

THE STATE AND THE PLANNING MARKET: THE CASE STUDY OF  
PRIVATE PLANNING BUREAUS IN TURKEY

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THE STATE AND THE PLANNING MARKET: THE CASE STUDY OF  
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## **ABSTRACT**

### **THE STATE AND THE PLANNING MARKET: THE CASE STUDY OF PRIVATE PLANNING BUREAUS IN TURKEY**

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The purpose of this thesis is to understand the relationship between the state and the urban planning market composed of private planning bureaus. To see this relationship in detail, the laws and regulations related to the field and their implications on the urban planning market is analyzed. The shaping of the market by these legal framings is thought to be the key connection between two parties. In doing so, it reviews how the state made a direct impact on shaping the market for the very first time by the regulation on the Competency License 1969 (1985, 2006, 2019), and indirectly by other laws and regulations. In particular, this study questions the structure of the market that was brought to life in the neoliberal period which, in fact, had started to form before the neoliberal period. This thesis aims to comprehend the characteristics of market players with the help of statistical data gathered through in-depth interviews.

The findings of the study show that the state, constructed the market with the acceleration of urbanization in Turkey and directed it to adopt an oligopoly system characteristically. There is a divided market structure present in the

market. A and other groups are positioned in divided states. This divided structure has been established by state regulations. There is an unfair competition between Group A private planning bureau owners and other group private planning bureau owners. While other sub-groups, especially F group planners are struggling to exist in the market, A group planners have created oligopoly and established a dominant structure. This division seems to be of help to the state in maintaining its neoliberal policies.

**Keywords:** Urban Planning Market, Competency License, Oligopoly, Regulation, State

## ÖZ

### DEVLET VE PLANLAMA PİYASASI: TÜRKİYE’DE ÖZEL PLANLAMA BÜROLARI ÖRNEĞİ

Kaldırım Yaşar, Kübra

Yüksek Lisans, Kentsel Politika Planlaması ve Yerel Yönetimler

Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Mustafa Kemal BAYIRBAĞ

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Bu tez devlet ile özel planlama bürolarından oluşan özel planlama büro piyasası arasındaki ilişkiyi anlamaya çalışmaktadır. Devlet tarafından çıkarılan yasa ve yönetmelikler yoluyla özel planlama büro piyasasının nasıl şekillendirip, düzenlendiği araştırılmıştır. Bunu yaparken devletin, özel planlama büro piyasasını 1969 yılında ilk defa çıkarttığı “Plan Yapımını Yüklenecek Müelliflerin Yeterliliği Hakkında Yönetmelik” (1985, 2006, 2019) ile direkt olarak ve planlama alanı üzerinden özel planlama bürolarını da dolaylı yünden etkileyen diğer yasa ve yönetmelikler üzerinden nasıl şekillendirdiği incelenmiştir. Özellikle neoliberal dönem öncesi devlet tarafından uygulanmaya başlayan yasa ve yönetmeliğin neoliberal dönemle birlikte nasıl bir piyasa oluşturduğu ve bu piyasa oyuncularının karakteristik özellikleri istatistiksel veriler ve derinlemesine görüşmeler ile anlaşılmasına çalışılmıştır.

Yapılan çalışma ile Türkiye’de neoliberal kentleşmenin hız kazanması ile birlikte devletin özel planlama bürolarından oluşan bu piyasayı bizzat ürettiği ve bu



piyasanın karakteristik olarak oligopol bir sistem üzerinden var olmasına sebep olduğu anlaşılmıştır. Özel planlama büro piyasasında A ve diğer gruplar arasında bölünmüş bir piyasa yapısı devlet mevzuatı ile oluşturulmuştur. Piyasa içinde yer alan A grubu özel planlama büro sahipleri ve diğer gruplar arasında haksız bir rekabet mevcuttur. Başta F grubu yeterlilik belgesi sahibi bürolar olmak üzere alt grupta yer alan büro sahipleri piyasada var olma mücadelesi verirken, A grubu belge sahipleri piyasada tekel oluşturarak egemen bir yapı oluşturmuşlardır. Bu bölünmüş piyasa yapısının devletin neoliberal politikalarını sürdürmekte yardımcı olduğu görülmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Plan Yapım Yeterlilik Belgesi, Özel Planlama Büro Piyasası, Oligopol, Yasa, Yönetmelikler, Devlet, Planlama Mesleği

To My Husband Mustafa and My Two Daughters Sare and Sevde

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

AICP	American Institute of Certified Planners
APA	American Planning Association
CCP	Chamber of City Planners
CL	Competency License
MIT	Massachusetts Institute of Technology
RTPI	Royal Town Planning Institute
SVR	The Ruhr Coalfield Settlement Association
TOKİ	Mass Housing Administration
TUPOB	The Association of Planning Schools
TMMOB	The Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

The need for planning in cities, as we understand today, emerged with the industrial revolution. There was a need for “planning” to sustain the existence of capitalist production processes (Harvey, 1985). Harvey (1985) says that with the idea of using the cities as a commodity for capital's reproduction, planning also started to be used in this direction. The birth of the planning as an area of profession occurred in early 20<sup>th</sup> century. While planners, in the early periods of the profession, were expected to plan places only physically and do it as a branch of art, it was later understood that this approach couldn't solve the problems in cities. Therefore, the need to change the role of the planner was also a matter of discussion in those years. After accepting that the profession is not only about physical planning but also an area that needs to be approached socially and scientifically, urban planners became actors of an interdisciplinary profession who in their hearts had the interest of public and approached the place with scientific methods and took every aspect of the space into consideration that is economic and social. Although this is the conceptual definition, the role of the planners in the capitalist world order and the neoliberal practices continued to transform and change over time.

The relationship between planning and the market in the capitalist world order has always been one of the hot topics discussed widely. Whether planning is a market-supporting or market-driven tool has been a matter of discussion and it has been argued by opposing thinkers. However; in today's neoliberal order, planning has become a device to support the market (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). In the neoliberalization process, it is seen that the role of the nation-state in planning is

more active and dominant in the countries where economic capital power is more limited than completely neoliberalized countries.

Although the neoliberal logic requires market mechanisms to dominate the market instead of the state as Philip Cerny (1997) points out, paradoxically, the state has begun playing a more active role and interferes and actively regulates the market in order to create a more competitive environment.

With the 1980s, the neoliberalization policies, which in theory propose to lessen the state's domination to a minimum level and encourage markets instead, led to the emergence of a competitive understanding. As a result of this, as opposed to what was intended the marketization gained pace. The repercussions are obvious in the urban planning market. It is highly influenced by the regulations done by state in the field of planning and other areas indirectly connected to it.

In this context, Turkey continues its development and transformation in the field of planning as one of the countries which is under accumulated of capital rather than other countries that completed their economic infrastructures in the neoliberalization process. Turkey entered a process of neoliberalization in 1980s. This process which started with the Özal period could be noticed in economic, social and cultural areas. Planning also had its share. In 1985, the planning field started to evolve along with the Construction Law (3194) and subsequent regulations. The importance of planning for the market increased with the discovery of urban space as in other neoliberal countries. The profession of planning started changing by all these implementations and related developments.

A strong relationship between the state and planning is visible in every way. Although the state supported neoliberalized policies, it didn't leave the field only in the hands of the market, it rather played an active role. The planning profession which has been struggling for institutionalization has shaped spatial planning practices alongside itself. Therefore, the state has a close relationship with the planning profession. In this sense, Turkey has a different positioning compared to the other countries, which have completed their neoliberalization processes.

As the state began to implement neoliberalization policies, various changes took place in the planning field as well. The birth of an urban planning market system of planners in 1980s is one of these changes. It is a structure that has been created by the state through transferring planning works to the private sector but maintaining the control over sector by laws and regulations. Private planners active in the market carry out their professions by doing planning jobs coming from public bureaus or independent individuals. They either establish companies or open private bureaus. Likewise, competition and solidarity among urban planners are also present in the market. Throughout this study, the term “urban planning market” will be used to define such a market environment.

### 1.1. Aim of the Thesis and Research Questions

In order to understand the structure of urban planning market and private planning bureaus, the situation of the market is examined through competency license applications a prerequisite of existence in the market. When analyzed according to the group of licensed bureau owners since 1985, it is observed that there is a dual structure between the groups. Especially, this structure is undeniable between A and F groups.

