerges in *mediated society* as a result of the *interaction process as reciprocal-recognition*.

Habermas criticizes Marx in sustaining this triplicate. Both in an actualisation process of society and in reproducing it in thought, Habermas is against the *particularization* of *exposition* in the relation of *working and interaction*. For Habermas, technical rules can only be constituted in the conditions of *linguistic communication*. Therefore, contrary to Marx, there is no any direct relation between *working* and *interaction*. (Habermas, J., 2004) Even, practically under the category of *real spirit*¹³ or *mediated totality*, the *institutional identity of ego* lies on the *property*, Habermas praises Hegel that he does not reduce *working* and *interaction* to each other theoretically. However, Habermas demands *working* to be depended on *exposition* and criticizes the colonization of *exposition or life-world* by *working or system*. According to him, the fault of Hegel lies in the idealist character of *working* and *interaction* causes him to be satisfied with *actualised totality* or *system*.

Surely, the relation between nature and society also changes. Adorno, in *Minima Moralia* defines that "People can only opposing production bring a humanal production." However,

¹² The term « exposition » is used to correspond to the term « serimleme » in Turkish.

¹³ Gerçek Tin

there seems that Habermas close each relation as equal. For Horkheimer language is a social product but society is constituted with the relation between *working* and *interaction*. The point of consensus between them is that *interaction* is a *social product and involves the dichotomy of purposive rational action and communicative action*.

Secondly, with these philosophical assumptions Habermas suggests the duality between *purposive-rational action* and *communicative action* to replace with the duality between *forces of production* and *relations of production*. The positive emphasis on *forces of production against relations of production* turns into the positive meaning of *speaking activity against working activity*. Similarly how *mode of production* represents *interaction* in Marx, for Habermas *the duality between system (comprising state and economy) and life-worlds in late capitalism* represents the *interaction*. In this *interaction* Habermas blames Marx disregarding the *linguistic communication* in producing *interaction with working*. As, surely, Habermas “emancipates” from the content of *mode of production* defined by Marx and *actualised society* defined by Frankfurt School abstractly. He re-defines the terms society and *social product*. The *separation of economy and politics*, here, is integrated abstractly. By doing so Habermas reformulates the *interaction in late capitalism*. However there is also other price of this abstract integration theoretically: he has to separate men or labour and its product. The quotation below shows this mistake,

... when scientific-technical progress has become an independent source of surplus value considered by Marx, namely the labour power of the immediate producers, plays an ever smaller role. (Habermas, J., 2004:53 -Emphasis is mine, Ö.G.)

Therefore the *alienation* defined by Marx and adopted by Frankfurt School is radically changes. By advising *scientific-technical progress as a primary force of production* he accepts that the *alienation between labour and his products* is normalized. By doing so Habermas re-defines also the definition of *forces of production*. *Forces of production* loses its positive meaning defines in Marx. So, Habermas reproduces it as *communication* to gain its positive meaning.

Thirdly, what is left from labour or *forces of production* to philosophy becomes *speaking or language*. *The results of interaction in late capitalism as social product* present to men a starting point that is the duality between *speaking men and working men*. With all its respect of *speaking men bases on life-worlds*, Habermas demands to avoid men from the negative content of *working in late capitalism*. In his frame without men *speaking and communicating*,

working men and system becomes *illegitimate* and *social motivation* abolishes. That is why the *crisis of legitimacy* appears.

Marx starting to *Capital* initially states that,

Neither are we here concerned to know how the *object satisfies... wants* (spring from the stomach or from fancy), whether directly as means of subsistence, or indirectly as means of production. (Marx, K., *Capital I*-Emphasis is mine)

Even though, *scientific-technical innovations* refer the product of *actualised society* constituted as a result of high level of mediation, for Marx it has to satisfy the wants and needs. In this frame *linguistic communication*, an adequate category to construct society proves that it is a *need* and has validity. Moreover being a need it has to be reproduced socially and in numerous mediations historically. Therefore *linguistic* has to be an immanent critique of *instrumental action or system* and *life-world* has to be an ideal as a total critique of *system*. However there is huge gap *between the intellectual reproduction and the actual structuring of reality*. That is why Swingewood finds the term *life-world* so naive sociologically and weak historically. (Swingewood, A., 1998)

Even it is abstract, the principle of Habermas to *uniting economy and politics is adversary and critical*. Therefore it is necessary to assess this as a demand to bring *high level of objectification*. But the content of the discussion and *interaction* has to be changed. Lukacs gives a successful instance of this effort. Lukacs discussing *daily reflection* and *theoretical reflection* (or “science”) as *degenerative attitude*¹⁴ presents them related to *the actualised social relations*, so that he shows the indispensable character of economical leap and conservative *reflection of ordinary men* in the capitalist social structure. (Lukacs, G., 1999) For Lukacs, without emancipating form this condition (both in philosophy and in reality) *high level of objectification* becomes a fantasy. For Lukacs, the terms *theoretical generalization* and *the impulse in reality* are a categories to overcome *actualised society*. However Habermas introduces sole *consensus* to overcome the *monologue process of system* and to activate potential of rationalization in *life-world*. *The demand of uniting economy and politics is surely so far from the consensus as practical tool. In other words, due to the gap between high level of objectification and the analyses and assumptions on late capitalism, the connection between uniting economy and politics, and consensus could not be appropriated.*

¹⁴ *Theoretical reflection* as degenerative attitude surely corresponds the “scientization of social theory” and “science” with its intensive reciprocal relation with *production*.

Here using the term *mediation to consensus*, we can examine Habermas's perspective bases on *analyses and assumptions on late capitalism (theoretical)*. For the perspective, *consensus* seems so static to gripping masses. *It is not enough for thought to strive for realization, reality must itself strive towards thought* and we used *internal elements or a category of mediation* to avoid the faults of *exaggeration of perspective and deprivation of perspective*. Since, category to *mediate* has to be shaped with differently with reference to time and space. Therefore using the term *internal element* generally is more vigorous and flexible than the term *consensus*, for instance *internal element* may also turn into a struggle to *grip masses*.

In fact, in theoretical perspective Habermas assumes the unity of economy and politics. Besides that consensus is a philosophical term to emancipate the independency of thought from its chain and it bases on *life-worlds*. Therefore the consensus does not base on *permanent symbols or, state*, but the premises are *temporary symbols to rationalize* in different times and spaces. Horkheimer states that *considering explaining the meaning of the sentences exposed by the identity of people is mistaken*. (Horkheimer, M., 1990) Therefore we confront with a philosophical duty attributes to consensus. Also it is expected from people or social processes realizing consensus to be conscious about this perspective.

Admitting the validity of consensus, in any condition that there is problem for masses to strive towards *perspective*, then, surely *consensus* could not realize *perspective*. Therefore it may be concluded socially and practically not towards *universalization of communication* but oppositely towards *particularization of consensus*. (Mouzelis, 1991) In this situation, the possible debates are interpreted as not spontaneously rational but the meaning attributed to consensus is considered. Therefore any unexpected situation or a result of consensus will be assessed as part of a huge *linguistic communication*. Here there are three possibilities: firstly the content of consensus is filled by Habermas' interpretations on late capitalism. Here, it will be admitted for participants that the scientific-technical progress decreases the importance of the duality of capital and labour. Therefore the duality between capital and labour will be realized behind the back of consensus. This assumption is valid also for the thought that there is *system* as a integration of economy and politics. Any insist on the principles of consensus will become a conservative attitude and concludes as *exaggeration of principle*. Secondly, it is also expectable that the universalization of consensus will be realized spontaneously. This approach surely corresponds the *deprivation of perspective*. Thirdly, disregarding the truth of the judgments of Habermas on late capitalism, some crucial assumptions can be introduced. In the process of consensus a kind of *falsification process* is realized. This attitude is called *communicative "direct" attitude*. The following part of the study will give the examples of these forms in planning theory and practice.

2.2.5.2 Communicative “Direct” Planning

After the Part 2.2.5.1, now discussing the planning attitude related to *communicative rationality* is easier. Without giving the special connections of different types of planning, named as *collaborative planning*, *strategic planning* etc. with *systems view of planning*, Branch Method and *ex post* efforts of planning, the general and common features of these types plans is summarized on the discussion about Habermas’ social theory.

Healey discusses the reflection of *communicative rationality* in planning as below,

In this way, knowledge for action, principles of action, and ways of acting are actively constituted by the members of an intercommunicating communities, situated in the particularities of time and space.... We do not need recourse to common fundamental ideals or, principles of “the good social organization” to guide us. Planning and its contents, in this conception are a way of acting that we can choose, after debate. (Healey, P., 1996:243 -Emphasis is mine, Ö.G.)

This quotation proves that fundamental ideas and principles of planners become unnecessary. All parts of planning process are determined *after debate*. Therefore the role of the planners evaporates. What for? For *communicative network* that is in thought a beginning point. In the debate to constitute a *communicative network*, the participants also leave their goals and aims before debate. If the participants also leave their goals before the debate, why there is a need of *communication*. But surely both *power of money and administration* does not leave their aims and interests for a “legitimate” and *ex post* aims that he does not know the end. This is explicitly, in terms of Habermas, the defeat of *communicative rationality* against *instrumental or purposive-rationality*. Since it is suicide for planners to start debate leaving out the *ex ante* aims or, world-views.

It is surely problematic, in this sense; the trend of system is to colonize not only the *life-world* but also the *consensus*. Therefore the expectation of Healey, leaving out the fundamental ideas and principles, is so favourable for the interests of *system* that do not leave its *ex ante* aims. Therefore the *conditions of consensus* look like the *conditions of perfect market* that private enterprises always disturb these conditions. Therefore expectation that participators leave their *ex ante* aims means to demand firms to leave out the aim of profit maximization.

This fantasy explicitly lies in the frame of Habermas. Actually duality between public and private or, capital and labour surely is covered by the *communicative action*. That is why Healey discuss *communicative turn* by annihilating the conflict between will of *profit maximization* and the will of *reproduction of labour*. The conflict in the process of capital

accumulation goes behind the back of Habermas and *communicative turn*. *Rationalization of communication* as a candidate to unite economy and politics against *monologue process of system* latently admits to differentiate *working and interaction (shaped by communicative process)*. The direct relation between *working and interaction* is suggested as an indirect process: *emancipation from starvation does not approximate with emancipation from despise*. (Habermas, J., 2004) The *communicative process* that reproduces itself dynamically is seemed as if it confirms the essence of *working*. The *communicative network* hides the essence of *working*. Therefore confirmation of *communicative action* means surely confirmation of pseudo-essence of *working*. Therefore Healey inviting planners to leave their *fundamental ideas*, he also wants them to believe that *communicative process* is a remedy for all illnesses. In this sense, both Healey and planners believing *communicative process*, reproduces both *deprivation of planning perspective* and *exaggeration of strategy of consensus*.

The attitude of communicative planning produces many different solutions in practice conserving its many features. Tekeli, in discussing the five distinct types of participatory planning, conflicting with Healey and he suggests *Critical Rationalist* way of participation by criticizing the third way of participation that starts planning without any explicit aims. In this article, he firstly demands planners to participate social processes constituting a discourse arena related to values. But in practice he notices the difficulties of the realization of this process. (Tekeli, İ., 1990) Then, he introduces the argument that *before understanding what planners want to achieve, it is not to be expected public to support them*.

Tekeli states one of the wants of planners as *transferring the increased rate of rent to public* to be *out of participation process*.¹⁵ The difference between Healey and Tekeli surely originates from their satisfaction degrees on social processes and social dynamics involving *communicative processes*. At an unsatisfied situation Tekeli gives signals that planners also have a potential to constitute a discourse on values of their own to create their aims to be rational. The limit of this aim is not defined explicitly. It is sure that in this frame *transferring the rent* is differentiated from *producing the values*. Similar to Habermas, the conflict in production that is conflict between *capital and labour* realizes behind the back of *participation process*. Therefore Tekeli insists on the principle of *communicative rationality*. Now calling this approach as *exaggeration of strategy* is possible, but contrary to Healey, Tekeli does not give up his standign as a planner. The enlarging scope of *communicative action* determines the rationalization potential. That is why there is no any insurance for planners defending the *life-worlds* and no any principle to conserve their existence in an

¹⁵ We will discuss that *transferring the increased rate of rent to public* is surely an strategy to be evaluate in ZMAP.

enlarging scope of *communicative action* practically. In consistent analysis of Habermas' view, in each moment of *communicative action*, the conflict of capital and labour has to be disregarded and the constant process has to be reached to a dynamic process of *founding a Constitution*. Even this process was achieved; we faced to face with the reality between legal relations and production relations. (Cohen, A., G., 1998) As a conclusion it deepens the *separation of economy and politics*.

For an overall assessment Healey *deprivates planning perspective* and *exaggerates the strategy of consensus*, However, Tekeli assumes both *planning strategy* and *strategy of consensus*. Moreover he *exaggerates the principle of the communicative rationality*. For us these inconsistencies lie in frame of Habermas; because, the principle of confirming the separation of labour and product goes with the strategy of consensus. Leaving to show the inner conflict of the theory to the conclusion of the study, now we will contented with calling Tekeli's approach as *communicative "direct" planning*. Communicative process gives the direct character of planning and the principle converts and vision into "direct" character.

2.3 Conclusion: General Critique on Planning Theory

The question to start is why one criticizes another. For us all critiques have their actual reasons. For instance Chapin criticizing Chicago School of Urban Sociology, Systems View of Planning criticizing Chapin, Lindblom criticizing Root Method, Etzioni criticizing Branch Method, Mandel criticizing Nove (and reverse also the case), Healey criticizing neo-liberal policies, Tekeli criticizing Healey.

The *general* circulation of planning process that we introduced as action of men is imagination of product and realization of purpose. In alienated life, the true human life is also lived, and so in alienated social totality the imagination and realization of proportion abstractly hidens the imagination of product and realization of purpose. Therefore planning activity is in contradiction with itself. Pseudo-essence of product and pseudo-essence of purpose concentrated in appearance of proportion, when self-affirmation of planning activity is once completed, theory of planning starts. Actually, the true existence of planning activity becomes the existence in planning theory as inverted forms of conscious.

Due to our concern is on space, product and purpose has to be assessed in production of space. The most important division of labour in spatial context has to introduce as between urban and rural settlements. The emergence of urban problems seems surely as problems in urban itself. The aesthetic reflection of urban planning in the first case is a response to problems in urban

area. Neither English, nor French practices of town planning is free from the urban realm even the rural or cultural concerns is available. However, initially, after *The Housing Question* has been written by Engels (1992), then, any efforts to sustain the urban problems as merely problems of urban like utopians, Haussmann or Proudhon, confirms the *alienation*.

Engels does not give any model of urban or, spatial planning. Besides, due to that the critique of planning activity could not be realized and so the true solution of proletarian could not be realized, Public Health Legislations and the substance that Ricardo claimed, *the value of land is completely derived from the value of the product* is realized as the sole true solution of urban problems. Therefore, proportional accounts on space by Ricardo and matured by Von Thünen, went together with the laws, legislations etc. as a way towards planning theory. The intensifying effect of enlarging and deepening production in urban realm firstly produced land use planning at the beginning of 20th century in USA. According to Günay (1999), the root of city planning lies in the philosophy of utility and controls imposed on property. Günay introduces that,

This process would culminate in 20th century, in Geddes' formulation of planning 'Survey, Analysis, Plan', and the emanation of comprehensive planning. (Günay, B., 1999)

Ricardo's argumentation is surely an adequate for proportional account of planning as the identity between product and value, and value as pseudo-essence of product to rationalize. The pseudo-purpose is to realize the ordinary ends of men. This case is also valid for sociology of Chicago School. The critique of Chicago School by Chapin is an endeavour to appropriate the ecological or economical understanding as social and institutional understanding.

But the social entity is limited with values and institutions for every subject and also for planners as public interest. Planning in state authority as general interest was mostly actualized after Second World War as *comprehensive planning*. Here the purpose of public interest gains also a contradictory character. According to Marx,

Political emancipation is, of course, a big step forward. True, it is not the final form of human emancipation in general, but it is the final form of human emancipation within the hitherto existing world order. (Marx, K., On The Jewish Question- Emphesises are mine, Ö.G.)