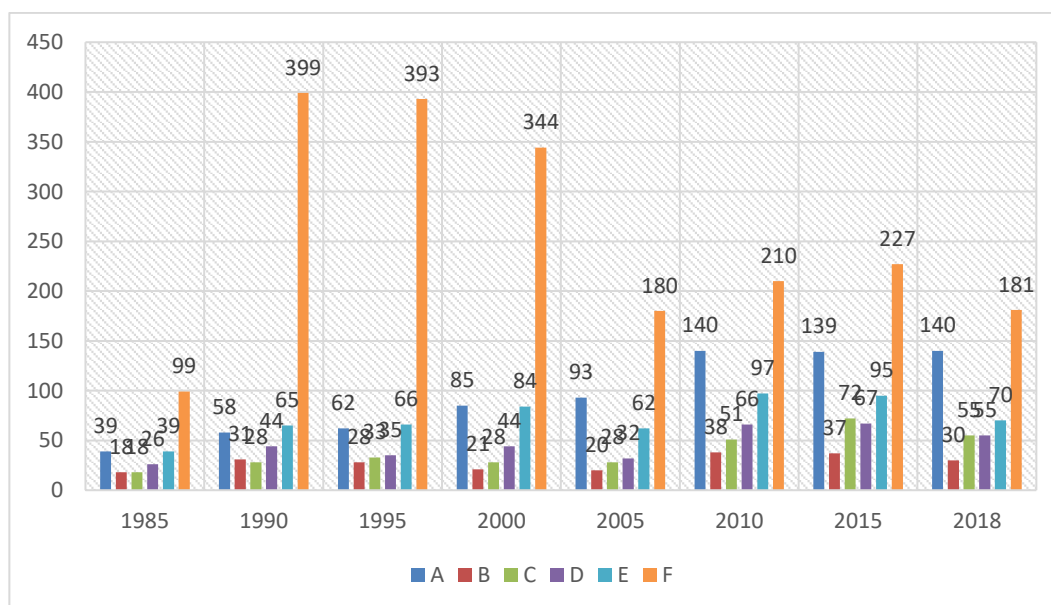


Figure 1.1: Number of Planners Who Have CL According to the Groups in Private Sector by Years

Source: Compiled by the Author from the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization Resources Archive

As seen in Figure 1.2, in 1985, the distribution between the groups were homogeneous; however, in the following years; whereas the intermediate groups remained almost constant in terms of their positions, A and F groups got a dualistic structure. Therefore, in order to clarify the underlying reasons, in-depth interviews were done with planners from A and F groups.

As concluded above, the urban planning market under the impact of the state reveals a dual structure. How did it emerge? The question at this point is: Although the classification system was brought to life in the non-neoliberal period, what kind of an urban planning market was formed through this system in the neoliberal period? The classification system of 1969 originally highlighted and pointed out the importance of experience. However, when it was 1985s, it led to an urbanization market that would pave the way for rapid urbanization. Realizing that existing private planning bureaus and public planners couldn't keep up with the dynamics of neoliberal urbanization, the state developed a more competitive oligopoly system in 1985s. Later, it re-organized and directed this system according to appearing needs.

In this context, this study aims to examine how private planning bureaus have been shaped by the policies stipulated by the state since their first opening until today and seeks to uncover the effects of these interferences on the market. In order to achieve this objective, the history of urban planning in the world and Turkey and its relation with the policies of the state will be examined. First, the development of urban planning before 1980 and the after neoliberalization will be discussed; secondly, regulations directly affecting the planning profession will be reviewed.

The statistical reading of the consequences of the regulations will be done and the interpretations of the interviews carried out to reveal the changes brought by the regulations will be presented. In this context, our research questions are:

1. What kind of a market emerged in the neoliberal period as a result of the regulatory understanding applied by the state in the pre-neoliberal period?
2. What are the initial dynamics of the urban planning market and the characteristics of the market?

3. How could the planners in the state created and ruled urban planning market continues to work and act?
4. How are the competition and cooperation patterns between the planners from B, C, D, and E Groups? What is organization like inside the working environment?
5. What are the impacts of the pricing policies of the state as the employer on the market?

While looking for the answers to these questions, besides the relation between market and state and the future prospects regarding the transformations and changes of planning profession will be discussed.

## **1.2. Structure of the Thesis**

This thesis consists of 4 main chapters besides introduction and conclusion. First chapter is introduction. Here, after a general review, the main purpose and research questions of the study are introduced. Then, preceding the methodological the organization of the study, an overall structure of the thesis and in-depth interviews are presented.

Chapter 2 introduces the theoretical background. This section includes a comprehensive perspective on the changes and transformation of urban planning in the world. After that, a literature review is done on how the planning profession emerged in neoliberal countries and in what ways the planning profession is shaped through new policies and trends. The stages and chronological development of planning around the world, specifically in countries like Turkey fall under the scope of this part.

Under Chapter 3, following brief coverage of the history of planning in Turkey, the rise of planning and the transformations it has experienced will be summarized. Later, laws and regulations issued by the state and affecting the planning profession are explained. In this section, the aim is to understand how the transformation of the planning profession is directed and steered by state policies. A detailed listing of these regulations and their impacts on the market is the main context of this part.

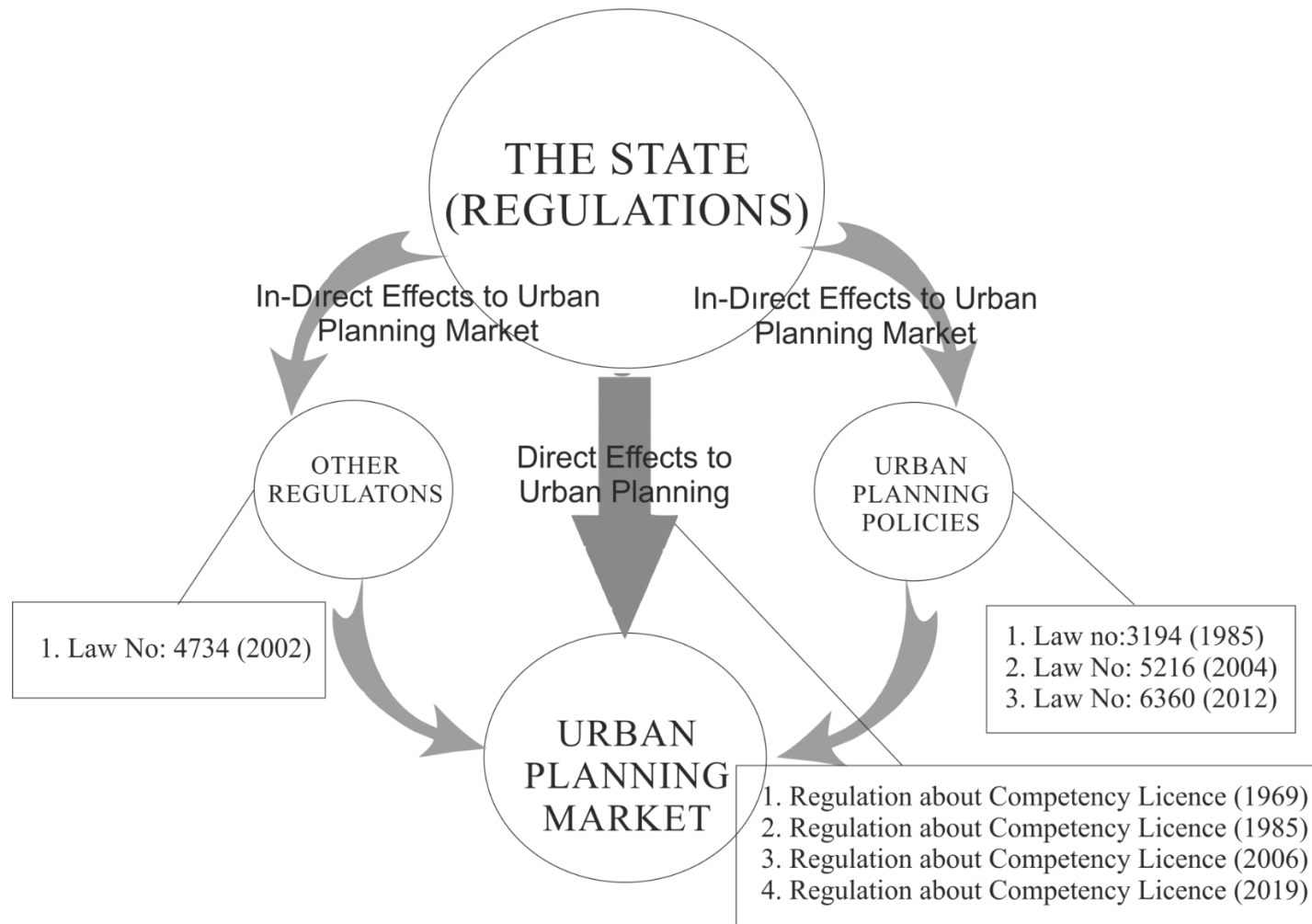


Figure 1.2: The Relationship between the State and the Urban Planning Market (Compiled by the Author)



The main point described in Chapter 4 and 5 is the relationship between the state-urban planning market schematized in Figure 1.1. This thesis repeatedly draws attention to the fact that urban planning market has been shaped and reorganized by the state. This affect is in two ways: direct and indirect. The direct impacts have been through Competency Regulations while the indirect ones include other regulatory documentation such as procurement law and planning policies. Chapter 3 describes the relationship between these laws and regulations and the urban planning market. Chapter 4 and 5 discuss the shaping of the market as a result of these impacts.

In Chapter 4, after the urban planning market structure is presented and demonstrated with statistical data, the findings are checked by comparing them to the laws. And finally analyses of the interviews are done for a latest discussion of the conclusions. After an overall picture of urban planning market is acquired, the situations created by the separation between groups within the market are explained. This analysis, especially detailing the effects brought about by legal regulations reveals a major problem: unfair competition between the A and F licensed groups and the oligopoly in the market. Two profiles of planners are dominant in this picture: the first profile is the A group competency license holders and the other profile is the F group competency license holders. F group licensed planners compose the disadvantaged ones who struggle to exist in the market under the challenging circumstances created by the regulations.

Chapter 5 aims to demonstrate how competition and solidarity between A and F groups are carried out, as well as how the regulation affects all groups in the market in an economic sense. The effects of Chamber of City Planners and Ministry of Environment, and Urban Planning upon the urban planning market are discussed in this chapter.

In the conclusion part, the findings of the study are presented and answers are given to the main questions of the study and the research questions. A general

summary of the study is done and conclusions and inferences are explained in detail. Moreover, conclusion involves a future projection of the urban planning market based on the topics and evaluations covered in the previous chapters.

### **1.3. Methodology of Thesis**

In order to fulfill the aim of the thesis, the changes that the concepts have undergone in time are put forward in the literature review along with the examples from various countries. Modeling a similar study, legal regulations are chosen to be the main focus of the study. The regulations are analyzed according to Qualitative Case study methods. Later relevant data of all planning authors since 1985 were collected from the archives of Ministry of Environment and Urbanization. This numerical data was processed by impact analysis with regard to changes in years and regulations. In addition, in-depth interviews were conducted to help us understand and address the main problem of the study. In-depth interviews, review of regulations and numerical data are combined to provide a qualitative case study and regulatory impact assessment.

To gain deeper understanding, in-depth interviews were conducted with planning bureaus in the private sector. By doing so, an insight to how urban planners working in private planning bureaus are shaped with laws and regulations of the state and how they differed with the laws and regulations issued after 1985 is tried to be gained. In-depth interviews were made with the A and F group certified planners ten A group (I1A, I2A, I3A, I4A, I5A, I6A, I7A, I8A, I9A, I10A) and ten F group (I1F, I2F, I3F, I4F, I5F, I6F, I7F, I8F, I9F, I10F) planner from Ankara took part in these interviews. As of 2019, there are 634 active certified planners in the private sector in Turkey. 120 of these are in Ankara.

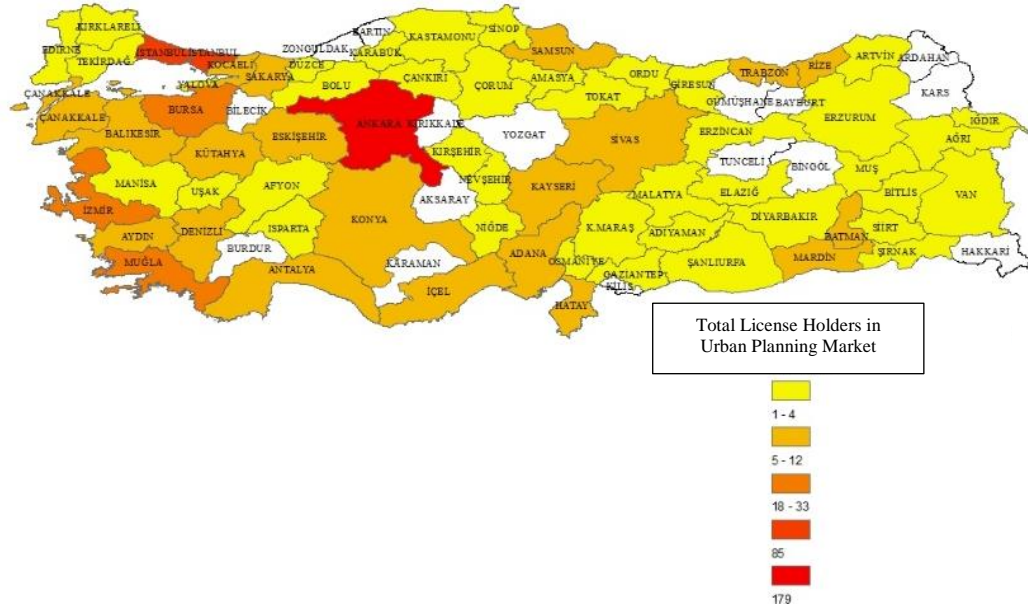


Figure 1.3: Distribution of Competency License Holders Based on Provinces  
Source: Compiled by the Author from the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization Archive

According to this graph, the number of planners actively working in the private sector in the big cities is proportionally higher. Ankara is one of these cities. We have chosen Ankara as the sample city because it was planned based on centralized approach in the first period and additionally, all of the ministries and many of the oldest planning bureaus are located in Ankara.

In the in-depth interviews, the Interviewees were asked specific questions (see Appendix B) in order to understand how and in what ways they were influenced by the regulations enacted by the state. Another aim of this interrogation was to expose competition and solidarity parameters experienced in the urban planning market and determine if there were any pressure and sanctions on the urban planning market and if so, how and by which institutions they were imposed. Related to this, discovering the effects and impacts of the Chamber of City Planners and Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning on urban planning market constituted an important purpose of the meetings.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **URBAN PLANNING IN NEOLIBERAL COUNTRIES**

In this chapter, the emergence and development of planning as a profession will be discussed and the transformation that it went through in the non-neoliberal and neoliberal periods will be explained. The role of the state, as the most important factor influencing and directing the planning field, will be discussed in terms of regulations. The zone of planning, where the state has always been at the forefront, has always had an authority behind it. The state supported and backed the market during this time. The focus will be on how the field of planning was shaped in the neoliberal period by the regulations issued by the state in countries such as USA, Britain, and Germany, who completed the neoliberalization process faster than the others thanks to the surplus of capital. Whereas planning was a means of rapid urbanization in the process of neoliberalization, in terms of his role, the planner was expected to keep up with the requirements of the system. The similarities and connecting points will be put forward when talking about other countries in comparison with the neo-liberalization process in Turkey.

#### **2.1. The History of Planning as a Profession**

Contrary to the existing belief that the history of planning dates back thousands of years, the acknowledgement of planning and its acceptance and application as a profession in contemporary terms is not that old. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, with the Industrial Revolution, health problems and poor living conditions began to emerge in the cities where the working class lived. The sustainable, uninterrupted workforce of the working class was the basis for the continuation and the survival of the system itself. Therefore, it was of great

importance to organize the residential areas of the working class and to create healthy living conditions for them. Planning in the institutional sense has emerged to ensure the continuity of the existing order as a result of these obligations. In the words of Peter Hall “as a reaction to the horrors of the nineteenth-century slum city, the clock of planning history started ticking.” (Hall, 1996, p.50). The understanding of urbanism in the first period of modernism resulted from the unhealthy development created by personal interest and the need to intervene in this process to preserve public interest (Tekeli, 2001).

It can be said that the regimes of regulations introduced by states which were done to lessen the negative effects of urban growth and development in the 20<sup>th</sup> century mark the beginning of planning (Campbell and Marshall, 2005). At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, some trends appeared in order to improve and fix the poor situation of the cities and to maintain the survival of the system. The City Beautiful Movement and Ebenezer Howard's Garden City are examples of these and are regarded as two of the most important ones. The grounding idea of City Beautiful Movement is the understanding that physical spaces have impacts on social relations and, therefore, affect individual and social behavior. It was believed that problems such as the evacuation of the urban centers formed after the Industrial Revolution, the immigration of the middle and upper class from city centers to suburbs and increasing crime rates in city centers could be solved with this approach and movement. It was thought that when urban space was organized and embellished, upper and middle class who had fled to suburbs would return to the city center. Ersoy sees the “City Beautiful Movement” approach as a movement that fetishes the place beyond Howard’s model (Ersoy, 2007).

In the same period, another movement that came out for the same purpose was Garden Cities of Ebenezer Howard. This current emerged in England. The aim of the Garden City was to alter the miserable lives pursued by the working class in cities and to change the understanding of urbanization. With his Garden City approach, Ebenezer Howard aimed to eliminate the crowded, dense nature and

unhealthy living conditions of the industrial cities and offered solutions to the problems of abandoned or under-populated rural areas.

Howard designed a city model that would provide the necessary social and cultural facilities and opportunities of city life and be big enough for housing and workplaces but small enough (32,000 people were planned to live in) to sustain the face-to-face relation used to be seen in rural life. These places would have low density (up to 25-30 people per hectare), its air would be clean and fresh, recreational activities could be easily carried out there and workplaces and residences would be within walking distance, and the settlement environment would integrate with the rural area through the green band (Ersoy, 2007).