Therefore, **political planning** is in opposition with **civil planning** of private firms regarding labour as means, labour degrades himself into means. Within the context after Second World War *political planning* as *comprehensive planning* is the final form

emancipation within hitherto existing world order. As the heaven of the planning activity, political planning contradicts with the earthly life. That is why *political planning* is partial emancipation, political planning as the entity of heaven, recognizes society, education, health, social rank etc. abstractly, and conveniently to the inverted forms of conscious. The quantitative and proportional analysis of space as the sole true essence contradicts with earth, and so, *political planning* contradicts with itself.

Illusory and true forms of purpose of *political planning* lies together in public interest ambiguously, and so, Lindblom (1959) splits purpose into two parts such as: agreement on values (ends) and agreement on policies (means). While he is criticizing Root Method, he also asks a brilliant question: *how can administrator know whether he has made a wise or foolish decision if he is without prior values or objectives by which to judge his decisions?* He recognizes one-sided character of administrator that has no any idea on what the *idea of political planning* is. Policy, indeed, is also in contradiction with itself. However, it is open for civil purposes to be agreed on the means conjecturally. In addition the Objective/Action Analysis of *systems view* is also criticised indirectly. Therefore he suppling civil purposes a mean or, policy to act, degrades the *idea of political planning* by signifying the purposes in *civil planning*.

The separation between discussion on values and policies corresponds also to philosophy and history, and Lindblom is in favor of the second. Camhis, (1979) identifying Lindblom and Popper, is surely in a right point of view in this context. However, in this time Lindblom extracts the process of *political planning*, one-sidedly as Survey-“Analysis”-Plan. Therefore he is far from rationalizing the contradictory character of analysis involving both *analysis* and “analysis”, so, Dror, (1999) asks the method of Lindblom whether it is science or inertia. Surely the duality is between philosophy and history itself. The reason of *political planning* moving around the men like an illusory Sun does not originate from the state itself, but oppositely the origins of this illusory Sun lies in men who does not move around its own true reality historically.

Contrary to Lindblom, Etzioni (1967) insists on that administrator knows the *idea of political planning*, and what the crucial question is not between value (end) and policy (means), since both are the decisions having their values (ends) in it. The significant concern has to be on *programming* related to fundamental and secondary decisions. Therefore the ambiguity of values turns into numerous concrete ends to act for Lindblom. According to Etzioni, the more capacity for agreement and the more effective control are the necessary conditions of *mixed-scanning programme*. The *programme* introduced is not

only for modern democracies or, totalitarian societies, but a programme for both towards *active society*. Therefore Etzioni reproduces the abstract face of *political planning* by disregarding the real existence of these societies. As easily seen in *strategic planning in managerial practice*, and in *perspective planning in socialist countries* programming is a way actually in practice, it has to be answered both philosophically and historically that how *strategic* and *perspective planning* owns their capacity for agreement, how they can plan “without agreement”, in addition, how social sciences and new technologies supplies more effective way of control. Therefore Etzioni mystifies the true essence of both civil and political planning by intensifying on *programming* as optimum balance between fundamental and secondary decisions. But *agreement* and *control* becomes crucial terms in understanding the relation of subject and object of planning. It is to be added that in socialist countries principally the term agreement and control is replaced by the social organizations that are not regarding other organization as a means, labour that has organizations exalting men as ends.

Therefore the attempt of Lindblom to appropriate policies to civil planning and to degrade the *idea of political planning* is defeated by Etzioni. Etzioni has achieved to sustain the contradictory character of political planning by emphasizing programming as another pseudo-essence of planning (explicitly in other words true-existence of political planning) and the terms agreement and control in “scientific” manner.

Habermas as the last representative of Frankfurt School, criticized the instrumental rationality of both the civil and political planning as the monetary and administrative power entegrated by *system*. Therefore, the demand of Etzioni on more control over enviroment via “scientification” is also criticised as an ideological standing point. However Habermas’ position on the term agreement is similar with Etzioni. Healey using the Habermasian framework advise planners to be deprived of any purpose and any fundemantal ideas for the communicative action and debate. The indecisive position of Habermas is surely the reason of the purposeless attitude of Healey. Nevertheless, Tekeli, (1990) contradictionally advises planners both to have clear purposes and to conceal the appropriation of private ownership of lands for special localities before debate. Like Lindblom’s *root method*, *communicative planning* degrading the *idea of political planning*, introduces the term *vision* as a mean for social integration of *system and life-worlds* to produce universal values. In this framework the particular and concrete purposes is not, but the potential of universality behind these purposes is significant. Therefore, if it is assumed as a *programme* of planning, this universal aim is neither for *political*, nor for *civil planning*, but it is for entire life. However, by the way, this framework does not give us any litmus

paper to understand the illusory (concrete appearance) and true essence (universality) of purposes. The whole concrete appearances are assumed as completely true representatives of reality, and subjects is demanded to reach universality without showing any way to find the contradictory character of the true appearance. Therefore the duty of introducing enlightening judgment in debate to be nourished by entire history earth is given to the participants. But can the participants go beyond the concrete appearances of experiences? Thus, the exaggerated expectations of Lindblom on civil society turns into the exaggerated expectations from the communicative action of entire life. Both the disappearing of contradiction and exaggeration of communicative action originates from the framework of Habermas. The forms of action attributed for system and life-worlds is also the appearances, however, for Habermas they are the sole representatives of true reality. Apart from Lindblom's civil initiatives as a illusory Sun moving around the men, Habermas's communicative action itself is moving around the men as a illusory Sun. The necessity of mistification given by the reality, is that men does not moving around himself.

For us, like Mandel, the duality between *global irrationality* and *partial rationality* is the crucial contradiction that the society involves in it, and global rationality is the purpose of counter-political planning recognizing the civil society fully, not partially with its appearances or, pseudo-essence. Therefore *a priori* purpose of *global rationality* is not contradictory and ambiguous for neither individual nor the administrator, it is a kind of *enlightening judgment*.

Here, before starting to examine concrete forms of spatial planning, we have to summarize the discussion, and mature the *planning in general* as *general form of planning*. From *imagination of product* and *realization of purpose* to *imagination and realization of proportion*, proportion has to be defined as firstly the phenomenon not originated from the Ricardo, but from the reality itself.

A constructor who has the land owner giving him the right of leasehold, has to present a more rentable way of land development by banishing the copyholds such as: serfs who are not free. In fact, the first client of the land is not the constructor but the other production facilities. A trend from copyhold to leasehold was a concrete development in 1710 in England. In 1760, industry was transferred almost completely from village to town. The result was the large-scale of emigration to the town, with his traditional skill and craftman ship. (Banks, F., R., 1964) Likewise Ricardo's argumentation comprising the differential rent was also not for specially construction, but it was a general statement reproduced in thought from other facilities. The reflection of product as value or proportion in thought recognising the

abstract spatial distances was only initial argument. The aesthetical reflection of construction was the older way of construction and has no any method considering the rent theories. The solution produced to the massive illnesses causing from inequity in space was not to be the problem of any individual freeholder or leaseholder. Political state's Public Health Legislation was for sustaining the overall production and particularly construction.

The intervention of political state to space, full of inequity, was realized by *the method of Haussmann* in Paris, at first it seems that it involves aesthetic, economic and military ways of restructuring the city. From *the method of Haussmann* to Geddes' formulation of Survey-Analysis-Plan, the continuities and discontinuities have to be researched. *The method of Haussmann, pseudo-solution*, is thought as a general way of intervention to the space and Engels (1992) introduces *the method of Haussmann* as way of restructuring the especially central cities as city of luxurious without any aesthetic and analytical anxieties. It is so interesting while both Marx and Engels was criticizing other analytical and philosophical consideration, for spatial concern Engels was demanding only the analytical and aesthetical point of view without criticizing them. It is to be reminded that the utopians had been criticized before. Explicitly, for idea of progress, the negation of theory and the realization of this critique has to be taken account in the same way, and Engels was criticizing the solutions of utopians, bourgeois and Proudhon not only in thought but also in their realization, like Marx criticizing the Hegelian thought and its realization in Germany in 1843 and 1844. Therefore *the method of Haussmann* has to be assessed as *partial emancipation as political state*.

The Lindblom's critique on *root method* or, Survey-"Analysis"-Plan is a bit different. At first Lindblom criticizes the *method of political planning* in realization. But, is there a thought or theory of planning independent from the political way of understanding? Therefore the concentration of different way of planning philosophy was seen in self-affirmation of political planning. There seems no any philosophical endeavour to appropriate the contradiction between *analysis* and "analysis", and in other words *the imagination of product - realization of purpose* and *imagination and realization of abstract proportions*. Thus, the separation between philosophy and history could not be discovered, and lack of Lindblom on investigating civil planning, causes him to find the objective truth of planning "unattainable" reality, or *noumen*. The choice of him in favour of civil planning, disregarding the contradiction between in civil society.

The self-confirmation of political planning via pseudo-essence of space has to be shown. For political planning of space, the essence of space lies in proportions and in the form of land

properties, for instance, *land use planning* before the institutionalization of general political planning recognized only the abstract character of space. Similarly, the proportional and formal expression of space has to start to journey in thought negating the concrete character of space. The reason of abstract face of space as illusory Sun moving around the space is not originated from the political planning of space, but reversely from space does not moving around its true Sun.

This has to be illustrated. The only feature of proportional account of space on journey has its being in the production of space by individuals. The concrete production of space by individual could not be recognized directly, since, the average rate of individual labour objectified in space becomes the *measure (the thing)* as *the third* which is necessary for the exchange of lands and buildings and for transition from copyholder to leaseholder. For example, by the value of land in Ricardo's argumentation, we reach the value of space as product via product in general involving both *variable and constant capitals*. Even if, the spatial product is a *being for itself*, takes its true-essence as a kind of mean: *a part of the fixed part of constant capital, in product in general*. Self-affirmation of space, at first, finds itself as a *thing*: production of means of production, and the consumption of means of production. Thus the *negation* and the *negation of negation* of space become only understandable in mediation with *general production as thing*. as concrete consumption of space.

In the sense of the reflection on planning, *systems view* wrenches "facts" from their living context to the context of methods. These "facts" are the appearances of space and in contradiction with themselves. The house is engaged with family, integration of families engaged with community and so community with a group of clusters with social assets, and city is engaged with the industry, service, infrastructure etc. *System view* considers infrastructures as also "facts" or *channels* connecting other "facts". The illusory system of urban realm is abstracted in thought by wrenching them from their living ground to the heaven of thought and political state.

However the contradiction between planners own understanding and the self-confirmation political state is to be enlightened. The duality show itself in the contradiction of *daily life or, history* as the question of priority of action or perception. The duality show itself in the conflict of true (spontaneous materialism) and illusory (idealism) reflections living in the same time and space. It is funny that men does not percept what he does in the combination of spontaneous materialism and dogmas exist synchronously. The intellectuals are not free from this existence. For example, Locke's discussion on perception and his judgment claiming the

labour spent in product is a kind of duality existing together. Neither progressist model and culturalist model of urban design and nor the CIAM and TEAM X are free from this duality. Now on, apart from considering the infinity of contradiction, it is necessary to extract the contradiction in finite appearances. The contradiction becomes clear by whether showing the true and illusory forms in planning thought, and so, the illusory effect of state of religious, political state, political planning of space and the opposinary dynamics in this new combinations. Because opposinary dynamics in theory supplies an oppurtunity to the opposinary dynamics of life to become free. Thus, apart from getting rid of determination of political planning of space, it is not possible for planner to be free. It has to be reminded also that the essence of both philosophy and political state lies in life and they are the representatives of life as an true or illusory conscious. They have no any entity independent from flow of history of life, they are only in the service of the critique. Similarly the critique gives way to planners to create their own essence and philosophical concerns that takes its roots in history of life.

Now on, the *general form of planning* as the *general critique* involves these crucial terms such as: analysis, hierarchy of purposes, programming, agreement and control, to extract their contradictory character which is connected to both the alienated and the true reality of life of space.

CHAPTER III

UNEQUAL DEVELOPMENT AND *SALTO MORTALE* VERSION OF IDEA OF PROGRESS

The general critique of planning theories is an entrance to discuss the concrete forms of planning. Only after examining the concrete forms of planning the general critique can gain a concrete character. Therefore it is so crucial for this study to criticize the concrete forms of planning to reach a particular critique. However there is a new introduction on unequal development before beginning to analyse these concrete forms of planning.

Initially, the general critique is not a critique which has no its actual cradle. The discussions on planning theory, surely, base on a reality of different countries. Because these discussions have emerged in the most developed countries, most important categories on planning were reproduced. There is no need for any mistification. Therefore if we assume that these countries were lived the important discussions on planning theories, this also means that these countries constantly produce new kinds of problems historically.

In the sense of idea of progress what the important is not whether the country lived a historical or a philosophical progress, since one of the progress is adequate to start examinations. The concrete problems give way to the country to supersede from the first step to the third step, if philosophical progress was reproduced. In the case of Marx, German was in a situation in the midst of 19th century living a philosophical revolution. But due to philosophical revolution is only the reflection of historical revolution, Germans negated the religion in thought in the same period of historical revolution of France. However Germans reached historically the *moment* of France later, so while for some intellectual French Revolution is to be done in Germany, the others advised to overcome not only the limitation of Germans itself, but to overcome also the limitations of France of now. This does not mean that these limitations were only the limitations of France, reversely for Germans these limitations was real. This need of Germans is to do *salto mortale* or, for us in this study an *enlightening judgment*. Therefore the general critique will obtain us a parameter to

approach the planning experiences and so the limitations and problems in Turkey. However there is a need for *salto mortale* version of idea of progress in planning.

That is why *salto mortale* version of idea of progress, does not necessitate the priority of philosophy and demands philosophy in service of history, whether planners in Turkey do not know the discussions and the history of developed nations in detail has possibility to know the and extract the forms of contradiction and to explain them regarding the critique of their history. Thereby, the near neighbour of Turkey, USSR, gives a historical critique of developed capitalist nations. Here, what the important is to keep on their critical position philosophically and historically not only for developed capitalist nations but also socialist nations. Even if, this is a general problem of the intellectuals of Turkey, there is no doubt to demand this attitude from planners as intellectuals.

The seed of *emancipation* does not lie in philosophy, but particularly in the critique of history. History is *concrete* and the concentration of many determinants. Hegel, Ricardo, Smith are all started with the full conceptions of the *concrete* and reached to *abstract determination* as also the concentration for thought, and so they are also the parts of the *concrete*. However there is a need for departing from “*concrete*” assuming totality or worldview, and so what the necessary is to start from “*concrete*” like an observation and conception. “*Concrete*” means *concrete for thought*, and Althusser uses it as “*abstract*”, and Lukacs as *abstract determination*. Marx also uses it with the term *abstract*. For all “*concrete*” is a intervention and critique of history assuming the totality of life. Moreover, for us it is the object or raw material of both ordinary men and theory. Lukacs mentioned the way of scientific analysis as from *abstract determination* to *concrete for thought*, and Marx claimed as from abstract to concrete, and Althusser introduced as from “abstract” to “concrete”. By the way for us is from “concrete” to action is the peak point of theory as a way of “concrete” struggle.

In that sense, the ambiguity is a bit solved on *salto mortale*, which unites general and particular critique in a “*concrete*” enlightening judgment. For example for Marx, the proposition that *for labour, the more working equals the more becoming poor* is a kind of “*concrete*” enlightening judgment even in 1844. Therefore, what the need for us in this study is to attain a “*concrete*” enlightening judgment as both a critique of history and a way to theorize for supporting the critique in later. But this is not adequate for analysing concrete forms of planning. “Concrete” judgment can be produced by firstly defining and analysing “concrete”. Thereby, the examination recognizing concrete forms of planning as

only concrete and planning theories as abstract cannot reach any critique on “concrete” and so history.

Here, Hegel’s terms in *Logic* are so necessary such as: *essence-appearance*, *base-totality*, *idea*, *substance-Form*, *purpose (zweck)*, *content-form*, etc. *Idea* refers, for us, to ideology, theory and especially theory of planning, and *purpose* to the concrete *Forms* of planning. In this sense, Etzioni’s approach on *programming* is *purpose* as a kind of misconception since he does not consider *form and content of purpose*. *Idea* is determined by *totality* regarding *substance and Form*. The misidentification between philosophy and history under the head of *idea* causes to disregard the opposinary dynamics in *idea* of planning theory. In this happens then, *totality* does not give the *essence of becoming, appearance of being*. For an overall looking, *totality (essence and appearance)*, *idea (substance and Form)*, *Purpose (content and form)* are a guideline for us.