While all these developments in the field of planning were taking place in Europe in the late 19th century, in the United States, it wasn't considered as a profession and accounted for nothing in academia. Therefore, there were no separate, special degree programs in planning at universities. At the time, as it can also be derived from the emerging movements, planning was perceived as an art rather than a branch of science.

It took many years for planning to be considered as a profession. Britain, which opened the Civic Design division at the University of Liverpool in the 1909s, became the first in this field. The training given here was more about landscape architecture than planning. In 1914, after the opening of University College London, there were two planning schools in Britain. The establishment of the City Planning Institute in 1914, on the other hand, was another step for the development of the field. In the United States, another pioneering country in planning, this development happened slightly slower. An independent planning department was first established in 1929 at Harvard University. Later in the 1930s, departments of planning were founded at other universities such as MIT, Cornell, Columbia and Illinois. American City Planning Institute, which was founded in 1917, was renamed as American Institute of Planners in 1938 due to enhancement of its interest areas (Hall, 1996).

While planning was considered to be a branch of fine arts, it was still a subject of debate in the late 1940s. Whether it was a form of science was a hot topic then. It took many years to come to the understanding that it should not only be an interest area of landscape architects, architects and engineers but also a field attracting attention from social scientists as well. During this period, education of planning at universities was given by architects, landscape architects and engineers not by planners (Churchill, 1949).

Upon establishment of departments of planning at universities, the question of planning to be accepted as a unique profession gained momentum. It began to be discussed in academic establishments as well. In 1940s and onwards, why city planning should be regarded and acknowledged as a profession began to be argued intensely (Howard, J.H. 1954; Lee, J.E 1960; Hiltner, S. 1957; Perloff, H.S 1956).

One should look at the brief history of planning to understand the change and transformation that planners and the planning profession have undergone. The historical evolution of planning reveals that the birth of planning as we understand in the contemporary sense started with the Industrial Revolution. Lefebvre (1974) states that space is something produced and it cannot be separated from the economic transformation. In the light of his point of view, in the following sections the history of planning will be sorted out and aimed to be explained historically based on important turning points at some significant economic and social periods.

The planning and planning profession will be revised based on the important breakdowns experienced economically and socially. The evolution of planning and planning as a profession will be discussed and analyzed in 3 periods: First period covers planning from the late 1880s and the early 1900s when industrial revolution started, until 1945 (1930s Great Depression in between); second period covers the years after Second World War from 1945 until the late 1960s; third period will cover 1970s and neoliberal times.

### **2.1.1. Rational Comprehensive Planning and Planning Profession in This Period**

Comprehensive planning refers to documents that include decisions about the physical development of a settlement in the long term (such as 20-30 years). In general terms, comprehensive planning is said to be a plan approach including general, long-term and technical processes tried to be applied under the leadership of the public. Chronologically, it first appeared in Europe, then in the United States of America. In Europe, the first time it was used was when Hausman planned the city of Paris.

As practiced in the early years of the 20th century, what lies at the heart of the comprehensive planning action is an integrated system of landscape design of public spaces formed by parks, boulevards and public buildings in cities. It is an application that is made by public, using public resources by means of expropriation and taxation tools and is used to organize / design public spaces (Ersoy, 2007). Comprehensive planning highlighted the physical organization of the city and considered social and communal problems as separate issues. Moreover, the comprehensive approach regarded the planner as the authority that has the ability to offer solutions to the problems by anticipating the problems that may occur in the long term using scientific methods. This supports the assumption that it attributes unlimited rationality to the planner, which was heavily criticized (Şengül, 2002).

### **2.1.2. Incremental Planning (1960-1970) and Planning Profession in This Period**

Incremental planning came forward as the US economy continued to grow rapidly after the Second World War and when the belief that the path to development was through capitalism was beginning to settle completely. According to this theory, proposed by Lindblom, since there are a large number of groups in the society who advocate different interests, the concept of “public interest” put forward by comprehensive planning claiming that it represents all of these interest groups is not realistic. It is more logical to adopt a progressive, step-by-step and stable planning approach instead of big projects like comprehensive planning, especially when capitalism is on the rise and everything looks unclear and shadowy in the long term (Ersoy, 2007). Incremental planning questions and criticizes the very founding ideas



of comprehensive planning approach. It basically says that on the contrary to what comprehensive approach claims, plans cannot cover the whole and it is not possible to defend each and every social interest group's welfare at the same time.

### **2.1.3. Advocacy Planning and Planning Profession in This Period**

Advocacy planning was put forward by Paul Davidoff in the late 1960s. Davidoff (1965) drew his ideas on the remarks that comprehensive planning was dysfunctional as it was implemented from one point in a centralized way which made it difficult for multilevel social groups to participate in. Why insist on making one huge plan to cover all rather than a number of separate plans? When comprehensive planning is criticized as such, the importance of public planning agency is not understated. It is argued that granting the responsibility to a single authority could lead to superficial and incomplete plans. Therefore, in order to avoid this possibility, multiple plans should be done. Here, planner should not only be regarded as responsible of technical things but also he is the person who evaluates the situation from social angles and intervenes accordingly. According to Davidoff, the planner should be a bit of an advocate. The assumption also approved by advocacy approach that every interest group have equal power and the right to speak was later criticized by many researchers.

It is obvious that not every group has the same amount of power in the capitalist social order. Pronouncing that comprehensive planning excludes the weak and the powerless, advocacy planning tried to solve this problem by becoming the voice of those who are not represented, but in doing so it didn't bring in the problem of power which was the underlying factor in all these problems. In this understanding, the vulnerable groups criticized for not participating in the processes in their own names and not voicing their own problems, the advocate planners, on behalf of these groups, reflected on their problems and demands in the way that they had perceived them. It is hard to say that advocate planning approach was able to overcome the problem of elitism and top-down planning concept of comprehensive planning approach (Şengül, 2002).

Planning started to be seen as a system in the mid and after 1960s and beginning with 1970s. This change in the perspective was thanks to the contributions of other disciplines. Planning and its perception began to transform along with introduction of social sciences into the field.

In his book *Urban Planning Theory since 1945*, Nigel Taylor explains that first; the essentially physical or morphological view of towns was replaced with a view seeing them as systems of interrelated activities in an almost constant state of flux. Secondly, a physical and aesthetic view of towns was replaced by a socioeconomic one. Thirdly, this implied replacement of “end-state” planning by a “process” view.

#### **2.1.4. Marxist Planning Approach**

In the 1970s, Marxist thinkers intensified their works on space and planning. At the end of the 1960s, the discussion that planning was not only a technical process but also political gained pace. The idea shared by the Marxist theorists is that urban planning is actually produced by capitalism in order to maintain capital and capital accumulation (Harvey, 1973; Castells, 1979; Lefebvre, 1968).

Lefebvre (1974) states that capitalism survives thanks to the discovery of “the production of space” and adds:

As a product, space intervenes in production itself through action or response: the organization of productive labor, transportation, raw material and energy flow, product sharing networks... The space which is producing and productive by itself cannot be left to the relations of production and the productive forces (organized in some way or the other) and cannot remain static; it gets dialectic. Space, as a product or a producer is the basis of economic and social relations (p.24).

Harvey (1985) explains the urbanization process in terms of urbanization of the capital. According to Harvey, who is a follower of Lefebvre in this sense, the circulation of capital takes place in 3 accumulation processes. Briefly, in the 1<sup>st</sup> cycle, labor produces surplus value and the added value is transferred to the environment built in the 2<sup>nd</sup> cycle. In the third cycle, state intervention appears and efforts are made to revitalize labor through scientific, technological investments or social investments. This applies to advanced neoliberal countries.

In 3<sup>rd</sup> World Countries, such as Turkey, the amount of accumulation in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> processes is not that intense.

According to Harvey (2012), capitalists must produce surplus products to increase surplus value. This means that capitalism produces the surplus product needed to urbanize. The opposite is also valid. The absorption of the product produced by capitalism needs urbanization. Harvey indicates that there is a connection between the development of capitalism and urbanization, and a relationship between the increase in capitalist production and the rate of urbanization.

## **2.2. Regulations as a Policy Instrument**

Over time, together with the transformations of the state, there have been changes and transformations in the policy instruments as well. , Policy instrument typologies are sorted out in five by many public management scientists (Linder and Peters, 1990; Salamon, 2002; Howlett, 2005; Lascoumes and Le Galès; 2007). These are; legislative and regulatory, economic and fiscal, agreement- and incentive-based, information- and communication-based, *de facto* and *de jure* standards/best practices. While the first two are in line with classic understanding of public administration and state, the last three co-exist with the new governance model (Lascoumes and Le Galès, 2007).

For instance, in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as the state continued to grow, public policy instruments developed and diversified. Policies and programs which included expanding type of activities came along with it (Le Gales, 2010). A definition of public policy instruments may be the set of techniques by which governmental authorities control and use their power in order to get support, manipulate, stop or hinder social change (Vedung, 1998 p.21). A form of policy instrument is regulation. It can be defined as obligatory. In regulation, there is an authoritative relationship between the individuals or groups as the subjects of the regulations and the government (Stone, 1982).

Legislative and regulatory instruments are tools that borrow from the routinized legal forms constituting the archetype of state interventionism. This type of

regulatory instrument, according to the literature of sociology studies' results has three obvious dimensions: First, they have a symbolic function since they are the reflections of legitimate power and the source of their strength is from knowing and acknowledging the decision-making procedures before them. In addition to this visible, outstanding appearance of legitimate power, the second function that they possess is axiological function. That is, they lay out the state's values and interests. The last function that they carry out is pragmatic. They help to direct social behavior and organize supervisory systems. Still, all these three functions may be seen in different amounts in different cases. For instance, there is enough amount of cases in which the symbolic dimension prevails over the organization of methods of action (Lascoumes & Le Gales, 2007).

The regulations issued by the state lead to the formation of a certain type of market and the emergence of competition and rent in that market. As this market is regulation-based, it is expected that entries to and exits from it are also regulated by these legal frames, which causes it to be rent-based and competition-centered. At this point, the state appears to be an authority which not only regulates the market but also shapes and constructs it.

When we look at the main focus of this thesis, which is to understand where the urban planning market is situated in the scope of regulations, it is seen that the market is both arranged and created by it. For the first time in Turkey, the state established and defined the characteristics of the urban planning market by the regulation issued in 1969. The date refers to pre-neoliberal times when urbanization was not so intense and frequent and also when urban planning as an occupation was not legitimized and very well-known. It didn't evolve into a rent-based market until 1985s. Later, the state discovered using planning as a tool and therefore reviewed the regulation of 1969 which also meant the reorganization of the market. The regulations led the market to be a more competitive environment and turned it into a more closed system. The consequences of these state-originated regulations will be detailed in Chapter 3. For now, it should be noted that the market was created through regulations; these were done by the state, so the state played an active role in the creation of it.

### **2.2.1. Legal Dimensions of the History of Planning in Developed Countries before Neoliberal Period**

When we look at the developments in the field of planning historically, as of the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, we see that regulations and some acts were put into force in the developed countries. Examining the regulations done or planned to be done in neoliberal countries from the 1900s to the neoliberal period, transformations of planning and profession of planning will be discussed.

#### **2.2.1.1. The Development of History of Planning in UK through Regulations**

After the great depression, all English cities were economically collapsed. Some areas were more affected than the others. It was observed that these regions were mostly industrial cities which were still doing production in the old style. Unemployment rates in these parts were significantly higher than the rest. A commission (Barlow Commission) gathered to solve these problems. Following the reports of this commission, a number of measures were taken and a series of acts were enacted. Barlow Commission's report made it clear that some measures had to be taken and new plans had to be done immediately. The Distribution of Industry Act (1945) was a result of this necessity. This act, which included ways to spread industrial areas across the country, can be considered as the first legislative document for planning (Cullingworth&Nadin, 1997). Town Planning Institute, the first professional body in the world, was founded in 1914 in the UK.

Town and Country Planning Act (1947) is the most comprehensive and planning-directed regulation that was made in Britain up to that time. Local governments were defined as the planning authority. They were in charge of any kind of permission and approval needed for all kinds of plans wished to be done by the land lords.

The main concern of the 1947 regulation was the use of land. Development was defined as a plan explaining how the local authority was allowed to manage and utilize the land in their region. On the other side, there was a noteworthy variation

in the 1968's act. It focused on major economic and social forces and included broader policies and strategies for bigger lands.

(Cullingworth, 1997, p.93) Nigel Taylor points out that the time before neoliberal period in Britain can be defined as social democracy (Taylor, 1998, p. 131). At the time, social democracy acknowledged and approved liberal capitalism and presented a planning style accordingly. In Britain, alongside social democracy, a mixture of capitalism and collectivism of liberalism and socialism was desired. The act of 1947 ensured that private sector held land development industry in its power while the right to plan and improve this land was given to public. This middle-way approach lasted until 1970s.

As the disparities between regions continued to survive and reoccurring problems could not be solved by existing ideas and opinions, towards the 1980s, neoliberal policies, pioneered by the US at the time, began to take over gradually.

### **2.2.1.2. The Development of Planning History in West Europe through Regulations**

#### **2.2.1.2.1. France**

After World War II, the demographic structure changed in France as well as in the other European countries. The population started to increase rapidly. In particular, the growth rate of population in Paris was way ahead of other regions, which led an influx of immigration to the city. Whereupon, the government of France determined 8 growth poles in order to regain economic and demographic stability. Public investments were made to these regions. Railways and highways were built in these growth poles to help these regions improve and flourish.

Although they were abundant in number, local governments were not as powerful as the French Central government. The planning process was executed as by the national government who always favored the wellbeing of the whole and bigger and local governments joined in to fill in the details which again needed approval of the national government (Levy, 1988).

#### **2.2.1.2.2. Germany**

Planning activities in Germany were also troubled by the reconstruction process of post-World War II cities. The Ruhr Coalfield Settlement Association (SVR) was first established before the World War II in the 1920s to protect the landscape that had been deteriorating due to mining and industrial activities. Hence, it can be said that the first planning activity for Germany is the establishment of the SVR. Then, with the World War II, the lack of housing problems arose. Planning activities were enlarged and intensified along with the economy accelerating in the 1960s (Levy, 1988, p.321).

Germany, like USA, has a federal structure and the states determine their own planning activities. Unlike USA, there is a federal law that provides a framework for planning in order to ensure a unity across the country. In 1956, the Federal Regional Planning Act was enacted as a framework law.

#### **2.2.1.3. The Development of History of Planning in the USA through Regulations**

The history of planning in the USA presents a different picture than Britain and other European countries in terms of understanding. One of the main reasons for this is that the US has a federal structure. In this context, the regulation system is different in urban planning history. There is no one, comprehensive planning regulation for the whole country.

The system of planning in the US is closely related to the concept of zoning. All 50 states execute their own planning programs. The contingency is provided thanks to a zoning system. Each and every state applies zoning in conjunction with the State Standard Zoning Enabling Act issued in 1920 by Department of Commerce (Cullingworth & Caves, 1997). This was presented as a frame to the states. Still, every state is free to determine its own rules and regulations. The aforementioned regulation is the only one that sets general, comprehensive guidelines. The State Standard Zoning Enabling Act introduced some rules and regulations to improve health, safety and general welfare.

City Beautiful Movement was promising in terms of being able to improve the physical space and social relations. Nevertheless, it was observed that this approach couldn't reach the desired results in practice. Other than City Beautiful movement, this approach also lacked the competency to meet the needs and solve existing problems. Zoning arose as an answer to many problems. Stone describes zoning as the heaven-sent nostrum for sick cities, the wonder drug of the planners, the balm sought by lending institutions and householders alike. He says that city after city worked itself into a state of acute apprehension until it could adopt a zoning ordinance (Cullingworth & Caves, 1997).

To sum up, the history of regulations and legislations on urban planning systems in USA, Britain and other European countries reveals that even though there are some slight differences at some points in all these neoliberal countries, especially until 1980s, the planning system rolled along the dominant and powerful direction of the state. At the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the role of planners changed, so did the role of planning. From early 1900s till neoliberal period, planners and the planning profession underwent a change of perception in the eyes of governments as well as public. Urban planners, in particular, experienced a shift in their preferences and started engaging in the works in private sector which has changed and been subject to marketization with the changing world order and neoliberalization.

### **2.2.2. Planning Profession and Planners in Private Sector before the Neoliberal Period**

In the early 1990s, planners were considered to be more design-oriented professionals who were supposed to design the physical space and weren't into thinking over and also weren't expected to think over the social and economic aspects of it. Moreover, planners were regarded as the elites who did not communicate with the people for whom they were going to do the plans (Hall, 1996). Soon after The Great Depression experienced in the USA and Second World War, it became clear that there had to be a shift in the understanding and perception of planning. This idea paved the way for discussions in academia as well. The fact that the structure of the society cannot be altered and improved only by arranging the physical space became apparent thanks to some trends including city beautiful movement, etc. By the end of the first half of the



20<sup>th</sup> century, the transformation of the planner had begun. The planner was no longer just a technician looking out from the physical point of view, but also a social scientist, an economist. This transformation possessed similar characteristics in all developed countries.

With the 1960s, the idea that planning and profession of planning is a branch of science but not just a craft settled in and inspired fruitful arguments (Davidoff, 1965). As a result of these, planners were expected to adopt scientific approaches such as conducting data analysis and quantitative methodologies. Planners were criticized for similar points as comprehensive planning approach. They were blamed for acting like technicians who could make decisions that will affect the upcoming 20-30 years. Such privileged knowledge could not be granted to the planners. That marked the end of the golden age for planners lasting until 1950s. Transformation of planning concepts and the economically changing world created profound variations in planning as well.