Now on we are critically discussing *subjective (outer) idea and purpose*. *Subjective (outer) purpose* focusing on utility via means and object is limited with understanding *object*. In addition, *subjective (outer) idea* is not capable to extract the *objectivity*. Therefore *actuality* belongs to *totality* develops all the conflicts in it. Lastly *actualized idea* focuses on *being* disregarding *becoming*. In this sense, *political (or partial) emancipation* represents “*subjective (outer) totality*”. For an overall looking *totality-actuality*, *idea-objectivity*, and *purpose-object* are the rings of the study. Therefore we will accept the incompleteness and infinity of the process, and assume that the contradiction is going on between history and philosophy via *appearances*.

3.1 Integrated Process of Planning and Forms of Spatial Planning

As we showed above, if we start from *actualized totality*, then the relation between subject and (*object*) space becomes an indirect relation. History of life is an intermediate form in this relation. Surely *idea and purpose* are the definite representatives of the infinite contradiction of *flow of history*. From the *actualized idea of political planning* to *actualised idea of political planning of space*, planning theory has to produce a “*concrete*” *perspective (totality)* to appropriate the conflict in the flow of history. Therefore the term *perspective* is a *perspective*, which develops the *totality* of planning and criticizes *idea* of planning to reach another *idea*: *idea* of progress having the *perspective of global rationality*. Within this context, *perspective of global rationality* criticizes also the *actuality of capitalism* separating

space and society. Thus a *perspective of global rationality* can be entitled as *perspective of integrated process of planning*¹⁶ to integrate *political planning and political planning of space* means also integrating space and society.

Within the context, it is to be remembered that spatial planning has two methods today such as: *comprehensive* and *structure planning*. They could not be an obstacle for us to see the common characteristics or the *actuality* of spatial planning as a *total understanding*. The only truth for these methods is to get common characteristics related to the *actuality or (re)production* of space.

Epistemologically, there is a change from *comprehensive* to *structure planning* and but it is not so radical to distinguish one from another. According to Günay, (...) *system view, advocacy planning, communicative planning*, are all the derivatives of *structure planning*. Besides that, the transition from *comprehensive* to *structure planning* is caused from the change in production of space and in property relations that is intensifying the interest of capitalist class on the core of cities. Therefore, he introduces *comprehensive planning* concerning to dominate the entire of space (both structure and parts of city) by state, *structure planning* dealt with more on the structure, not its distinct parts. (Günay, B., 1999:180) By the way the new contributions to the planning process are introduced as *goal formulation, generating alternatives*. In addition, he notices that *strategic, advocacy, systems view* and also *communicative planning* are all the derivatives of *structure planning*. (Günay,....) Moreover, Günay also considers the inadequacies of *comprehensive planning* and *political state* in the same meaning. Later on we will attempt superficially to understand the change, but now we have to enlarge the views gathered in especially *structure planning*.

Structure planning involving different kinds of methods in it actually has also different view on distinct areas that makes difficult to gather them in the same effort of planning. for instance, the understandings on *political state. Systems view, communicative and advocacy planning* have different considerations on what the rational is. In addition, the object of their studies is also different. For example, while *communicative planning* is a study on social reality, *systems view* is mostly on urban reality. Besides that the epistemological concerns also different, while *systems view* appropriates reality by mediating to urban system and not to the social totality, *communicative planning* mediates them to explicitly the conflict of *life-worlds* and *system*. Moreover, their attitude on the separation of economy and politics is different, for

¹⁶ The term *integrated* is used here with reference to *integrated planning*. What is intended to state via this term is coherence between socio-economic plan and regional or physical planning. Similarly in the planning experience of Poland the term *integrated planning* was used for the corporate study of planners. (Zaremba, P., 1976)

instance, *systems view* in accordance with Chapin is uniting them abstractly, and others solve this problem in practical consensus of groups of people or, policies.

The question of why they are coming together under the same *idea* of planning: *structure planning*, is to be answered. Initially for us this situation originates from both their attitude for changing *objectivity* and their epistemological concerns starting from *full conception to abstract determination*. Neither theoretically nor practically they have no “concrete” *perspective* against the *social totality*.

3.1.1 Political State Mediating (Re)production of Space

The relation between society and space is surely a reciprocal relation. But in planning studies the phenomenon belonging to space, mostly, has been taken account without any conscious mediation to *objectivity* of space and has fallen into trap of *fetishism of space* such as utilitarianism. (We have had illustrated above the contradictory of these approaches as the combination of spontaneous materialism and idealism.) But especially the studies after 1960’s there appeared a general consensus on this reciprocal relation; even it cannot be enlightened fully. Here, starting from social struggles in and through (urban) space is compulsory. (Şengül, H., T., 2001a)

As mentioned at the beginning of the study, *in general*, (re)production or self-confirmation of labour necessitates material and imagined product and realization of purpose to confirm the essential powers of human being. Space, also, has to be claimed as one of the essential need. In addition as we mentioned in Part 2.1 these conditions of labour historically has become contradictory socialized and so *actualized*. Therefore, the determination of (re)production of space as a essential need now, is realized via numerous mediations and the immediate production of space abolishes. In this study the determination of (re) production of space will be assumed as the *urbanism of developed cities*¹⁷ so with the contradictory structure of society. Besides that *political state* (as a social relation) is also an *intermediate form* in (re)production of space. (Şengül, H., T., 2001a)

¹⁷ The term “urbanism of developed cities” is surely defines the city developed after the “original accumulation of capital” is realized. Therefore the past conditions of capitalism are all re-defined in a system which is dominated by the conflict between labour and capital and so, accumulation process of capital. Marx defines this transformation related to urban realm as below,
“While e.g. the flight of serfs to the cities is one of the historic conditions and presuppositions of urbanism, it is not a condition, not a moment of the reality of developed cities, but belongs rather to their past presuppositions, to the presuppositions of their becoming which are suspended in their being.” (Marx, K., Grundrisse)

However defining the *base of political state* in (re)production of space involves many problems in it. Initially it is not necessary to attribute any *independency* to the political state and this does not mean that *political state* is a simple instrument of capitalist class(es). *Independency* of the *political state* was valid for *state of religion* before the emergence of bourgeois class. However after *actualization of capitalism*, the *independency* turned certainly into *dependency*, but *political state* gained an *autonomous idea* character. Assuming this conflict, our claim is so simple that, if we assume capital accumulation as contradictory process, then *actualized idea of political state* also has a contradictory *base*. But *political state* recognises *objectivity* in an inverted way of conscious by reconciling contradiction. This reconciling activity confirms the alienated character of *objectivity* and so the conflict of itself. Therefore *purpose (or policies) of political state* to economy carries the conflict in it as of *dependency and authonomy*.

Within this conflict *actualized idea of political state*, which recognizes only its *objectivity*, oscillates between *crystalization and evoporation* from one *idea* to another since, the *totality* of capitalist social formation reshapes capital from one *organization (idea)* to other oscillating between *valuation and devaluation*. Similarly, (re)production of space or indirect motion of mental and physical elements of space is dominated by the *totality of capitalism* and the duality in different *moments* expresses the conflict as pedestrian-vehicle, apartment-squatter etc.

Conceptualizing urban area as capital (*la terra capital*) fixed on land is so expectable to be consumed. In this relation as Harvey mentioned conflict of *valuation and devaluation* realizes. The problem in consumption is not a local debate, but all international, national, regional and territorialized scales are interrelated. According to Harvey (2004), the crisis of capitalism -it brings us to the *totality of capitalism*- originated from low level of consumption, temporary, can only be surmounted by transition to second and third circuits of production. Here, the second and third circles of production are not full of built environment, but a built environment as an inevitable part of these circles as significantly, a product, not only the mean for the new *objectivity of capitalism*. Long run projects on space gains importance by infrastructural investments or housing etc. However each investment has potentially the part of the new crises and *devaluations*.

Explicitly *idea of political state* in this transformation also changes as from one *idea* to another with respect to the *objectivity*. This transformation has to reflect also on the *idea of political planning of space*. This is also helpful to understand the togetherness of different methods of planning in *structure planning* involving contradiction and limited with assuming

objectivity. Besides that the relation between *idea* and *purpose* basically changes in planning process.

3.2 Urbanization and Industrialization in Turkey

In Turkey, in accordance with the changing *objectivity of capitalism*, there are two important periods: from 1960 to 80 and from 1980 to today. For our case study, Pre-Plan of Zonguldak Region and Zonguldak Metropolitan Plan, dates back to the first period and the Zonguldak-Bartın-Karabük (ZBK) Regional Development Project dates back to the second. The *actualized idea of the political state* in the first period (1960-80) prevent us to call the planning endeavour as *structure planning*, so we will claim as a period of *comprehensive planning*, but the second period (1980-2005) can be claimed certainly as a period of *structure planning*. As we introduced above both *comprehensive planning* and *structure planning* has similarities epistemologically and with reference to the *totality of capitalism*. With respect to the *idea*, Pre-Plan of Zonguldak Region and Zonguldak Metropolitan Plan has also differences, even though they belong to *comprehensive planning*. For instance while Pre-Plan of Zonguldak Region standing in the core of *idea of political state*, Zonguldak Metropolitan Plan turns into a kind of critique of *idea of political state* especially at the end of 1970's. From one to third the transitions have to be shown.

Today disregarding the changing *base of political state*, the critiques on *development planning*¹⁸ is introduced by advising *structure planning* as if *development planning* was a kind of *comprehensive planning*. That simple pseudo-identification is explicitly an evident that there is a deprivation of the theoretical sensitivity. Neither the transformation of space nor the changing *base of the political state* is considered with reference to a critical *perspective*.

Here, it is surely necessary to analyse the mechanism of capitalist growth in Turkey. Turkey started to industrialize by public authority in the second quarter of 20th century, had limits to accumulate capital. Turkey historically faced to face with need of capital accumulation for both public and private sectors. Contrary to USSR, Turkey could not manage to gather capital from the rural areas to industrialize. Therefore both investments on physical infrastructure and

¹⁸ According to Tekeli (1969), *Development Planning* emerged between 1918-29, was studied in schools of architecture as "landscape architecture", but the *Comprehensive Planning* emerged after second world war, was an interdisciplinary study between physical, economic and social planning. However Bademli (1986) defines 1990 Metropolitan Plan of Ankara prepared in 1970's as *Structure Planning* putting against *Development Plan*, disregarding the outer reality of planning endeavor. Similarly Altaban (2002) presents that view as a consensus between planners.

industry were limited to achieve an overall development. In that condition the transformation in rural areas could not be planned and organized.

As seen in Table 3.1 rural population of Turkey increased absolutely till 1980, and only after that date absolutely decrease paralleled with the decreasing percentage of rural population. The only possible way of absolute increasing in rural population is planting of new lands. (Marx, 2000, Lenin, 1988) Therefore the absolute increase originated from the new lands planted. Besides that between 1927 and 1945, apart from the old centers that are İstanbul and İzmir, the new urban centers emerged such as: Bursa, Balıkesir, Adana, Ankara, Aydın, Manisa, Zonguldak. In addition Zonguldak, Eskişehir, Ereğli, Nazilli and Malatya were the urban areas where the new industries established by *political state* and rapid urbanization appeared with a limited capital. (Sarç, Ö., C., 1949)

Table 3.1 Change in urban and rural population between 1927-97

Census Years	Total Population (Thousand)	Urban Pop. (Thousand)	Rural Pop. (Thousand)	Urban Pop. %	Rural Pop. %
1927	13.648	2.234	11.414	16.4	83.6
1935	16.158	2.684	13.474	16.6	83.4
1940	17.821	3.216	16.605	18.0	82.0
1945	18.790	3.466	15.324	18.4	81.6
1950	20.947	3.924	17.023	18.7	81.3
1955	24.065	5.425	18.640	22.5	77.5
1960	27.755	7.200	20.555	25.5	74.5
1965	31.391	9.343	22.048	29.8	70.2
1970	36.605	12.735	22.923	35.8	64.2
1975	40.378	16.869	23.478	41.8	58.1
1980	44.737	19.645	25.092	43.9	56.1
1985	50.664	26.866	23.798	53.0	47.0
1990	56.969	33.326	23.146	58.5	40.6
1997	62.896	40.882	21.983	65.0	35.0

Source: Results of the Population Census published by State Statistical Institute (SSI)

After 1950's the need for capital tried to be met by foreign institutions. Therefore the investments on fixed capital enlarged till 1975. In I. FYDP it was introduced that the investment on transportation particularly the main routes had completed. Thus in industrialization and urbanization of Turkey that period played an important role. According to Keleş, since 1950 Turkey has witnessed an extraordinarily rapid rate of urbanization. (Keleş, R., 1973) The increasing rate of total and urban populations proves the truth of this judgment. The only radical decrease in increasing rate has appeared between 1975-80 resulted

from the crisis. The rural population found risky to flight to urban areas; even they suffer from the inadequate income conditions. (Eraydın, A., 1992) In addition while the rate reached its old position between 1980 and 1985, then there appeared again a decrease in increasing rate after 1985 till today.

Surely the growth in urban areas brought different classes such as: capitalist and working class, and different categories producing capital and reproducing labour in the same areas and arenas. According to Şengül (2001b), the limited intervention of the *political state* to the urban area has resulted with the more initiatives of local communities on urbanization process. Low level of objectification in urbanization as spontaneous unauthorized settlements contradicted with the built environment constructed mediately by *political state*. The duality in space temporary was postponed by military power in 1980. With intervention of political state, the industrialization strategy radically changed and also capital tended to invest in second circle that comprises build environment. (Şengül, 2001b) Besides that the industry has oriented to export created new growth poles.

3.2.1 Regional and Metropolitan Planning Experiences in Turkey

3.2.1.1 Regional Planning Experiences

In Turkey the regional planning experiences started mostly by the foreign capital. The crucial investments on definite projects could only be possible with the foreign capital.

Table 3.2 Regional Planning Experiences in Turkey

State Planning Organization (SPO)	Ministry of Reconstruction and Resettlement (MRR)
1959-65 Project of Antalya	1960-64 Plan of East Marmara
1964-68 Project of Keban	1964-68 Project of Zonguldak
1962-63 Çukurova Regional Planning*	
1987-... Southeastern Anatolia Regional Dev. Project	
After 1996	
East Black Sea Regional Plan	
East Anatolia Development Plan	
Project of Yeşilırmak Basin	
Revision of Southern Anatolia	
Regional Dev. Plan	
Zonguldak-Bartın-Karabük Regional Dev. Project	

* Çukurova Regional Planning is produced corporately by SPO and MRR.

Ministry of Reconstruction and Resettlement (MRR) founded in 1958 and started to produce physical planning for Köyceğiz-Dalaman, Antalya, Zonguldak, then tried to combine some of its duties in coherence with State Planning Organization (SPO) that focused on an overall national socio-economic planning. Table 3.2 shows different regional planning experiences in Turkey. The responsible institutions, SPO and MRR, also studied together, but the theoretical problems within this integration were not solved. The planning endeavours on Zonguldak were written in *italic* and the claim is also valid for these experiences.

3.2.1.2 Metropolitan Area Planning Experience

The term *metropolitan* dates back to the first quarter of 20th century in developed countries. The special usage of the term by Chicago School was related to American Cities such as: Chicago and New York, considering the expanding relations of cities with their surrounding, especially near cities. Even though, the experience of developing countries differentiates from the developed ones socially, with reference to general characteristics the process of metropolitanization has realized in both. Both sub-urbanization of settlements and decentralization of industries present the basic processes of metropolitanization.

In the metropolitanization experience of Turkey, firstly defined at the beginning of the 1960's by STO in First Five Year Plan as *Metropolitan Region* to conceptualise regions of great urban area, Keleş comparing the populations of central and surrounding municipalities in İstanbul and İzmir showed the process of metropolitanization, and stated that, “a movement similar to the “sub-urbanization” of the industrial western countries has also started in Turkey since 1960.” (Keleş, 1973) Similarly, Kıray indicating the changing scale of the projects of MRR and SPO emphasizes the same dates for the process of metropolitanization in Turkey. (Kıray, M., 1975)

According to her,

The attitudes of MRR and SPO on regional planning show the sensitivity of them in this formation. Besides that the tendencies of Master Plan Bureaus on metropolitanized territories such as: İstanbul, İzmir and Ankara having high amount of daily circulation, STO, appropriating the Çukurova Regional Plan, shows development towards metropolitanization. (Ö.G.-Kıray, M., 1975:4)

Kıray's emphasises indicates also the ambiguity on defining metropolitan areas. Till the end of 1960's planning efforts on metropolitan areas went on parallel with the sectoral metropolitan regional plans. From the planning endeavour of Köyceğiz-Dalaman due to an earthquake, started 1957 and stopped in 1963 by SPO, to Zonguldak Metropolitan Area (ZMA)

in 1971, metropolitan areas couldn't be administrated institutionally. Only after the foundation of Bureau of Metropolitan Plan in 1965, committed to MRR, in three metropolitan territories such as: İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir, this duty gained an institutionalised character. Moreover, in a Draft Law of Municipality in 1970, the name of *municipality of metropolitan city* is given to a city above 100.000. (Keleş, 1994) Till 1983 as an institutional definition *municipality of metropolitan city* came without any radical change. Lastly in 1983 two-levelled structure of municipal government firstly in İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir, and then between 1986 and 1992, in Adana, Bursa, Konya, Gaziantep, Kayseri, Samsun, Diyarbakır, Erzurum, İzmit, Eskişehir, Mersin and Antalya is legalized. (Keleş, 1994) However at this time another difficulty showed itself, the integration between physical plans by MRR and sectoral plans by SPO. (Keleş, 2000)

CHAPTER IV

PLANNING EXPERIENCES IN ZONGULDAK: A PARTICULAR CRITIQUE

4.1 Introduction

4.1.1 Iron-steel Enterprises in Zonguldak: KARDEMİR, ERDEMİR

Karabük, the first iron-steel industry (KARDEMİR) of Turkey was built up as the center of high industry in 1937. It was also only village taken its name from the railway station between Ankara and Zonguldak constructed by the *idea of statism* between 1930 and 1945. (Fındıkoğlu, F.Z., 1963) After the iron-steel industry started to work in 1939, the population has begun to centralize and it legally gained the statue of municipality in 1953 with the population approximately 60.000.

Ereğli Basin or *Ereğli Coal Enterprise* (1949),¹⁹ was remind as the second *Ereğli Iron-steel Enterprise* (ERDEMİR)²⁰ after the Law in 1960 and started to work in 1965. As, it was announced in First Five Year Plan (I. FYDP) that, after this second enterprise would have been online, then, the need of Turkey on flat steel would have been met. Surely the financial and institutional coordination among different iron-steel enterprises that are specialized on different kinds of steel such as: long steel for construction and flat steel for consumption goods is so significant.

Since the Programme of 1966 and 2nd Five Year Plan and the Programme of 1971, *Union of Iron-steel* has been suggested. However the union couldn't have been managed yet. (Kaynak, Y., 1971) The only institution of today is *General Directorate of Iron-steel Enterprises of Turkey* (GDISE)²¹ that involves the KARDEMİR and Divriği / SİVAS mining enterprises, but ERDEMİR is out of this organization.

¹⁹ Ereğli Kömür İşletmesi (EKİ)

²⁰ Ereğli Demir Çelik İşletmesi (ERDEMİR)

²¹ Türkiye Demir Çelik İşletmeleri Genel Müdürlüğü (TDÇİ)

Apart from the demand of organization among enterprises, by the changing *idea of political state* the third iron-steel enterprise of Turkey in İskenderun / HATAY called İSDEMİR is added to the body of ERDEMİR, that are both specialized in production of flat steel in 2000 for privatization. In addition KARDEMİR was sold to workers' organization, territorial private capital groups and individuals in 1995 with a symbolic value that is 1 TL.

4.1.2 Coal Mining and Metropolitan Area

Parallely with the coal production started since 1848 by foreigners in Zonguldak Basin, there appeared settlements near the each minefield like *coke-towns*. After the difficulties in production caused from this spontaneous urbanization, in 1910 *Tezkere-i Samiye* abandoned any privatization in Zonguldak Basin on publicly owned lands. (Tanrıöver, H., 1977) This obligation differently from other urban areas originally was valid for Zonguldak. Even after Zonguldak was announced as a province by the foundation of Republic of Turkey, this situation was continued.

By the concentration of coal production after 1945, the basin of coal production in Zonguldak has increased and the control of the minefields was given to *Coal Enterprises of Turkey*²² in 1957. *Ereğli Coal Enterprise* was bounded to this enterprise as a *General Directorate of Ereğli Coal Enterprise*. (ECE)²³ The increasing amount of coal production in Zonguldak at last transformed the basin to a metropolitan area. Erkin states that,

Zonguldak Metropolitan Area involves four different administrative units, but in statistics only the provincial center is considered and nobody knows that these four cities together have been above 100.000 in population, even in the 1960's. (Erkin, E., 1977a:20)

Thus, in 1971 these four municipalities such as: Zonguldak, Kilimli, Çatalağzı ve Kozlu, together organized as a first example of metropolitan administration in Turkey with reference to the Law of Municipality. (Keleş, 2000) In the sense of coal mining and administrative borders, there has been no radical change till 1983. However from 1983 to today there are there important administrative and legal changes. Firstly, in 1983 the administration of coal mining was bounded to *Türkiye Taşkömürü Kurumu* that also committed to the ministry of *political state*. Secondly in 1986, in their decision Council of Ministers abrogated *Tezkere-i Samiye* replaced by the *Law of Appropriating the Real Estates in the Basin of Coal*²⁴ that making easy to own the real estates in the basin, but that is why

²² Türkiye Kömür İşletmeleri (TKİ)

²³ Ereğli Kömürleri İşletmesi Genel Müdürlüğü

²⁴ Taşkömürü Havzasındaki Taşınmazların İktisabına Dair Yasa

the basin does not convenient to private owing of property, it did not realize. Moreover, lastly the borders of Zonguldak divided into three provinces such as: Bartın in September of 1991 and Karabük in June of 1995 including two more municipalities from Çankırı. The table below shows the last administrative levels with also villages bounded to the municipalities.

Tablo 4.1 Administrative Levels in Zonguldak-Bartın-Karabük

Municipalities	Number of Villages
BARTIN	135
Amasra	29
Kurucaşile	27
Ulus	72
KARABÜK	39
Eflani	53
Eskipazar	50*
Ovacık	42*
Safranbolu	58
Yenice	18
ZONGULDAK	49
Alaplı	39
Ereğli	93
Devrek	60
Çaycuma	83
Gökçeşey	20
TOTAL	867

Source: ZBK Regional Development Project, DPT 1997

* Old municipalities of Çankırı included in Karabük in 1995.

Similarly to Iron-Steel Enterprises, by the changing *idea of political state* from 1990's till today number of workers started to decrease in TTK due to the inefficient conditions claimed by political authority.

4.2 Concrete Forms of Spatial Planning in Zonguldak

Before starting to examine the concrete Forms of planning, there has to be reminders. The general critique is absent, if it exists as only a general. General critique is the critique on planning theories. While we are studying on planning theories, we had introduced the terms *analysis, hierarchy of purposes, programming, agreement and control*. We also claimed them as only appearances in contradiction with themselves. Considering the contradictory being of *history of life*, we used the combination of *spontaneous materialism* and *idealism* to analyse opposinary dynamics in theories.

After demanding *salto mortale* version of idea of progress to combine general and particular critique, we assume the way from “concrete” to action (or concrete). In this sense, we used the categories of Hegel such as: *totality*, *idea*, and *purpose*. Therefore for the *perspective of integrated planning* to unite society and space, in other words, to unite *political planning and political planning of space*, *global rationality* is become the inevitable “concrete” category demanding to find the opposinary dynamics in planning theory and so in life.

In studying self-confirmation of space, we assessed superficially the mediation to *history of life* or *the flow of history of life*. The mediation gained the quality of *production in general*. At first while space was a *mean* for *production in general* as a *part of fixed part of constant capital*, but later on it emerged as *product*. Considering the inevitable mediation to *political state*, we used the categories orderly. As a result the terms to analyse concrete Forms of planning became clear.

But, for a transition to Zonguldak we have to summarize the development of both Turkey and Zonguldak. In this transition two periods of time such as: from 1960 to 1980 and from 1980 to today is assumed. Even though, the rapid urbanization was started especially in 1950’s, due to the institutionalization of planning body in 1960’s we assumed it as beginning for concrete *Forms* of political planning. Here we will discuss three experiences of planning in Zonguldak to produce particular critique. At last we will reach an enlightening judgement.

4.2.1 Zonguldak Regional Planning (Pre-Plan)

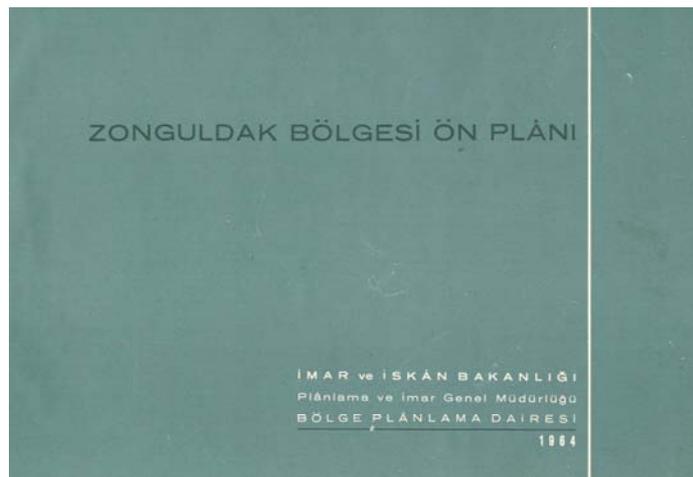


Figure 4.1 Cover-page of Pre-Plan of Region of Zonguldak

4.2.1.1 Introduction

Regional Planning Department (RPD) conducted to Ministry of Reconstruction and Settlement (MRS-1958) finished Zonguldak Regional Project in 1961 as a pilot project. After foundation of State Planning Organization (SPO) in 1961, Zonguldak Regional Plan was re-shaped to adapt to the *idea* of SPO as Preliminary Plan (Pre-Plan). The project started to be leaded with a group of twelve specialists from different disciplines and became an *interdisciplinary* study as the first *comprehensive planning* experience of Turkey having multi-directed character. According to First Five Year Development Plan (I. FYDP) by SPO, the reason and the characteristic of the project was defined as below,

Zonguldak was selected as the object... as it is a region where a large industrial project has been carried out. Measures will have to be taken from now on to deal with the problems, which will arise out of the implementation of a large-scale investment project. The problems, which the second iron-steel industry to be established at Ereğli will create are also studied from a regional angle. (First Five-Year Development Plan, 1964:429)

However, Tekeli defining the particularity of Zonguldak Regional Planning, states the need of constructing a relation between national and urban levels. Therefore spatial planning to support the *idea of SPO* would be attempted to implement in the region. Within this framework three stages of the Pre-Plan were determined as below,

1- Illuminating the regional structure and problems (1961)

2- Finding economic answers to physical problems and proposing new settlements (between regional and city scales in 1961-62)

3- Determining the measures on realization of physical plans and socio-economic plans. (1963-64)

In first two stages Pre-Plan was mostly assessed as physical plan and only after being defined as *comprehensive planning* it was considered in multi-directed manner. Therefore RDP, SPO and a group of sociologists studied in METU executed the planning process. In 1964, Tekeli claims that,

The fact that the Regional Planning Organization of the Ministry of Reconstruction and Resettlement does not have authority over the other ministries prevents the preparation of the sector studies by the related ministries. Under this condition sector studies are made by interviews made with the related studies. Close cooperation with SPO partially corrects this situation. (Tekeli, 1964)

After finishing the Pre-Plan of Zonguldak Project in 1963, in the Programmes of 1964 and 1965 by SPO, it was stated that the report for this duty was completed, and now on, it would have been detailed. Unfortunately, later in the Programme of 1966 emphasizing Ereğli and Zonguldak, the suggestion was the same, lastly in the Programme of 1967 it was noticed the priority of Bolu and Zonguldak, and other programmes have never repeated the same expectation and the planning endeavour could not be realized or implemented.

4.2.1.2 Process of Planning

Idea and Purpose of Pre-Plan

Related to the particularity of the period, we will assume that disregarding the I. FYDP, it is not possible to study on Pre-Plan. The consistency between national plan and regional plan is important, unfortunately, due to many reasons, it was not achieved. According to Timbergen, as the adviser of I. FYDP,

The geographical aspect, ...symbolized by the addition of spatial dimension, did not yet receive any systematic attention, although the single projects were of course located somewhere. (Timbergen, J., 1967)

With reference to Geddesian formulation, I. FYDP can be divided into three parts such as: general panorama of Turkey (survey-28 pages), sectoral analysis (input-output analysis, demand elasticity etc.-400 pages) and implementation policies and strategy (plan-50 pages) with respect to the 15 year *idea of political authority* which was defined as *reaching to the modern developed countries*. The *substance of idea* was given by the government of İnönü as needs of public is the responsibility of the *political state*. In the methodology of the plan entire process is based on the *idea*. According to Timbergen (1967), there stages of the plan were macro-model via Domar-Harrod Analysis, sector analysis and projects. Surely the *idea of political authority* is reproduced in these stages as also *purposes (or policies)*, in each stage, the latter feedback to further. (Timbergen, 1967)

Besides that the term *strategy* used in I. FYDP comprises, at first, the assumptions of maximum share of national income to investments. But there is no any consensus on the term *strategy* among the planners of I. FYDP. For instance: according to Erder (1968) a real *development strategy* is not available in I. FYDP. However, Küçük (1967) states that “the *strategic decisions* were made in the first stage of the study and the other decisions in second and third stages should support the first stage”. In fact, *strategies* were defined mostly in the part: *Social and Economic Goals (or substances)*. In addition *idea of political authority* was

reproduced in I. FYDP as *idea of political planning: 7 percent annual development (growth)*²⁵ *rate and 3 percent annual controlled population growth*. Besides that, *fair income distribution, balance among income groups, balance among regions, balance among sectors and full employment* were the *substances* of I. FYDP.

In addition, I. FYDP signifies regional planning as *complementary* and emphasises that the sustainable development is to be attributed to nation, but not to the regions. (I. FYDP, p: 473) This *substance* is on regional planning and it is admitted also in regional planning. But I. FYDP is surely lack of spatial consideration except for single projects. In addition three kinds of balance as *substances* are waiting to be reproduced as *Forms of idea* in regional planning. Although I. FYDP enlarged the *idea of political authority* through the balance in region, it was not adequate, since this approach assumes only the region, but not localities such as: rural and urban localities. In addition *idea* of I. FYDP gives Pre-Plan the *substances for national plan*, for instance preventing the stoppages in circulation of products between urban and rural. I. FYDP makes difficult for regional planners to adapt *idea*. Another difficulty that regional planners stated was the lack of knowledge to invest in regions. (Tekeli,) Therefore I. FYDP presented to Pre-Plan only the *single projects and substances for I. FYDP*.

Within this framework, Pre-Plan, for 20 years period, had three parts such as: general condition (survey-40 pages), sectoral analysis (analysis-90 pages), and suggestions on each sector (plan-30 pages) with respect to *substances for I. FYDP*. *Substances for I. FYDP* could not be converted to *idea for Pre-Plan*, since they were deprived of *substance for regional planning*. It means that *purposes*, at first, generated in Pre-Plan were not directed for a *definite idea*. Here we have to consider the *idea* of regional planners. Unfortunately, the analysis such as: *influence areas* by Newtonian mechanical understanding, *regional settlement patterns, location quotient analysis* etc. seem determined the *purposes of Pre-Plan*. Therefore there is a suspicion that regional planners have to *definite idea*. Here it is to be added that input-output analysis advised by I. FYDP were not studied due to the limited time and knowledge.