Spencer states that between 1930 and 1940, the interaction between planners and elected officials was quite limited. Politicians were quite satisfied with this gap as long as planners kept their attention on long-term matters other than daily issues of the city (as cited in Brooks, 1988). Being criticized for staying ignorant of each other, in the following years after 1940, however, elected officials and planners became closer (Brooks, 1988). The period of comprehensive planning was the golden era for planners since it was independent of any interference. They were assured of technical capacities and were provided with perfect settings in which they had only their works to worry about nothing extra or additional (Batty, 1979 as cited in Hall, 2001).

### **2.3. Neoliberal Urbanization**

The aim here is to discuss the role of neoliberalism in the emergence of urban planning market. In the pre-neoliberal period, we discussed how urban planning market was shaped and by which factors it was guided. We will try to understand how the cities changed and were transformed with neoliberalization and what the

role of the state here was. Briefly, in the process of neoliberalization, the state used planning as a driving force and tool for development.

The crisis that started in the late 1960s and in the beginning of 1970s led the capitalist system to change and transform. Along with the system, urbanization policies have changed and transformed as well. In order to understand neoliberal urbanization we need to answer the following questions: What is neoliberalism? How did it emerge? Which countries adopted it and how were they affected by it? After addressing these questions, we will examine the neoliberal urbanization and how the planning profession was altered in this period.

### **2.3.1. The Definition of Neoliberalism and Its Roots**

Fordist production and Keynesian welfare state policies, which rose rapidly after the Second World War and were at the forefront for 25 years, began to experience crisis when we reached the middle of the 1960s. Keynesian welfare state policies were born in 1930 to defeat Great Depression. Keynesian policies encountered difficulties after its golden age during the period of 1945 to 1960. The crisis of capital accumulation, high unemployment rates, and global “stagflation” began to take place. An alternative was needed to overcome this crisis that lasted until the end of the 1970s because the Keynesian policies were of no use (Harvey, 2005).

The crisis of the welfare state has led to new restructuring of capitalism. Policies, practices, and institutions that had served to the purpose of capital accumulation of capitalism were no longer able to do so. Capitalism abandoned the Keynesian compromise in the hope that neoliberalism could improve the performance of profit and accumulation (Campbell, 2007). The US definition of neoliberal ideology is based on the belief that open, competitive and unregulated markets liberated from the intervention of the state and the actions of the social collectives are the most appropriate mechanism for socio-economic development (Brenner, Peck & Theodore, 2009).

The neoliberal period was actually a new form of restructuring applied by capitalism to overcome its crisis. Campbell (2007) distinguishes the idea of neoliberalism from Keynesian welfare state policies as follows:

Neoliberal thought argues that the most important thing in terms of operating profits is to reduce costs other than production, sales and growth. Mechanization or improvement of management reduces costs, but this also includes reducing labor costs or increasing the pace of work. With the neoliberal policy, the agreement between capital and labor in the Keynesian period deteriorated and the policies of slowing down the wages and social assistance became prominent (p.57).

There are two main common features of development strategies that started after World War II and these maintained their dominance until the early 1980s. The first one is the central role of the state in these processes. The second is that, in the hands of the state, the planning institution functioned as the most strategic tool of directing the development process (Şengül, 2002).

The role of the state is to create an institutional framework in accordance with these practices, and then to preserve that framework. In theory, it is a system in which the state exists only for the market to operate where market dominance is extremely strong (Harvey, 2005). However; in theory it is desirable to create a free market environment that is completely free of state intervention, the actual neoliberalism is different; There is a system of serious disconnections between the ideology and practice in which the state itself is involved (Harvey, 2005; Brenner, Peck & Theodore, 2009).

It should be highlighted that neoliberalism is not about allowing the free trade of markets or, in general, the elimination of government regulations on markets. Markets never work freely. This claim is a part of the neoliberal ideology. Both markets and the environments in which they operate are always created by government regulations and they cannot exist without them (Campbell, 2007, p.53).

As mentioned above, the period of neo-liberalization is an attempt of capitalism to redefine itself to escape from its crises. Going through the neo-liberalization processes in developed countries around the world, we will take a closer look at how it defines itself in the world and whether there are differences between countries.

### **2.3.2. Neoliberal City**

Neoliberal urbanization increases the need and speed of planning changes and flexibility. State public planners were not enough.

Neoliberalization began to show itself in all areas in 1980s. The attempt to overcome the crisis that capitalism began to live in the beginning of 1960s and early 1970s by means of neoliberal policies had paid off. Capitalism renewed its organization. Lefebvre (1974) claims that space is something that is produced. For him space is a commodity produced by human labor. According to him, the reason why capitalism survived in some way is the fact that capitalism discovered, “the production of space”. Harvey (y:1989, p :92), on the other hand, argues that, as opposed to what Lefebvre said, it was able to survive not only because of the production of space but also because of its ability to build a stronger control and dominance over the space.

When we look at the effects of Neoliberalization on the city, it is seen that capitalism improved and altered itself in the embedded neoliberal period prior to neoliberal period by using the city and urban space. However, with the neoliberal period, this improved rapidly and caused unequal spatial developments. The neoliberal city has now become a place where more inequality, polarization was born and the impacts of capitalism were felt deeply and intensely.

Planning as a profession in Turkey - a topic we will elaborate on in Chapter 3, was acknowledged and nourished later compared to the neoliberal countries. It was recognized in 1900s in countries such as America and U.K. while same process didn't occur until the second half of the 1900s in Turkey.

The nation-state concept in Turkey officially began with the establishment of the republic in 1923. Nation-state struggles to dominate urban space in order to realize its legitimacy. From 1923 to 1950, until the period of mass immigration from rural to cities, state tried to consolidate its legitimacy by making public investments in Anatolian cities. Yet, the state was not still interested in designing the cities. Due to intense migration from rural to urban areas in the 1950s, the

state was hesitant, therefore, it tried to manage the process with minimal interference and limited urban policies, which caused various problems including quick spread of squats. In 1980, as the importance of the cities for the capital widely understood, intensive, wide-ranging urban policies were initiated. This was the beginning of continuous enthusiasm in planning in Turkey (Şengül, 2009).

The way the planning profession was perceived by the society changed over the years as the planning institutions changed. The plans made in the first period of the Republic were about planning the city as an object. The plans were named after their planners; Jansen Plan, Like a Proust Plan. Later, it was understood that this approach could not solve the problems. So did the role of the planner begin to change. The institutionalization of the planning profession in Turkey has its roots in these times (Tekeli, 2009).

### **2.3.3. Planners in Neoliberal Era**

Planners, then, were expected to take a position on the market's side and act in a manner that will be for the benefit of it.

Together with the neoliberal policies implemented by Thatcher in Britain, the planning and the system of planning changed. Planners then perceived themselves as partners who work together with the market and aim to develop the private sector. Otherwise, it would be impossible to survive (Taylor, 1998).

As the idea of urbanization experienced a shift in 1980s, planning was redefined. In 1900s it was mostly about art and craftsmanship. Later, after World War II, it was accepted as a profession that should be conducted in line with the teachings of science and should serve the best for the public. So, paying less attention to public interest, planners directed their interests to private sector. The reason at the center of this turnaround may be the fact that the pressure on the planner was higher than any other period. The difference between market and academic planning education system started to extend. The contradictions of and pressures on the new graduates of planning programs, who acquired the principles of planning and the idea of public interest and also were educated to be advocates of

the belief that had a high opinion of public and disadvantaged sections of the society as opposed to capital and what's best for the capital, were intensifying and becoming a burden.

The planners were expected to adapt to the technology and innovative developments, which had become more and more important in this period. The concept of comprehensive planning in the classical sense was replaced by a project-based, innovative, regeneration and megaproject approach. Hall draws attention to this by pointing out the fact that planner was increasingly identified with his traditional adversary, the developer; the gamekeeper turned poacher (Hall, 1996, p.415).

#### **2.3.4. Planning Organizations and Certification System in Neoliberal Countries**

In this section, we will examine the planning organizations in the neoliberal countries such as America, U.K. We will look at the urban planner authorization systems if there is any.

In Chapter 3 and following chapters, the fact that the system of licenses is strictly implemented by the state will surface as we advance in the explanations regarding how and in what ways the urban planning market is formed. On the other hand, in the other neoliberal countries including the USA and U.K, it is known that this system is not regulated by the state. Based on this fact, it can be deduced that marketization is stronger in these countries and the state does not play a leading role.

##### **2.3.4.1. USA**

It is argued that the planning system in America is different than the European countries. As a result of this, planning institutions and organizations differ from other neoliberal countries. The largest organization for planning is the American Planning Association. In addition, there is American Institute of Certified Planners, which certifies urban planners with the authority to plan.