In addition, the term *strategy* was used in the *Introduction of Pre-Plan* comprises only the question of “how to adapt national plan to regional plan”. Therefore there was no any strategy

²⁵ The term development means “kalkınma” in Turkish. The usage of the term in that period of time corresponds to the equal income distribution with economical growth. Therefore the term growth or “gelişme” in Turkish in its common usage does not involve the equal income distribution.

special for Zonguldak; it is a strategy for regional planners. Besides that the *purposes of the Pre-Plan* (1964) was introduced as below,

- 1- Linking increasing rate of population and rate of development
- 2- Developing the regional infrastructure
- 3- Decreasing the unequal income distribution in region
- 4- Obtaining maximum benefit from investments
- 5- Encouraging the urbanization and increasing the non-agricultural working opportunities
- 6- Supporting the duties to bring a balance between public and private enterprises

However these were mostly the *substances for I. FYDP*, which are not translated into space. Therefore there was a need for *substance for Pre-Plan*. In fact, without producing any *idea and Forms for themselves*, the *substance for Pre-Plan* would be also meaningless. The basic reasons of lack of *idea* in regional scale were originated both objectively and subjectively. Firstly the single projects and investments (*or forms*) of I. FYDP was inadequate, these *forms* had no spatial concern. Secondly, the subjectively regional planners were inexperienced and had no any *idea* to be contended with *single projects*. However at the end of Pre-Plan by the way of analysis and local experience, they suggested *purposes*.

Extracting The Object

On Sectoral Consideration on Pre-Plan

The *substance of balance* among different sectors is to prevent the stoppages in the demands of different sectors in I. FYDP. For that consideration, stoppages have to be overcome to prevent high inflation in order to realize the *idea of political authority*. Thereby, integrating *productive and non-productive sectors* was necessary. Besides that, survey and projections were assessed by the input-output analysis.

The understanding of Pre-Plan was also similar, but in a different way of attitude. Tekeli (1969a) defines that the period after Second World War was a period of *comprehensive planning*, not *development planning* to comprise economic and social assets. But until Pre-Plan, there were no any institution specialize on socio-economic planning and so the adaptation problem between socio-economic planning and spatial planning had not appeared

before. Therefore economic and social sectors were not valid only *for I. FYDP*, but also *for Pre-Plan* accepting *comprehensive planning*.

According to Tekeli (1964),

The studies made have been based on the assumption that in the developing countries physical plans can be made only after economic and social plans have been finished...(Tekeli, 1964)

Thus, supporting the *substance of balance*, the region was exposed under the same categories: *productive and non-productive sectors*. Similarly to I. FYDP, *productive sectors* were divided into two such as *developmental and dependent sectors*, and *non-productive sectors* were defined as infrastructure²⁶ and service (social) sectors in Pre-Plan. (Tekeli, 1964)

Private sector was announced under the category of *dependent sector* and in the category of *developmental sectors*, there were iron-steel, coal mining, forest and agriculture. Surely, *developmental sectors* correspond to *department I*, and *dependent sectors* to *department II*. It is clear that private sector can only be determined as *department II* within a special “concrete” period of time and space and should not be claimed as belonging to *department II* generally. Therefore private sector under the category of *dependent sector* is the characteristic feature of the essential development of Turkey and also Zonguldak Region.

However the *substances of balance* could not be translated into the regional planning due to lack of input-output analysis in Pre-Plan and lack of its own *substances* on space was confirmed the problem. This problem of the regional planners continued till the end of 1960’s. In 1968, Tekeli defines the problem as below,

The existence of the slogan that is a balance among regions does not decrease the motion field of the regional planners. Number of decisions on spatial organization of the investments is eternal. (Tekeli, 1968, Emphasis is mine, Ö.G)

Tekeli claims that there is no any spatial *idea* not only in socio-economic planning, but also regional planning. This proposition proves us that due to lack of *substances and Forms* on regional planning, *substantial idea of I. FYDP* was nothing. However, it also proves that regional planners had no their own *idea* before planning.

²⁶ To be sure that infrastructural sectors has to be considered in *department I* and so as *developmental sectors* but that is why it involves two folded characters, we have to assume it as road to rural areas, electricity to houses etc. as *non-productive*.

On Urban-Rural Relations

According to Tekeli (1965) the worker policy in Turkey before 1960's was directed to prevent the urbanization. Therefore the villagers could not be flight into urban areas leaving the lands, urbanization could not be realized and the villagers still regard themselves as villager. Tekeli assesses that the *idea* is parallel with the decentralization tendencies of industry and sub-urbanization process started in urbanized developed countries after Second World War. According to him, however, the reason of realization of the *idea* in developing countries was structurally different: the higher speed of urbanization than industrialization.

According to Tekeli, the pressure groups in developing countries were the landlords and so they were irrelevant from industrialization and the new inhabitants of the urban areas, and they focused on foreign trade. The *idea* both in developing and developed countries was the same in *appearance*, but the *essence* of the event was so different. This judgment proves that regional planners attempted to get their own *ideas* from the *idea of political authority* for regional planning. Tekeli was in favour of encouraging the industrialization and intervening the growth is not the question. What the significant was to build up a *balance between work and migration*. This argumentation shows that *substance of balance for I. FYDP* was attempted to reproduce in regional planning.

The reflection of this *substance* in Zonguldak was related to the worker of the coal mining and living in the villages. In Pre-Plan, it was stated that the urbanization in the region was delayed. The settlement pattern of Zonguldak was determined similar with İstanbul in 1935 due to the *idea* of rotative worker. However the *substance of balance between work and migration* could not be produced as *Form* for regional planning, so judging the *substance* in Pre-Plan is not possible. To complete an overall assessment on urban-rural relation it is necessary to trace the suggestions on spatial organization.

On Spatial Organization

Due to that the lack of *Forms* in regional, it is so understandable for Pre-Plan to start with the sentences below,

Changing the existing pattern and trend of physical settlements via planning decisions creates a disorder. The general attitude of us is that the pattern could not be changed but it should be accelerated or slowed down. (Pre-Plan, 1964:135)

That suggestion goes on with *healthy settlement pattern* via investments on infrastructure such as: transportation and communication. In Pre-Plan, planners supported to encourage the

urbanization in *appearance*, which is conditioned by the *substance of balance between work and migration*. They attempted to gain the *Forms and idea* especially at the end of 1960's. In Pre-Plan, it was stated that neither Zonguldak nor Karabük could be a regional center in long run, then, Çaycuma suggested as a regional exchange center and surrounding as specialized intensive agricultural land. These *purposes* did not originate from any *definite idea or substance*, but from "*analysis*" latently filling this gap. Therefore *objectivity* was a candidate to fill the *idea* spontaneously. The periods of *purposes* seems to show the *infinity of the substances*: Filyos Port for 20 years with Çaycuma in a commuting distance would be a region for the zone of industrial settlement for 40 years.

After experiences in RPD, planners would start to develop *Forms*. Tekeli (1968) to decrease the motion field of the planners suggested five fields of policies (*purposes*) for definite *Forms*.

- 1- Urbanization Policy
- 2- Regional Policy
- 3- Policy for Urban Hierarchy
- 4- Policies for Movement Relations (commodity, human and knowledge)
- 5- Policies for Reforming the Spatial Organizations

The *substance of balance between work and migration* starting to gain *Forms*, at this time faced to face with the changing *idea of political authority*. Therefore the problem was now on the *conflict in ideas*. Erder's emphasis on that these *Forms* necessitate the *relative autonomy of the political state* shows the situation at the end of 1960's. (Erder, N., 1968) However it is not possible to introduce that regional planners give Erder his due. Planners had the *idea* to realize.

Transforming the Object and Mediation

I. FYDP was generated *idea, Forms and purpose* via the *idea of political authority*. The defeat of I. FYDP was due to the powerlessness of the past *political authority* and the changing *ideas of political state*. Therefore both the *idea of past political authority* and *idea of I. FYDP* was eliminated by the new *idea of political authority* due to *powerlessness*.

For Pre-Plan, the term *strategy* was also defined in different meanings. While in I. FYDP, it corresponds to the *substance*, in Pre-Plan it gains a meaning to answer the question of "how to adapt national plan to regional plan". But the attitude of the regional planners on the term was different at the end of 1960's. Like Küçük, Gülöksüz in 1st National Physical Planning

Seminar, used the term *strategy* to illustrate the *substances* and *Forms* of Tekeli, to adapt national plan to regional plan. However it is so problematic that *idea of balance via Forms* can be realized by *purposes of* infrastructural investments. In the period of Pre-Plan due to lack of *idea*, infrastructural investments had become unnecessary. *Purpose* was to be the extent of *idea*. Therefore it was necessary to develop *purposes* to realize *idea of balance between work and migration*. But we know that the *purpose of I. FYDP* was negated by new *idea of political authority* due to the weakness of old political authority. Thus even if regional planners would produce *purposes for their idea* it was not adequate.

4.2.1.3 Conclusion

The conclusion can be written both *for I. FYDP* and *for Pre-Plan*. Assuming the inexperienced situation of regional planners, it can be stated that I. FYDP had to develop an *idea for Pre-Plan* on spatial organization. Otherwise, it can be introduced that regional planners had to have their own *ideas* before planning. For both assumption, the *conflict in idea* could not be recognized. This proposition is valid for also I. FYDP.

However the scope of the failure is so different for both. For I. FYDP the problem is on extracting the conflict of *idea*, but for Pre-Plan, at first, there is no *define idea* to work on. In fact, regional planners have the *purposes*, but they could not be formulated a *definite idea*. Thus the connection between I. FYDP and Pre-Plan was only the *idea of political authority*. The effort of regional planners is to create their own *ideas* at the end of 1960's and when they have established *substance of balance between work and migration and Forms*, the *purpose of producing infrastructure* had to be changed. At last that is why the *idea of political authority* was changed *idea of regional planners* had started to be filled *externally*, like in the old *idea of political authority*.

The old *idea of political authority* had opened a way to change the social order by demanding *the fair income distribution* and conscious intervention to social formation. *Idea of I. FYDP* was against the new *Forms* of social order. However neither politicians nor the regional planners were adapted to the *idea* of I. FYDP. Similarly in I. FYDP, planners did not extract the conflict in *idea*. The achievement of I. FYDP was to load on the *idea of political authority* till its limits in a consistent process. Therefore the consistency between the *idea of political authority* and the *idea* of planners in I. FYDP was so important and the ideology and the methodology of I. FYDP prevented them against any deformation. Analysis such as: Domar-Harrod and Input-Output Analyses were not the *analysis for itself*, but the *analysis for the idea of I. FYDP*.

In his speech in the Second Congress of Construction, İnönü (1963) one of the most significant head of that *old political authority* had stated the problem of development as a social problem as the responsibility of the *political state*. In addition, he had defined the term development as below,

We can bring the development as long as we embody the increase the national revenue and capacity. (Besides that) social services are indispensable with development. (İnönü, İ., 1963 - Paranthesis is mine, Ö.G.)

Explicitly the definition of development based on state intervention was demanded the integration of economic investments and social expenditures. The judgement was reproduced in I. FYDP as the integration of *productive and non-productive sectors*²⁷ as *substance of political authority*.

For a more detailed discussion, it is necessary to focus on the political disagreements experienced. *Political authorities* against government of İnönü rejected the *forms of purposes* of the I. FYDP generated in accordance with the *idea*. Avcioğlu (1990) summarizes these *forms of purposes* rejected by these counter politicians in I. FYDP in three articles as below,

- 1- Land Reform for landless villagers
- 2- Taxation of rich land owners
- 3- Equal relation between public and private enterprises in market

According to Torun²⁸, the reason of the defeat of these *forms of purposes* was explained by İnönü as powerlessness. In I. FYDP planners were suggested to unite state enterprises to realize the development to produce the machineries to reach developed countries.

Besides that, the one of the assumption of I. FYDP to invest infrastructure and fixed capital, was assumed to be found from foreign market with reference to the consensus appeared among nations after Second World War. Because the reason of the disagreements among nations were defined as originated from the under-developed conditions of the nations.

²⁷ With the terms *productive and non-productive sectors* it was defined mostly the orderly economic and social sectors and so *development*. It can be thought as *producing the capital and reproducing the labour*. Due to the relation between them in I. FYDP both were assumed as the responsibility of state to intervene.

²⁸ According to Avcioğlu (1990), this knowledge with reference to İnönü was given by Torun, N., Osman, the head of undersecretary of STO in I. FYDP, can be found in III. FYDP, Committee of Conference on the Researches of Economic and Social, p: 46.

Therefore under-developed nations had to be financed. Therefore the aid of foreign countries was surely admitted by planners as compulsory. (I. FYDP)

According to Avcıoğlu (1990), that expectation could not be realized and the foreign capital didn't finance the necessary *forms of purposes* on fixed capital. Contrary to that, the foreign financiers selected to support the private enterprises and mostly the industry of assembling. According to Avcıoğlu, the unrealized *idea* and *forms of policies* were surely changed in II. FYDP supporting the private against public sector. The shift of *idea* can be defined as a transition from *department I* to *department II* or, from producing the need of plan to producing the private capital. The shift also means a transition from public sector to private sectors.

The *idea* of I. FYDP seems convenient to *modernization approach* developed in America. However there is no any one to one correspondence between the *idea* of I. FYDP and *modernization approach*. Because foreign finance was assumed on *department I* and public sectors and it was not limited with the spontaneous consumption in private sectors.

Similarly, it can be claimed that Pre-Plan was also prepared with reference to *modernization approach*. But, in a condition of political disagreement, the lack of *idea* in the period of Pre-Plan was concealed. The ways of "analysis" was is a candidate to fill the gap, but *idea* developed at the end of 1960's prevented the situation. In this sense planners to produce their own *ideas and Forms* can only be assessed with reference to the results. Besides that, Tekeli (1968) in Seminar defined *economic growth* as quantitative and *economical development* as qualitative terms. According to Tekeli, *economical development* necessitates *spatial organization* that planners of socio-economic growth were eliminated.

Surely, he attempted to produce *idea of* in regional scale. Firstly his demand was so important and Timbergen's argumentation on the lack of spatial concern supports him. Secondly his view seems so close to a reductionist approach. Thirdly the effect of "analysis" was against the *idea*. Determining the truth of the first and leaving the third to the Zonguldak Metropolitan Area Planning (ZMAP), now we will focus on the second. It can clearly be observed that the defects of lack of *spatial organization* in socio-economic planning were interpreted is not the sole and basic defect. The fault of being far from the *conflict in idea* for socio-economic planning was surely disregarded by Tekeli. Therefore the defects of socio-economic planning

were reduced to spatial organization. However Küçük's critique was so important. According to Küçük (1968)²⁹,

Development is an phenomenon which is determined by class relations, ...in other words to surmount the actual class relations, any special method has no more chance than the others... It is not clear that why spatial planning has more chance to surmount that class relations... the same difficulty wait the whole methods that is socio-political formation. (Ö.G.-Küçük, Y., 1968)

Thus, powerlessness and the lack of the understanding on the *conflict in idea* were surely determined by Küçük. The *political authority*, RPP³⁰, never implemented a pressure on the new emerging bourgeois in urban areas and on feudal groups in rural areas, and never understood the real conflict transforming the society and the progressive role of the working class. Here it can be introduced that the planners of I. FYDP were elitist and utopist. In fact, that the judgment is so unjustifiable while Worker Party of Turkey gaining only a limited force till 1965. It is not possible to load on planners with the functions of the political parties organized in society.

While demanding socio-economic planning to recognize spatial organization or regional planning seems to be a good will, but can we consider regional planning giving us a chance to comprise the *conflict in idea of socio-economic planning*? Or Do the *method or, "analysis"* of regional planning gives us an answer of the changing *objectivity*? Within this framework we have to concern on the way of extracting the laws of spatial development in regional planning. It is surely the concern of *methods* of regional planning assumes only the *understood object of space* giving way to *utilitarianism*. While *idea of balance between work and migration* assuming *objectivity*, "analysis" was produced by the appereances of the urban space, for example: population growth, settlement pattern extracted by the graphics prepared by the correlation between population and classified population under the category of number of settlements. When the *abstract* pattern reproduced in mind, then whole settlements showing that graphic was attributed to the same regional patterns. Thus inner relations *or objectivity* of the regional patterns were omitted and directly assumed in "analysis".

Although, Küçük's critique shows that there were also tendencies extracting the *flow of history*, his unfairness attitude towards the *method* is surely a contradiction. Çulhaoğlu's proposition proves the judgment. According to Çulhaoğlu (2002), a period of time to search

²⁹ It can be claimed that the attitude of Küçük seems disregarding the importance of the methodology to surmount the existing class relations and he mixes the problem of extracting the object and generating the perspective to each other. Nevertheles the emphasis on perspective is so crucial for our thesis illuminating the lack of regional planners.

³⁰ CHP

demanded to establish a linear spatial development for ZMA. Zonguldak Metropolitan Area Planning (ZMAP) with a Report of Strategic Plan (ZMASP) in the scale of 1/10.000 was involved sectoral and master (physical) planning, and Master Plan of ZMA (ZMADP) was in the scales of 1/5.000 and 1/1.000. The regional hierarchy of centers decided in the scale of 1/100.000, and In ZMASP, it was considered as a compact center reasoned with the high demand distances in developing counties. Compact center was at the same time a problem for planners to integrate the exchange centers of different income groups.

Within 20 years, the stages as *bases of implementation strategy*³¹ were as below,

- 1- The competition and the investments on infrastructure
- 2- The problem of integration between exchange hierarchies
- 3- Focusing on the environmental and industrial order
- 4- Lastly, the realization of social assets such as: services of education and health

It was also announced that in each five-year the plans, ZMAP would be revised with respect to the realization and the development and the performance of the plan. With these guidelines ZMAP gained its last form in 1974 and published in 1975 to be approved. In 1977 Chief of UM claimed that,

ZMAP, in the scales of 1/5.000 and 1/1.000, was finished and approved by MRR... Due to the lack of title deeds for partial lands, we cannot implement the plan. ECE, Ministry of Forest and Ministry of Tourism declares that these lands are theirs... Thus ZMAP was deprived of implementation because of the problems on land property. (Alaca, M., 1977:41)

Thus, spatial understanding comprising sectoral analysis, regional hierarchy of centers, uniting different income groups in a compact center and lastly the constant revision of plan were the crucial characteristics of ZMAP.

4.2.2.2 Planning Process

In the planning process of ZMAP, therefore, the implementation procedure gained importance rather than interrogating the *conflict in ideas*. Apart from the other official plans limited with being an approved written document, ZMAP was mostly considered on the question of *how to implement* as constant process. (Turak, E., 1977) According to Turak, ZMAP was passed through the steps below,

□ Uygulama Stratejisi Esasları

1-Goal Formulation

2-Selection of a convenient form of plan to achieve goals

3-Determining the preconditions and organizations of this form of plan (Union of Municipalities)

4-Determining the advisory group, financial support and ways of regulating-controlling the plan

5-Competition under the head of UM and with the Jury composed of the members of MRR, GDECE and Bank of Provinces.³²

ZMAP was started with the *purpose of creating a modern hierarchy of centers involving compact center*. 1st step beginning with *goal formulation* shows the importance of *purposes* in ZMAP. In addition 2nd step can be meaningful by the discussions in Architectural Seminar of 1969. The presentation of Tekeli (1969b) focuses on different *Forms* and hierarchies of the planning activity. The approach of Tekeli can be summarized according to his answer to the question of Ceyhun (1969) asking, which *Form* or type of planning was convenient for Turkey. The answer of Tekeli was a question: “Which regime do you prefer?” Here we get two important judgments: firstly there were no *substance on planning theory* yet, secondly they are in conscious of being free from *totality*. The 3rd step strictly shows that *purposes* will try to be filled by the *form of municipality*. The 4th and 5th steps basing on the 3rd sign the *content*. Surely disregarding the *substance of planning theory and content of purpose*, *subjective (outer) purpose* cannot be considered as adequate to obtain *totality*, and so the *substance and content* is filled unconsciously.

³² İller Bankası



Figure 4.3 Cover-page of Competition of Planning in Zonguldak Metropolitan Area

In the report of competition, ZMAP traced the way of analyses and policies (*ends*) for each *forms of purposes*. In accordance with *system analysis*, the text of competition started with general policies (*or purposes*) for ZMA and went on with special policies (*or ends*) for definite area. Therefore in a systematic presentation, *ends* for definite area were under *the purposes* on the main system of ZMA. The *purposes* for main system of ZMA were formulated into *ends* for sub-systems. The function of definite area in competition was determined as a new diffusion area of the main center. After that in definite area, the basic circulation of planning process: analysis and policy (*ends*) was again implemented.

Furthermore, the externalities of ZMAP were defined especially with the central investments and ECE's production programme. The decision against these externalities was a regular control and regular revision of ZMAP.

Idea and Purpose of ZMAP

From Pre-Plan, planners had had *purpose* for Zonguldak Metropolitan Area: administration for metropolitan area and *being a regional center in a linear settlement form*. In Pre-Plan the development of Çaycuma had been assumed to realize in 40 years, and till that date ZMA would have sustain its development as an existing center. In the Report of ZMASP, the *purpose* of ZMA was assigned as *a regional center of Western Black Sea*. What was important in both Pre-Plan and ZMAP was the emphasis on *modernization* obtaining certain

standards. As a regional center ZMA would be considered with the sectors such as: service, manufacturing, exchange and transportation. Besides that Çaycuma, Ereğli, Devrek, Bartın would be the sub-centers of the ZMA.

The linear form of the metropolitan area had been determined with the mining fields and the property of build environment was in permission of the ECE. A *purpose* of linear form of development was modified in ZMADP as *a purpose of spatial form of bow* starting from the sea and continuing and entering the mountains then end up again with the sea. The *purpose* was supported with Lowry Model and Çatalağzı was decided as a manufacturing center of ZMA, which has to be assessed as *end*.

The *Form or idea* on ZMASP was defined as the balance in existing basic sectors would be re-balanced by the new sector added and the dominance of basic sectors will never be eliminated as below,

The aim of ZMAP can be formulated as to sustain the existence of urban and to conserve the totality. (In other words ZMA will be depended on the factors that are the bases of its existence.)... Therefore ZMADP will be responsible for the integration. (ZMADP, 1/5.000:2)

However, it can be observed that the *idea of balance between work and migration* turns into the *idea of balance between sectors*. The duality between *idea of balance between work and migration* and “analysis” was the case at the end of 1960’s. The *idea of balance between sectors* went on with the decision on *benefiting from the aggregated urban economy*. Therefore *economy of scale* started to become stable and dominant in 1968 in 1st National Physical Planning Seminar suggested by Gülöksüz for the development of East of Turkey. This was the *substance of economies of scale* determining the *idea, Forms, purposes and ends*. Küçük had criticized this *substance*. According to Küçük (1968),

In an existing production relation... the attitude to diffuse the development to under-development regions (East of Turkey) is free from any economic justification... since in an existing production relation that attitude causes to refuse maximum amount of national revenue... Therefore it is not compulsory for society to do everything economically... In that sense the worry of being economic or not should not be a sole and stable fear. (Ö.G. - Küçük, Y., 1968)

The critique of Küçük shows the strength of the economic justification against the *idea of balance between work and migration* even at the end of 1960’s. This duality, now on, turns into *idea of economy of scale* to reflect *Forms, purposes and ends* of ZMAP.

The evidence shows itself also on the land policies: *abolishing the private appropriation of lands*. This general judgment, in a report of “The Question of Urban Lands”³³ in 1973, had expected from Court of Constitution to interpret the term *real value* against the *market value*. It was also assessed in ZMAP on 38th article of Constitution. The 4th paragraph of 38th article of Constitution was thought as an instrument *to abolish the private appropriation of the lands*.

At first side, the *purpose of creating the modern hierarchy and compact center in form of bow* via the *idea of economy of scale* seems conflicting with the *idea of abolishing the private appropriation of lands*. However in ZMAP the *idea of economy of scale* was not against the *idea of abolishing the private appropriation of land*. Whether we have an opportunity to negate private appropriation of public land legally in that sense in a long-range the cost of transferring ZMA decreases and so confirming the accumulating urban economy becomes out of compulsory. Therefore while in their *purpose* planners is against private appropriation of land, in the sense of *ideas and substances* they confirms the costs in private market economy and so income distribution. Fair income distribution had been an *substantial idea* of I. FYDP, was surely changed in ZMAP as below,

In regional scale there are two industrial centers mostly composed of rural population and middle-income groups. That pattern will be similar with the future expectations, even there will be an increase in incomes, it will be possible that the distribution of income among groups may not be more balanced than today. (Ö.G.-Competition of Planning of ZMA)

The only possible condition of *abolishing the private appropriation of land* conflicts with the *idea of economy of scale* is a wide range thought towards *totality*. Thus it can be stated that *abolishing the private appropriation of lands* was not an *idea* but a *purpose*. Even though, ZMAP was against *exchange value*, there was no any *Form* for this *substance* towards *idea of nationalization of the forces of production*. In addition, in that period of time, *abolishing the private appropriation of lands* oscillated between between being an *idea* and *purpose* generally. At the end of 1970's, the planning authorities would have changed the *substantial idea* as *independency of municipalities*.

³³ Kent Toprakları Raporu

Extracting the Object

On Property of Lands

On the theories to plan metropolitan areas, Tekeli (1978) expresses two important and necessary theories such as: *theory to expect* and *theory to control*. For both necessities, he notices about the inadequacies. Therefore, there seems no any theoretical guide to plan ZMA. However *system view* and also *programming* is the theoretical guidelines of the plan, since the debate between Ceyhun and Tekeli illustrates their discussions on *Forms of planning theory*. What the lack is the *substance of planning theory*. As we mentioned above, *idea of economy of scale* reduces all the efforts to a *purpose*. Therefore *purposes on property* have to be discussed to confirm the thesis of our study, in the sense of *content of the purposes*.

Surely Basin of Zonguldak shows a special feature in the sense of property due to that urbanized area was built on the area of production and the property is owned by public authorities in about 70 percent of ZMA, which was determined as an opportunity. However, they could not extract the problem of property concerning on the *actualization of objectivity*. For us, Zonguldak was an example that gives us a chance to negate *ideas and purposes* generated by planners on property in 1970's.

At the end of 1970's, there were also critiques of *ideas on property* developed at the beginning of 1970's. In 1976, in Journal of Architecture, Ural and Platinel (1976), claimed that "The Question of Urban Lands" had not considered both different modes of production and production relations of Turkey. Therefore urban planners could not manage to extract the property considering its inner relations and *actualization of objectivity*. Günay (1999) also supports that judgment. According to Günay,

In the 1970's the Chamber of Architects had desperately proposed the nationalization of urban land as a visionary remedy at a time... Later Aren and Tekeli searched the solution of urban question in two-dimensional ownership of real property. However this does not look feasible... Moreover property relations cannot be reduced to land or real property issues. A huge set of relations of historical origin play their roles in this connection... (Günay, B., 1999:234)

On Property of Production and Union of Municipalities

An understanding on starting from the *abstract objectivity of property* was also valid for *property of production*. But at this time, we have to examine the *idea of independency of*

municipatliy. In 1977, Tekeli gives the *Forms* of a programme prepared with some group of advisors in Kocaeli and Ankara. According to Tekeli (1977), these *Forms* were,

1- Democratic municipality: not being under the wardship of central authority but with a *wide range of participation and liberalization*³⁴ of consuming public service flexibility on self-taxation -also as direct tax about 20%- to consume more public services than more markedly produced goods.

2- “Municipalization”³⁵: not only producing basic urban infrastructure and service but also producing market goods for example, bread production and building land etc., *to break the rents that small producers get and to transfer the rent realized in land to public*.

3- Municipality regulating consumption: producing *socialized consumption* that does not distinguish different income groups.

4- Unionist and holistic³⁶: to overcome the lonely and the weak condition of municipalities against central authority generating *upper urban production relation*.

5- Resource generating municipality³⁷: *independency in financial resources* for strong and independent municipality against central authority.

All *Forms* of Tekeli are interrelated and the *idea* is *independency of municipality*. Moreover independency is dominated by the *substance of interest of working class* and a wide range of public participation against the small groups of people gathering rents from commodities. The *Form* demands to produce all commodities for preventing the masses suffering from the rents in market, and to organize municipalities comprising the upper-urban levels. Surely, production of commodities determines the market value and so differential rent. In this *Form* municipally produced commodities with a high degree of organic composition of capital can possibly transfer the rent to public and direct taxes on private enterprises can be a supportive decision confirming the *Forms*.

However the *Forms* in the case of Zongudak had had completed in publicly owned industries. Publicly owned industries were rentable, but the rent has not been used to reproduce the technologies. Besides that, the production of consumption goods benefiting from iron-steel

³⁴ Serbestleşme

³⁵ Tekeli (1977) uses this term from the nationalization period of Turkey in 1930’s that means to municipalization of foreign firms.

³⁶ Birlikçi ve Bütünlükçü

³⁷ Kaynak Yaratıcı Belediye

enterprises was mostly by private enterprises appropriating the rent in other sectors individually. Disregarding the actualised form of organization of production in local scale, the expectation to generate an alternative relation surely confirms the actualised scales of production.

According to Şengül,

Local scale is a scale where not only the processes particularly local, but also the upper-local processes are lived. Actually at the last instance, the general and upper-local are realized in local scales. (Ö.G.-Şengül, 2001c:152)

Therefore the *Forms* of struggling against the rent gathered by small capital and an aim of transferring the rent to public could not be distinguished from the struggle in *objectivity of industries* where rent was anyway publicly appropriated. The judgment is also true for publicly owned lands. Therefore these *Forms* get their *substances* not from *objectivity for totality* but from *understood object for objectivity*. Thus *independency of municipalities* is the *Forms* getting their *substance externally*, in other words, it is a *purpose* not the *idea*.

In Pre-Plan, the publicly owned land in metropolitan area of Zonguldak had been suggested to be owned not by private bodies or municipalities, but by Land Office³⁸ conducted to MRR. (Pre-Plan, p: 108) But in ZMAP, UM was the *content of purposes*. Now on the struggle between *idea of economy scale and idea of independency of municipality* was started. While the first has the *substance of utilitarianism*, the second has the *content of municipality*. The question of the Chief of UM that “ECE does not operate the citizens (who are settled unauthorizedly), what can the municipality do having limited opportunity?” was so brilliant, since, UM as the preferred authority to plan and to control the land was weaker than ECE *actually*. (Alaca, M, 1977) Thus our judgment that the *object of understanding* is weaker than the *objectivity* is proved. Therefore *purpose of transferring the rent to public or re-appropriating the land to public* was a completed duty for Iron-Steel Enterprises and ECE in Zonguldak, the *objectivity* was realized behind the back of planners.

On Urban Masses; Producers or Consumers

In ZMA urban masses were surely the worker’s of the mining and iron-steel industry and so the urban areas are full of labours. But surely the labour is also the consumer in urban areas due to reproduction of labour. The extraction of urban masses involves these two features and the choice to define urban masses can express the *substance and content*.

³⁸ Arsa Ofisi

In 1977, after the plan was approved but not to be implemented, urban masses was defined by planners in both sense. On a discussion of the composition of the City Council it was claimed that, “in spite of that urban masses are full of *consumers*; City Councils are generally composed by craftsmen, tradesmen and small producers.” (Tanrıöver, 1977, Tekeli, 1977) In the emphasis of Tekeli, urban masses was announced as below,

There is an important role of more organized group of consumers that are working class and its trade unions, to play. Not only in national scale but also locally, the policies have to be made to protect the interest of working class. ...They have to be concerned the ways to be highly represented in (City) Councils. This emphasis is important particularly in Zonguldak. (Ö.G., Tekeli, 1977:34-35)

Urban masses were considered as the results of consumption, the connection of masses with production was constructed mediately as *more organized group of consumers*. Therefore *purpose of protecting the interest of working class* takes its *substance externally*. In addition the participation on planning process was limited with the administration of ECE. Erkin, E. (1977b) introduced the misconception after the ZMAP experience as below,

Now, I have understood that one of administrator, representative of ECE in the committee of control (for planning process), is not adequate. (Ö.G.-Erkin, 1977b)

Transforming the Object and Mediation

As Turak (1977) claimed UM was constructed via competition to realize the plan. UM was a crucial and grateful effort to fulfil the plan. However, the exaggerated meaning loaded on municipalities at the end of 1970's is surely problematic. In other words, UM obtaining the constant process of planning and emphasizing *implementation* rather than *preparing a written document* gets its the *content externally*.