- **American Planning Association:** When American Institute of Planners and the American Society of Planning Officials were eliminated, an association was established as an independent institution. It has 38,000 members (APA, 2019). The roots of APA go back to 1900s in parallel with the history of planning in America which can be tracked back to the earliest of 1900s.
- **American Institute of Certified Planners:** This institute groups and certifies the urban planners in America. The American Institute of Certified Planners authorizes planners according to their qualifications. This certification is based on a voluntary system and is not mandatory like the competency license system in Turkey. New graduates are required to pass the exam of the American Institute of Certified Planners in order to be licensed. This independent institution is the only entity that awards this prestigious license. Only 2 states in America oblige planners to receive this license. In these states, only planners who have obtained the license can do planning works. It is stated on the APA website that 16,500 of the 38,000 members are certified.

The certification is given by AICP, an independent organization, and there are many urban planners who are members of APA but not accredited by AICP. This may be due to the non-compulsory nature of the accreditation. There is also a classification system according to the degrees of the licenses. All require separate qualifications. For instance, to get certified with a basic level license, you need to have a 2-year-long experience.

#### **2.3.4.2. Britain**

The planning practices in Britain were pursued through more centralized approach and under the control of the state. When we look at the national organizations about planning, the largest organization is the Royal Town Planning Institute.

- **Royal Town Planning Institute:** Founded in London in 1914, RTPI is the largest planning institute in Europe with 25,000 members. It accepts members not only from Britain but welcomes planners from all over the world. While 59% of the members of the Institute work in public sector, 30% of the

members is active in private sector and 11% of the members are from other sectors (RTPI, 2019). RTPI was established to improve the planning profession the technical infrastructure required for better planning of cities. RTPI also has a certification system. Like AICP, RTPI also provides competency licenses in various levels with exams. The certification system here also is not mandatory as in the USA and accreditation is granted only by this independent non-government organization. As a source of prestige and a tool for networking in USA and U.K, accreditation in these countries is done in a different way from Turkey. Planners apply voluntarily and are awarded with the suitable license in accordance with their qualifications.

In other European countries, there is no certification system for urban planners working in the private or public sector. The certification system in Britain and USA is one of the topics discussed in the Europe and American academic circles. It is questioned for being a thing of the past and lacking the need to meet the needs of present, specifically what has been brought by neoliberalization. CL system has become completely questionable with the conflict occurred between the role of the planner and the market.

## **2.4. Conclusion**

Planning has been used as a tool used to keep up with the capitalist order of the neoliberal period. The theoretical emergence of planning started with the Industrial Revolution. It was born as a necessity as a result of the health problems in cities that interrupted the functioning of the system. Later, various approaches such as comprehensive planning, incremental planning advocacy planning etc. tried to handle it. In this context, the planner was re-discovered as a hero who would fix the faults in the design of the cities and ensure the flawless functioning of the system. As the role of the planner in the pre-neoliberal period was to defend the public interest and to follow the principles of planning, planning with the neoliberal period has become a tool used for rapid urbanization, hence a means of accelerating the urbanization process and the capital. Planner took part in the pre-determined, fictitious environment created by the state. In conclusion the state was the main agent in this period controlling and leading urbanization and related activities.



## CHAPTER 3

### URBANIZATION POLICY IN TURKEY DURING THE 1980S AND URBAN PLANNING MARKET

The main point of Chapter 3 is to clarify how the urbanization policies of the state that started in 1980s in Turkey led to the creation of a market that we will call “urban planning market”. In this chapter, in what ways urban planning market was created by the state policies and how they were shaped by regulations afterwards will be examined. In the first section of the chapter, the urbanization policies in Turkey enacted throughout neoliberal period will be analyzed. Following that, the shaping of this market by state-originated regulations will be detailed. The relationship between the state and urban planning market depicted in Figure 1.1 will be explained with references to direct and indirect connections and relations.

#### 3.1. Introduction

The urbanization process after 1980 and planning in general and the profession of planning in regards to this process will be examined. In order to understand planning market in the neoliberal period, the urbanization process starting from the foundation of Turkish republic to 1980s has to be summarized.

Table 3.1: Periodization of Urbanization in Turkey

Periods	Urbanizations Layers	Years
1.Period	Urbanization of Nation-State	1923-50
2.Period	Urbanization of Labor Force	1950-80
3.Period	Urbanization of the Capital	After 1980

*Source: Şengül, 2001, p. 103*

The urbanization process in Turkey is also capitalist-based similar to other rent-based neoliberal cities. Despite the lack of enough capital accumulation contrary to other developed countries, the urbanization process in Turkey had a capitalist point of view from the very beginning of the establishment of the republic.

1st Period The Republic of Turkey has witnessed radical reforms throughout its transition from Ottoman Empire, a formation of multi-cultural, multi-national structure, to a nation-state. There has been a constant effort to centralize in every area, which had an impact upon the urbanization processes as well. Tekeli (1982) notes that the urbanization and urbanizing process starting in 19th century and lasting until World War II took place slowly. There is a significant difference of pace between the urbanization speed after 1980 and following the declaration of Turkish Republic

The centralization efforts, the basis of the nation-state, are seen in this period. The actions such as the assignment of Ankara as the capital and public investments and the efforts to improve small provinces are implications of this aim. Şengül (2001) emphasizes that at the time the state's attempt to dominate the cities were unsuccessful and explains the reasons for this as;

The ineffectiveness of planning and other regulatory tools, combined with the multi-part structure of the urban property regime, has turned into an urban scene with many actors involved. The state could not establish dominance at the urban level. Thus, the fate of the urban space began to be determined by small-scale interests (p.120).

At the time, the state tried to make the nation-state sustainable by centralizing and struggled to lay a ground for the improvement of the newly found state by putting public investments into practice. However; due to lack of enough economic power, the state failed to achieve these goals.

“After World War II, together with the intense immigration movement from rural to urban, the state wholly lost its incomplete dominance over the city” (Şengül, 2001, p.121). “After the World War II, neither the level of economic development nor the administrative organization was ready to solve the problems caused by a

6% urbanization rate that was observed in all cities” (Tekeli, 1982, p.233). It was noted that the period of nation-state formation came to an end with heavy immigration from country to cities. The onset of rapid urbanization cleared off this period which hadn’t been a success even before these immigration movements.

2nd Period When spatial structure during the urbanization of labor is examined, it is seen that the process first started with mechanization in the agricultural sector. Labor surplus emerged in the country due to the decreasing need of labor thanks to mechanization which enabled agricultural activities to be done with fewer work forces, that is human involvement, which caused an influx of labor force immigration to cities.

Table 3.2: Urban and Rural Population by Years

Census year	Total	City population	Village population	(%)	
				City	Village
	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total
<b>1927</b>	13 648 270	3 305 879	10 342 391	24,22	75,78
<b>1935</b>	16 158 018	3 802 642	12 355 376	23,53	76,47
<b>1940</b>	17 820 950	4 346 249	13 474 701	24,39	75,61
<b>1945</b>	18 790 174	4 687 102	14 103 072	24,94	75,06
<b>1950</b>	20 947 188	5 244 337	15 702 851	25,04	74,96
<b>1955</b>	24 064 763	6 927 343	17 137 420	28,79	71,21
<b>1960</b>	27 754 820	8 859 731	18 895 089	31,92	68,08
<b>1965</b>	31 391 421	10 805 817	20 585 604	34,42	65,58
<b>1970</b>	35 605 176	13 691 101	21 914 075	38,45	61,55
<b>1975</b>	40 347 719	16 869 068	23 478 651	41,81	58,19
<b>1980</b>	44 736 957	19 645 007	25 091 950	43,91	56,09

Source: TÜİK, *Statistical Tables and Dynamic Inquiry*

In 1950s the population migrated from rural to urban places began to settle in squatter houses. Along with the new immigration wave and the spread of the squatters to the existing space and because of inadequacy of the state to gain full control over the city, no proper policy was produced to overcome this new formation (Şengül, 2001). It was considered that this movement could be prevented by prohibitions and demolition of slums. This suggestion was made because the importance of cheap labor, which was piled up in the city, was not

evaluated properly in terms of capitalist process” (Tekeli, 2011, p. 42). By the 1960s, the fact that people living in the slums formed a significant part of the urban population had forced politicians to reach an agreement with the slums.