Besides that, the term strategy was surely dominant in all process of ZMAP. *Strategic plan* on the scale of 1/10.000, *strategy on macroform*, *bases of implementation strategy* were the different usages of the term. The first one was a significant change in defining the term strategy composed of both sectorial and physical decisions comprising settlement hierarchy, and the second one demanding minimum cost of building, infrastructure, care and repairment, were the usage in the same meaning with the 1st National Physical Planning Seminar, that is *Forms*. (ZMADP, 1/5.000) The other most important usage was also used for the process of planning and the intensifying concern of ZMAP in different states of this process.

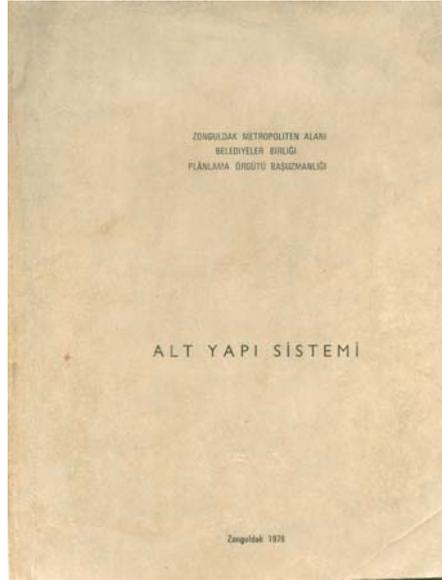


Figure 4.4 Cover-page of Infrastructure System of Zonguldak Metropolitan Area

The additional knowledge on transforming the object has to be given with reference to the policies and financing models for different problem areas such as: building regulation, environment, social assets, housing, infrastructure etc. For building regulation it was suggested to conserve the precautions of the old one signifying the need on more definite regulation. ZMADP was resposibled with the duty. Besides that for preventing environmental pollution different *ends* was suggested. In addition social assets, housing, infrastructure will be programmed with reference to national development plans. Lastly ECE will advise to participate to the infrastructural projects.

4.2.2.3 Conclusion

As it can easily seen in ZMAP *purpose of creating a modern hierarchy of centers and compact center* has the *content of economy of scale*. In ZMAP, there seems a definite *purpose*: generating a modern regional center of Western Black Sea with a form of bow going also with the *content of benefiting from the aggregated urban economy*. However planners are lack of any comprehensive outlook till *objectivity*. The *purpose of abolishing the private property* has a *content of benefiting from the aggregated urban economy*. Besides that, at the end of 1970's *idea of independency of the municipalities* was also far from extracting the *objectivity*. And so *idea of economy of scale* determines also the second *idea* developed at the end of 1970's not *directly* but *indirectly*, like in the struggle of *idea of balance between work and migration* and “*analysis*”.

For these reasons we will claim that the *idea* of ZMAP was dominated by *substance of economy of scale*. Besides that at the end of the 1970's the role of working class gained importance. However planners were in dept to extract workers as class of production, they were mostly called as more organized group of consumer. Thus noticing the participation of ECE's working class was helpless judgment. In addition, planners were still could not reach to *objectivity* and they did not discover the *conflict in their ideas*. Besides that the analyses, *lowry model, system analysis, influence areas, regional settlement patterns* was adequate to extract only the *proportional object*, but not the *objectivity*.

At the end of 1970's Erkin notices one of the faults as degenerative institutions responsible with planning. According to Erkin (1977b), due to the *purposes* (or *ideas*) that were distinct from the *purposes* of un-preferred routine of formal planning procedure, new *Forms* of implementation would be also necessary. For example: the way of persuasion of various institutions was necessary. However the institutions used to trace the un-preferred routine planning process were mostly assessed and implemented the plan with the same routine procedure. According to Erkin, what the lack in ZMAP was *the strong means of persuasion* and a comprehensive manner to construct the mechanism of planning and implementation. (Erkin, E., 1977b)

For that reasons Tekeli's expectations from Zonguldak was turned into a fantasy. According to Tekeli,

There is an opportunity in Zonguldak territory that none of our other urban areas have had: public hands own the land. This condition (in Zonguldak) can be an opportunity to create an example for all Turkey in the sense of healthy urbanization. (Tekeli, 1977:34 -Parenthesis is mine, Ö.G.)

Lack of the comprehensive manner and disregarding the *objectivity* of production by "*analysis*" of *system view*, Öztürk's demand from the plan below, became irrelevant with metropolitan *objectivity*, which is defined by its different appearance. According to Öztürk, M., (1977) *the iron-steel produced has to directed to high industry but not to the industry characterized with the duty of assembling*.

The duty or responsibility of the iron-steel enterprise was limited with the financial support to the *concrete object of infrastructure* and with the production programme for land-use planning. The *objectivity of products, wages and rents* of the iron-steel enterprises were not the case. The worry on *industrialization-urbanization-modernization* generated at the end of 1960's was only the *object of industry*, and *object of urban*. The *modernization* giving the *idea* in 1960's comprising *objectivity* via I. FYDP, was remind as *modern appearance of urban object*.

4.2.3 Zonguldak-Bartın-Karabük Regional Development Plan (ZBK)

4.2.3.1 Introduction

ZBKP (Zonguldak-Karabük-Bartın Regional Development Project) organized and adjudicated by State Planning Organization to Joint Venture of BRL-TÜMAŞ-GERSAR, two firms from France and one from Turkey. ZBK started with the credit of World Bank (1 million dollar was gratis) completed in 1997 bases on the public-private partnership with a multi-sectorial character for 10 years. (Doğru, N., 2004, Sanalan, T., 1999) The related national plan for the project was VII. FYDP (1996-2000) claiming the integration of Turkey to European Union (EU) and convergencing the regions.

Particularly, ZBKP was originated to analyse the consequences of de-employment in TTK and the privatisation of KARABÜK and ERDEMİR. (Doğru, 2004) Decreasing number of employment started in TTK was seen firstly in 1990 and 1 of 3 of workers was lost their job between 1990 and 1995. Besides that KARABÜK was privatised in 1995 and the privatisation process of ERDEMİR is still continuing. Both direct and indirect results of the de-industrialization was attempted to re-balance with other sectoral developments in ZBKP.

4.2.3.2 Planning Process

We have to examine, firstly, the VII. FYDP rather than ZBKP. VII. FYDP was prepared in four parts: (1) development in the world and Turkey, (2) Basic aims and principles (3) aims and policies for different sectors (4) macroeconomic policies. First part was on *survey*, and the other parts on *plan*. Therefore there is no judgment on which analysis was used in the plan, but, it possible to use input-output analysis. Systematically, after introducing the *idea* and *substances*, VII. FYDP starts to develop a view on each sector tracing the *forms of purposes*, *contents* and *ends*. Lastly the fourth part of the plan introduces the strategies for *idea*.

In addition, ZBKP was printed in six volumes such as: (1)the condition of TTK and KARDEMİR, (2)the overall existing condition, (3)scenario and strategies, (4)regional development plan, (5)the advertisement of the project, (6)research of feasibility and pre-feasibility. First two volumes and the initial part of the third volume were on *survey*. Then, in the third volume there are *analyses* such as: WOTS UP and input-output on regional scale. Here *idea* turns into the scenarios and strategies. Lastly the other volumes (4, 5, 6) translate the strategies to the *plan and projects (forms of purposes)* for each sector comprising the advertisement and feasibilities. Survey, analysis, plan was traced the steps of *strategic*

planning that neither Pre-Plan nor ZMAP had done. *Strategic planning* is one of the derivatives of *structure planning*.

Idea and Purpose of ZBKP

According to Tekeli (2004), regional question has changed for 40 years. The paradigm has shifted from regional equity to convergence of the regions, from the identity of welfare of individual and national development to quality of life and basic needs of individual. In fact, the scope of equity before the new paradigm can be interrogated, since the *idea of balance between work and migration* in Pre-Plan was in contradiction with itself, this contradiction can easily be seen in the duality of *idea* and “analysis”. Surely, the *base of political state* has also changed since the end of 1970’s, but, neither the *old ideas* nor the *new ideas* are free from the contradiction, since they are still working on *abstract objectivity*, disregarding its *becoming or actuality*. *Ideas* were produced directly from *objectivity* by carrying the *methods or “analysis”* which recognizes only the proportional and abstract reflection of *objects*. To be certain on whether there is no radical change in the contradiction or not, it is necessary to study on VII. FYDP and ZBKP.

The *Form of idea VII. FYDP* was defined as below,

For the realization of the basic responsibilities of the state and the conditions of dominant competitive market economy, the ruling and regulating functions of the state will gain importance. Besides that the shrink of the state will accelerate by the withdrawing from production and privatization. (Ö.G. - *Basic Aims and Principles* in VII. FYDP)

The Form of shrinking the state by privatization and reaching to developed countries and to integrate with EU was the *idea of political authority* basing on *substance of competition and inevitability of globalisation*. In VII. FYDP the *substances of idea* were developed as below,

- Utilizing from the advantages of globalisation
- Giving importance to individual
- Sustainable development
- Increasing the welfare of individuals
- Convergence of income distribution

- Increasing the productivity of production
- Supplying the basic education and health services, and increasing the quality
- Protecting the environment

Meanwhile, the *idea* was determined as *annual increasing rate of National Domestic Product around 5.0 and 6.6 percent.*

With reference to, the *idea of VII. FYDP*, the *Forms of idea of ZBKP* in regional scale were *benefiting from globalisation* and the *substance of idea was independency of the regional economy.* The emphasis on *independency of regional economy* is important. *Idea of independency of municipality* had been belong to the end of 1970's having the *substance of interest of working class*, and there had been the duality between *idea of economy of scale* and *idea of independency of municipalities.* For ZBKP *independency of regional economy* is the *substance of its idea* coming together with the other *substances* as below,

- Changing the quality of the relation between employer and labour and the image of the region
- Developing the subcontractor relation to supporting the relations of the activities and to increasing the value-added
- Increasing the relation of region with İstanbul and other economic region and as an *alternative economic center*
- Utilizing from even the small opportunities regarding the low opportunities of rural population

The *idea of ZBKP* reasoned by effect of de-industrialization was produced within three alternatives: 1.6%, 5.0%, 6.6% annual rate of growth. The moderate suggestion of ZBKP was the second: *5.0 percent* bases via 1.93 percent growth on agriculture, 5.21 for industry and 6.30 for service sectors and surely *being an alternative economic center.* With respect to the input-output analysis in 10 years period of time, the distribution of investments between public and private sectors was determined orderly as approximately 644 million dollar and 714 million dollar.

Surely, being an *alternative economic center growing 5 % annually* was not a *Form or idea* decided in VII. FYDP, it was the *idea* special to ZBKP. Therefore ZBKP reproduced the *idea*

of VII. FYDP. This means that apart from Pre-Plan, regional planners have their *ideas* before planning, since, even VII. FYDP was lack of spatial dimension, ZBKP decided to the *idea of being an alternative economic center growing 5 % annually*. Now on we won't interrogate whether the *idea of regional planners* does exist before planning or not, for us the *idea of ZBKP is being an alternative center growing 5 % annually*. However, ZBKP has also the other *idea of shrinking of the state confirming the globalization*. There is two *ideas* appearing in ZBKP. But which one has the priority is to be answered.

In a firm, implementing *strategic planning*, the overall growth of firm differentiates between distinct local enterprises. For instance: the *idea of being among the biggest 500 firms* has its *substances* and local enterprises contributes to the *idea indirectly* or, via *substances*. Therefore being among the biggest 500 firms can be the *idea* of any holding company, but it is not convenient *idea* for all local enterprises directly. Therefore *idea of being an alternative center growing 5 % annually* is to be an *idea* developed *indirectly* or via *substances*. If we focus on the *substance of independency of regional economy*, then this *substance* negates the necessity of *mediation to substance of VII. FYDP*. The ambiguity originates from ZBKP giving the 5 % growth with reference to VII. FYDP. It can be overcome by other judgment in report of ZBKP as below,

The assumption of 5 % rate of growth is not a decision or an estimate, it is an aim to be re-assessed regularly to obtain the appropriateness to regional reality. (ZBKP, Vol:4, 1997:5)

Therefore the *idea of being an alternative economic center growing 5 % annually* is the sole *idea* having the *substances of independency of regional economy*. But the reasoning of 5 % is not sincere while ZBKP introducing VII. FYDP. This situation has to be considered later. Now on, *idea* of the ZBKP can be summarised as both *qualitatively* and *quantitatively*. The *quantitative* character is 5% annual rate of growth and the *qualitative* character is being an alternative economic center. *Idea* having the conflict in it causes, thereby, the need of local body or organ, which re-assesses the *idea* regularly. However this kind of local planning degrades *political state and authority* to its means, as if it was a simple being in *civil society*. It recognizes itself as *local authority*. Here we have the relation between *subject* and *objectivity* confirming the illusion of *idea of political state*, and *ideological character of legal forms*. Therefore, *actualized idea of political state* is *sublated* by the attitude of local planning authority *abstractly*. Therefore, the illusory character of *political state* is *subsumed abstractly*. Thereby, *political state* recognizing the *objectivity* one-sidedly is now realized for local planning authority. Meanwhile, there appeared a pseudo-critique *actualized idea of political state*.

Extracting the Object

According to Tekeli (2004) the shift in the paradigm of regional planning can be summarized with reference to five questions in table below. He assessed that in 1960's there were prescriptive theories, but for today he defines that the only endeavour is on the 4th and 5th questions that is inadequate.

Tablo 4.2 Tekeli's approach on the changes of the question of region

	Analytical Theories	Prescriptive Theories
Universal	1-The reason of regional inequity	2- What is to be done?
Particular	3-The reason of being backward	5-How to develop?
	4-The reason of being developed	

Neither the answers on (*being*) 2nd and 5th question, nor the answers on (*becoming*) 1st, 3rd and 4th questions would be adequate, since both are necessary and interrelated. In addition answers on *particular* cannot be separated from *universal*, since, *universalities* lies in *particularities*. Therefore there is no any sharp distinction between *universalities* and *particularities*. Apart from capturing the *universal* features of *particularities* or extracting the *essense of particularities*, *particularities* become only *particular*, and *universalities* become nowhere *universality*.

On Public-Private Partnership

Due to the *idea* to be reassessed constantly, there are the *externalities*, which the *subject of ZBKP* cannot control in each case. The changing *objectivity* among international relations and in local dynamics also changes the *performance of idea*. Therefore *subject of ZBKP* has to be open and ready to sustain the constant process of planning in different levels. In firms the planning department was organized and structured with reference to these changes and generated *idea* by constant *feedback systems*. The *objectivity of ZBKP* is full of actors both from *political planning* and from *civil planning*, and ZBKP necessitates the actors to act in collaboration. Thus, organization of *public and private partnership* is necessary. Within this framework there are many *externalities* taking place against the *subject of ZBKP*, as it is the price of *abstract sublation*.

Externalities are valid for also firms, state and public-private partnerships etc. Steiner (1979) defining the *formal strategic planning* in managerial account states *externalities* as *uncertainies*. According to Steiner,

Uncertainties such as: government action of contract cancellation, labour union activities, a decline in economic activity and a sudden price discount by a major competitor makes planning difficult. (Steiner, 1979:45)

However Steiner defines these externalities as *uncertainties*. Uncertainties is valid for *subjective (outer) purpose*, which is far from extracting the *actualization objectivity*, however, whether the conflict is known in *ideas* then *uncertainties* turn into *certainties*. For the *total understanding*, the motion of market economy by many *subjective (outer) actors* deepens the *conflict in idea*. Therefore for *perspective* extracting the *totality* and *conflict in ideas*, the conditions *making planning difficult* is ready and *certain*.

ZBKP assumes *self-alienation of men* by being far from extracting the *totality* and *conflict in ideas*. Within this understanding, all consensuses among “independent” *ideas* of localities expecting *public-private partnership* cause to decay of both the *actualized idea* and their *ideas*. However, ZBKP is consciously open to these uncertainties and assumes the *becoming of idea* by focusing on *performance of the idea*. Apart from the *political state*, this organization reduces *actualized idea of political state* to its mean, like a firm. In the sense of *political authority*, *actualized idea of political state* is *idea for itself and for authority* without interrogating its *actuality* and *conflict*. However *idea of ZBKP*, even it assumes the relation between *political state and authority*, it takes *actualized idea of political state* account more closely to their *bases* or, *economical motives*.

On Small Enterprises

A different attitude of ZBKP from both Pre-Plan and ZMAP was to support and inciting the small enterprises. While in the period of Pre-Plan, Gülöksüz had defined the towns as full of small enterprises degeneratively, and the aim of industrialization and employment was thought to realize by high industries. In addition, in ZMAP it was the *substance of idea* to prevent the consumers from the small enterprises gathering rent. However, oppositely in the *substances of ZBKP* due to the de-industrialization process, it was suggested to support small enterprises without considering its degenerative ideological which was considered by planners at the ends of 1960's. Within this condition, it was defined in ZBKP that, the function of the institutional necessity of the plan as Agency of Regional Development, was an inter-unity constructed by investors, land owners, administrators, producer³⁹, craftsmen, tradesmen, farmers and the state responsible for supplying the infrastructure to develop the region. (ZBKP, Vol:4)

³⁹ Producers are the owners of the enterprises, not the labour that was defined in Marxist Political Economy.

On Property

As mentioned above the special feature of Zonguldak is on the administration of publicly owned land. While both in Pre-Plan and ZMAP, the publicly owned land was assumed as the precondition of the modern and healthy urbanization, in ZBKP oppositely the publicly owned land was assumed as a disadvantageous condition for development and urbanization. In ZBKP it was claimed that,

That is why the ownership of land was mostly in private hands, it (Ereğli) has advantage. ... (but) municipality (of Zonguldak) is weak due to the public institutions controlling 2 of 3 parts of land. (Ö.G - ZBKP, Vol:2, 1997:53, Parentheses are mine.)

The reason of this view was defined as the unauthorized and spontaneous housing on publicly owned lands making difficult to supply infrastructure. However supplying infrastructure to unauthorized housing was a past problem of urbanization, which is surmounted in *objectivity*, so today, there is so much *method* realizing. Thus ZBKP considers the property as an exchangable and *abstract object*, from the eyes of firms finding risky.

On Spatial Organization

ZBKP drives away the question of *spatial organization*. The criterion in the manufacturing programme as below,

The basic criterion for supporting the project is creating a permanent employment. There should not be any criterion on space apart from the aims of protecting the environment. (Ö.G-ZBKP, Vol:4, 1997:34)

Therefore what Tekeli had tried to achieve against the I. FYDP at the end of 1960's was neglected in regional planning. The region of ZBK determined as an *alternative economic center* is the only *idea*. Any traditional way of looking to determine space formally is certainly and radically negated. To focus on this transformation in thought it is necessary to look ZBKP's understanding on transforming the object.

Transforming the Object and Mediation

ZBKP examines the region in five sub-regions such as: ZMA, Ereğli-Alaplı, Filyos Area (Çaycuma, Devrek, Gökçebey), Karabük and lastly Bartın. For each sub-region, WOTS UP analysis was implemented in the third volume of the plan. Like in ZMAP, ZBKP similarly, suggests that the problems of property in ZMA have to be solved by tranfering the property of

lands from TTK to municipality. For sub-region of Ereğli-Alaplı, it is supposed to be a place for balanced sectorial development with service sector having more advantages than industry. Besides that, for Filyos Area, it was stated that,

Filyos Valley can be assessed as potential development area, due to agricultural activities, settlement areas, in addition, existing situation of infrastructure (railway and motorway) and its feature opening through sea... In spite of the possible risk of flood, Filyos Valley can be seen as convenient development center of industry and trade. (Ö.G.-ZBKP, Vol:2, 1997:61)

Moreover, ZBKP considering the decision in 1994 that noticed a huge amount of land in Filyos Valley as *free zone* supports the idea of opening the valley to settlement. In addition it suggests, thus, Devrek, Gökçebey, Çaycuma in the valley as possible service development areas. (ZBKP, Vol:4, 1997:62)

A critique on ZBKP, by urban planners was on the centralization of population in Filyos Valley, where the first class of fertile agricultural land exists. In addition, being an area involving one of the fastest rivers causing every year flood and also a second-degree region of earthquake having a soft and permeable soil, the decisions of plan were rejected. (Özcan, Ü., 1997, İmga, O., 2003)

However, in ZBKP it was noticed that Filyos Valley is not determined as a main settlement area; this duty is supposed to be realized again by ZMA due to the existing potential of agriculture in the valley. ZBKP also is against the thread of destroying the agricultural lands, but there is no any policy (or *forms of purpose*) defined in overall plan. Therefore the possible threat is seen but not attempted to solve. In addition, by the decisions that demanding a Zonguldak and Karabük to be metropolis⁴⁰ legally and the combining Filyos and Zonguldak by legal and infrastructural investments (or *forms of purposes*), constructing Filyos Port, the reliability on conserving the agricultural potential is decreasing. The centralization in Filyos is not a decision only of ZBKP, but also in the Plan of Ministry of Construction and Settlement prepared in 1996, this trend gained a legal status.

Separately, Bartın is decided as another balanced place of development with mainly industry and additionally agriculture and service sectors. Lastly Karabük-Safranbolu is condered as a industrial location with service sector, due to the land conditions forestry will be developed instead of agriculture.

⁴⁰ Büyük Şehir

As seen easily these are all *ideas and forms of purposes* for sub-regions confirming the *idea of being an alternative center growing 5 % annually*. The critique of urban planners has still taken account the space as *abstract object*. In a meeting on the reforms in region of ZBK, the critique of Gemici is so important, it is in reality not a critique of ZBKP. According to Gemici (1999) ZBKP does not reflect the reality by suggesting a development in service sector, there is also coal and other industries, besides that the developments in Filyos Valley is important with *free zone*, the port, the Dam of Köprübaşı, double road connection to E-5 and the new economic relations on Black Sea supplies important opportunities to change the thoughts of ordinary men dependent on public sector and so TTK. Even if both ZBKP and Gemici suggesting the same *forms of purposes*, they are all demans to negate the *idea of ZBKP* in 10 years ago.

4.2.2.3 Conclusion

There is no doubt that the plan consciously tries to confirm the alienation as capitalist production relation with respect to the advice of subcontractor relation and flexible production. Different from the other plans prepared before 1980, the *idea and forms of purposes* are the means for *becoming*. *Programming* is a form identifying *becoming* between different levels of *purposes* having the *definite being of substance* and *substance is becoming*. The *substances of competition and independency of regional economy* is *definite being of substance*.

In this context urban planners or regional planners do not have to generate their own *substances* and *Forms*, since *substance* is *definite*. This situation resembles to the situation of *political state* having increased *dependecy* enlarging its *authonomy*. By the way *subjective (outer) purposes* have to be widespread for each actor, especially for planners. Generating the *idea* and attempting to *low level of objectification* is necessary. Within this context, the planner focusing on extracting the object and developing a way of extracting the *actuality of space or totality* becomes irrelevant. But the *actuality* increases the *uncertainties* and so *global irrationality* moves around the planners.

Another important transformation that can be exposed by ZBKP is the *abstract sublation* of *actualized idea of political state*. It is a duality, since ZBKP realizes both the critique and confirmation at the same time, like the *partial emancipation* coming by the emergence of *political state*. As we mentioned that apart from planning of *political state*, this kind of local planning body shows more close relation with the *base of actualized idea of political state*. Its critical face brings more *authonomy* to the *political state*, and confirmation of *actualized idea* brings more *dependency* to the *base of political state* that is *economical motives*. This

formation is valid for also planners. Apart from *comprehensive planning, flexible or moderate idea in strategic planning* is so close to the full conception and observation taking reality as its departure point. However there is a funny combination of planning activity and planning thought. We will explain it in conclusion.

4.3 Overall Conclusion on Planning Experiences in Zonguldak

In 1960's the experience of Preliminary Plan of Zonguldak (Pre-Plan) regional planners started without *idea*. They had only the *forms of purposes* deprived of any *idea*. Later on, when they have started to gain *idea of balance between work and migration* at the end of 1960's, at this time there appeared also a contradiction between *idea of economy of scale* latently coming from "analysis" and *idea of balance between work and migration*. In 1960's within this contradiction the *form of purpose* that is *investment to infrastructure* was not an adequate aim to support the *idea of balance between work and migration*. This situation would have changed in ZMAP.

In ZMAP the *idea and purposes* was determined by the *substance of economy of scale*, even they were in contradiction. At the end of 1970's the *idea and substance* was radically changed towards the *idea of independency of municipalities* and *substance of interest of working class* in spite of their methods and "analysis". However they could not extract the *conflict in idea* and they were far from extracting the space as *objectivity*.

At the end of 1990's in Zonguldak-Bartın-Karabük Regional Development Project (ZBKP) apart from both Pre-Plan and ZMAP the *substance* was *competition and independency of regional economy*. The *substance* was valid for each sub-region. By the way the *substance* was demanded the *subjective (outer) purpose* to realize itself. The space was recognized with only the criterion: *protecting the environment*. Therefore there appeared a kind of *programming* disregarding the *totality and the conflict in their ideas*. But there was an important change firstly causing from the *idependency of regional economy*.

Ideologically, there appeared a new *mode of becoming* criticizing and confirming the *actualized idea of political state*. This formation showed its conflict in the structural difference of planning theory and planning activity. While the further taking the reality as *arrival point*, the latter took the reality as its *departure point*. This situation is so understandable in the sense of the duality of spontaneous materialism and idealism. While planning theory is constructed idealistically, planning practice is constructed conveniently to spontaneous materialism.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION: ENLIGHTENNING JUDGMENT

This thesis has two important parts: general critique and particular critique. General critique is the critique of theory of planning, and particular critique is the critique of concrete planning experiences. In the first part of the study, we started from *planning in general*: imagination of product and realization of the purposes. This process of planning was turned into imagination and realization of proportions as the inverted conscious of men.

Ricardo recognizing the value of land from the product produced in land was opened a way to Von Thünen confirming the imagination and realization of proportions in thought. In alienated life, the true human life is also lived, and so in alienated social totality the imagination and realization of proportion abstractly hides the imagination of product and realization of purpose. Therefore planning activity is in contradiction with itself. Pseudo-essence of product and pseudo-essence of purpose concentrated in proportion as phenomenon, when self-affirmation of planning activity is once completed, theory of planning starts. Actually, the true existence of planning activity exists in planning theory as inverted forms of conscious. Therefore the constructor as leaseholder was man, who has theory of planning as inverted forms of conscious. *Political planning* is the partial emancipation of inhabitant moving around as illusory Sun, since inhabitants are still moving around constructor. Constructor is an authority of *civil planning* regarding landowner and labour as means, and labour degrades himself into a mean. Men, at the same time, has its true and illusory purpose in space, while producing and consuming the space.

General critique is necessary, like the critique of illusory planning, but it is only the negation of philosophy, and negation of philosophy is nothing, if there is no realization of the critique. “Analysis” of planning wrenches “facts” from their true life, and combines them in the heaven. *Political planning* also do this. However, there is no one to one correspondence between their understanding on space and the oppositionary dynamics in planning theory has to be exposed.

Because, thought comprises the duality of spontaneous materialism and idealism as a funny combination.

Salto mortale version of idea of progress necessitates to give history and critique of history its due. Thus critique of planning theory or a general critique is not a remedy, it is only a starting point to find out the contradictory and illusory categories such as: “analysis”, programming, agreement, control etc. Even though, it is the real critique of history, without any particular critique it is so meaningless. *Salto mortale* version of idea of progress necessitates finding the general in men’s own life and in today, not in the heaven and in inverted forms of conscious. It necessitates to find out the obligatories of “abstractions” and to define the theories as concrete. Therefore criticizing the concrete experiences of planning is criticizing the concrete theories of planning and the reverse is also true. It is not possible to make the critique of *totality* by being contended with one of them.

Life is full of *ideas*, and *essence of ideas* can only be possible by extracting *totality*. *Ideas* introduce themselves as *the unity of substance and Form* as a *negative being*, and *ideas* negate themselves by new *ideas*. Even though, *idea* reminds as *form*, the responsibility of *salto mortale* version of idea of progress is to find out the *totality* and the *essence of ideas*. In this thesis, while we are considering *idea*, we assumed that they are *subjective (outer) ideas*. We were contended with the *substances of subjective (outer) ideas*. We only attempted to find out their “true” *substances* and observed the changes. As a result, we faced to face with *ideas* conflicting in each other in the same planning experiences except for ZBKP. Surely, this does not mean that ZBKP is free from any conflict. It has to be the responsibility of our study whether we are insisting on the contradiction in *idea* generally. In 1960’s there were a contradiction between the methods and *ideas*. While methods are for economy of scale, the *ideas* were for balance of work and migration. Later on, in ZMAP while the reasonings were done by economy of scale, the purposes were on modern hierarchy of regional centers, compact center, balance between sectors and abolishing the private appropriation of lands etc. At the end of 1970’s *idea* was the independency of municipality, but planner were still far from extracting the space, even as *objectivity*, and even if there were also bugs. However in ZBKP *idea* was not sincere and it was *moderated*, but the *subjective (outer) idea* was crowned by *abstract sublation of actualized idea of political state* as a new *mode of becoming* of ideology, which informs on the *base of actualized idea of political state*. In addition, method of *programming* was idealist, but planning body was spontaneously materialist.

But, this is not adequate to observe the changes in *ideas* considering their “true” *substances*. They have to be interpreted in *totality*. *Totality* is more than the unity of philosophy and history. *Totality* is critique of history involving philosophy. Thus planning theory and planning experiences are the togetherness of history and the *totality* is the critique of the togetherness. This togetherness is the funny combination of idealism and materialism giving us the oppositionary dynamics in both planning theory and planning activity.

For the transition from *theory of comprehensive* to *structure planning*, there are two important intellectuals to be reminded: Lindblom and Etzioni. Besides that, planning activity also has two experiences: ZMAP and ZBKP. Of course, these critiques of *comprehensive planning* have different *objectivities*, but, whether we are considering the *actuality*, we need abstraction. The common characteristic of these critiques of *comprehensive planning* comes from the identity of Lindblom and ZMAP, of Etzioni and ZBKP. First identity involves materialist content, and the second involves idealist content. Thus, *structure planning* is the funny combination of further and latter.

The common characteristic of Lindblom and ZMAP is their one-sided materialist critique against *actualized idea of political state*. When Lindblom considering the administrator who is not aware of the values, emphasizes the *aposteriori* experiences of administrator by obtaining agreement on policy, ZMAP is uncomfortable from the routine process of Ministry, and is degrading its “analysis” on space by being favour with the *substance of class interest*, or social movements, like a man escaping from (or keep in step with) a car coming towards him, and denying the principle of *esse est percipi*⁴¹.

Then common characteristic of Etzioni and ZBKP is their one-sided idealist critique against Lindblom and ZMAP. When Etzioni sustaining *active society* reduces *branch method* into a *secondary decisions*. ZBKP reduces *independency of municipality* to *authonomy of regional economy*. When the first one bringing *apriori* category *programming* instead of *aposteriori* construction of planning, the second one brings *moderate ideas* instead of “arrogant” *ideas*.

Thus, *structure planning* is the funny combination of priority of action (Lindblom and ZMAP) and of perception (Etzioni and ZBKP). If we assume that ZBKP is *structure planning*, then it involves this funny combination. At first, there is one-sided critique of *elitist attitude* and secondly the confirmation of *elitist attitude*. While intellectuals in favour of *structure planning* criticizing *elitist attitude of political planning* idealistically as the togetherness of Lindblom and Etzioni, the concrete form of *structure planning* materialistically assumes *elitism* by

⁴¹ Becoming is perception.

converting the *idea* to their mean. Here, Habermas is the inevitable combination as *abstract sublation of elitism* and as new *mode of becoming*. Habermas criticizes and confirms *elitism* at the same time. While he is insisting on *consensus*, he is surely *elitist*, and while he is defining *crises of legitimacy*, he is against *elitism*. *Elitism* comes from the *a priori* judgments. *Anti-Elitism* comes from *a posteriori* experiences. Similarly, while ZBKP having the *substance of competition and independency of regional economy* they are *elitist*. However, while introducing *ideas* as means, or as *moderations*, they are *anti-elitists*.

For us the origin of *elitism* comes from the lack of full understanding of *objectivity* or one-sided understanding. Within this condition, both Habermasian consideration and ZBKP has to be in *elitist attitudes*. They are both far from understanding the *becoming* in their *definite being* which is their starting point. As, for them, *becoming* comes after their *subjective* understanding of *being*.

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