Table 3.3: The Ratios of Squatter Houses by Years

<b>YEARS</b>	<b>SQUATTER HOUSES</b>	<b>POPULATION LIVING IN SQUATTER HOUSES</b>	<b>THEIR SHARE OF URBAN POPULATION (%)</b>
<b>1955</b>	50.000	250.000	4.7
<b>1960</b>	240.000	1.200.000	16.4
<b>1965</b>	430.000	2.150.000	22.9
<b>1970</b>	600.000	3.000.000	23.6
<b>1980</b>	1.150.000	5.750.000	26.1

*Source: Keleş, 1990 (2010) 11<sup>th</sup> ed.*

The change and transformation of urbanization process can be better observed in the urbanization policies included in the Development Plans of which the State Planning Organization was in charge starting from 1963. “In the First Five-Year Development Plan (1963-1967) “unlimited growth of cities was not desired; rather it was suggested that the growth of cities had to be provided with the job opportunities they offered”. Second Five-Year Development Plan (1968-1972) proposed that “urbanization should be considered as a driving power behind economy and a “phenomenon to be supported” which emerged as a result of industrialization, economic and social development. In the Third Five-Year Development Plan (1973-1977) and Fourth Five-Year Development Plan (1978-1983) the main focus slid from “slowing down the speed of urbanization” to turning the cities into “livable” habitats. Although it is seen that in the state policies the importance of urbanization for capital was overlooked in 1960s, towards the end of 1960s and in the beginning of 1970s, this significance was noticed gradually (Keleş, 1984).

Urbanization conducts until 1980 which is called the nation-state period and when neoliberal policies were adopted show us that the state didn’t dominate the urban space and there was an ongoing urbanization phenomenon driven by the interests of the middle classes. In the process of urbanization of labor, there has been a process of urbanization that tried to articulate on the previous phenomenon.

Squatters were at the forefront and the state was not fully involved. In the nation-state period, the state itself tried to provide equal development by making investments. In the period of urbanization of labor, on the other hand, the state withdrew from taking part as an economic actor (Şengül, 2001).

One of the noticeable criticisms directed at planners from the establishment of the Republic until the 1980s, was that it had been regarded as an elitist profession. The most important reason for this is planning and implementation of planning are handled as two separate processes and they are isolated from each other (Yener, 1989). In relation to that, planners kept complaining about their plans being not implemented as designed and ordered in the first place, which deepened the gap between public and the planner.

### **3.2. The History of Neoliberal Urbanization in Turkey**

In Turkey, the neoliberal era officially began with the January 24 Measurements. While before 1980, import substitution industrialization approach was applied, with the 1980s a development strategy prioritizing export was put into effect. A number of policies were developed in an effort to branch out. New concepts such as localization, governance and privatization, and neoliberal policies began to be implemented. This period beginning with the military coup marked the beginning of a new era for Turkish cities.

Periodization of the 40 years from 1980s to today will allow us to better understand the situation of neoliberal urbanization in Turkey. Therefore, the years between 1980 and 2002 will be termed as First Period; the years between 2002 and 2019 will be referred as Second Neoliberal Urbanization period. First period starts with the January 24 decisions and ends with 2002 general elections whereas second period covers the time from when AKP government came to power until today.

#### **3.2.1. Neoliberal Urbanization in Turkey in the Period of 1980 -2002**

The aim of January 24 Measures was to make the transition to neoliberalism easy with policies such as opening up the country's economy to the outside world,

reducing the weight of the state in the economy sector, flexible exchange rates, introducing foreign capital into the country and encouraging the private sector to reach an effective role in the market.

One of the main features of this period is decentralization efforts all around the world. Turkey tried to accommodate to the decentralization trend that began in the 1980s. It adapted a variety of reforms and laws to comply with the developments. From the 1980s until the 1990s, compatibility with the neoliberal economic policies was on the agenda. This period is said to be a period when central government lost power and local administrations gained strength. The regulations, Law on the Management of Metropolitan Municipalities numbered 3030 (27.06.1984) and Urban Development Law No: 3194 (09.05.1985) that gave municipalities the right to approve plans can be regarded as efforts for localization (Keskinok, 1988).

An amnesty of construction with regards to slums and squatter houses was witnessed between the years 1980 and 1990. Five different amnesty laws for squatter districts were executed in total. Turkey's absolute confrontation with the concept of squatters happened after World War II. The squatters issue arose as a consequence of intense immigration from villages to cities and due to the inability of the state to develop an immediate and responsive housing policy. In 1948 there were 25-30 thousand squatter houses in big cities. In 1953, by the time the Law no. 6188 concerning the squatters came into force, the number of shantytowns had reached 80 thousand. It was 240 thousand in 1960 and 1.5 million in 1983 (Keleş, 1984, p.493).

In this period, short-term, direct-interest-based partial development plans and fragmented decisions were extended against the Master Plans that were put forward in the scope of comprehensive plans (Keskinok, 2006, p. 100). To exemplify, Keskinok (2006) comments:

Based on the Law on the Encouragement of Tourism No. 2634 in 1983, certain regions were declared as tourism regions by the central government, irrespective of the comprehensive framework of the master plans at the level of regions, areas and even parcels, especially in big cities. With this law, which gave privileged urban planning rights to

tourism centers, in contrast with the urban planning regulations and Turkey's planning system planning decisions that reach the level of parcels were directly within the jurisdiction of the Prime Minister (p.101).

Keskinok (2006) adds that 1990s passed in line with the previous 10 years and new laws complying with and adding to the former ones were adapted. The Privatization Law, which was launched in 1994, aiming to systematize short-term, fragmentary interventions at the legal level, was the most systematic attack against the planning system in Turkey in terms of scope and approaches. Within the scope of the privatization of public lands, the law also foresaw the privatization of all the assets of SEEs, as well as the sale of land and the privatization of them, which will be decided by the Privatization High Council (p. 102). In brief, the efficiency of planning was reduced to partial decisions away from unity and they were limited to issues directly related to land.

Even though the capital dominated the urban area with the start of 1980, the dominant elements of the previous periods, that are state and labor-power, continued to urbanize in a certain interaction with capital (Şengül, 2001, p.105). As a result, the main objective of the transformation after 1980 was to provide a transition from a model of city management that centered the reproduction of labor to a model based on urban entrepreneurialism, which prioritized the reproduction of capital (Harvey, 1989). By the end of the 1980s, the investments devoted to industrialization ended. Due to the fact that the state did not take the lead, urban investments and the related rents gained importance after 1980 and industrial investments became an alternative (Şengül, 2001). Consequently, Turkey's focus diverted away from production. It became consumption oriented and started to take advantage of the urban place for this purpose.

Privatizing the traditional municipal services, local governments embarked on major projects such as urban infrastructure allowing for the reproduction of capital (Şengül, 2001, p.177). The biggest difference of the structure that emerged after 1980 is that local governments increasingly sparked attention of large-scale capital. Within this framework, not only companies operating on a national scale, but also international companies initiated business with local governments (Şengül, 2001).

### **3.2.2. Neoliberal Urbanization in Turkey in the Period of 2002-2019**

A new era began in Turkey after the economic downturn experienced in 2001 and AKP government came to power after the general elections held later. The repercussions of this new era surfaced in the cities soon after. With the change of the central government in 2002, the policies implemented also changed. Özkazanç (2005) pointed out that;

In the new era when an economic crisis was taking place on a national scale and political developments were happening on a global scale, the kind of neoliberal policies that had been being implemented in the last 20 years reached their structural limits and, a transition to a more rational phase of legal and political framework was being organized.

Eraydın (2013), on the other hand, states that After 2000s, the great interest shown by state in urban space and urban rent was the awakening to the power of this sector in the economy. Construction sector's multiplying effect in other sectors deepened the interest in this field in Turkey as well. As a result, economy revived and developed in a short time. The central government finding a way to economic recovery in the reproduction of urban space did not leave it in the hands of free market. The government, itself, pioneered.

Eraydın and Taşan-Kok (2013) explains the underlying reasons for that as;

The new government, however, was not confident that the market dynamics would be able to keep up with the momentum of growth in urban areas. It recognized the obstacles: the limited availability of urban land; and difficulties of renewal and reconstruction in the built-up areas due to complex ownership patterns. Therefore, instead of relying on market dynamics, the government decided to take a more active role. It changed the regulation to facilitate reconstruction in built-up areas, and it assigned special rights and responsibilities to several central state departments.

The government itself issued a series of laws in order to play a role in shaping the urban space. These are the laws that are intended to reproduce the urban transformation and space, and laws that activate various mechanisms as well as deactivating some others slowing down the system. With regard to urban



transformation, the North Ankara Entrance Urban Transformation Project Law No. 5104, which entered into force in 2004, was enacted only for this region. With this law, urban transformation was allowed only there. Then, in 2005, the Law No. 5366 on Renovating, Conserving and Actively Using Dilapidated Historical and Cultural Assets was one of the other laws that were enacted in order to revive the areas that hadn't been used in historical areas and had been worn out destroyed.

To create healthy and safe living environment in accordance with the norms and standards of science and art, Law No. 6306 on the Transformation of Areas under Disaster Risk, which came into force on 16.05.2012 determined the procedures and principles regarding liquidation and renewal in order to improve the areas under the risk of disaster. In addition to these areas, for lands and places where risky structures were present, The Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, TOKI and Municipalities had full authority to implement this law. The Municipal Law No. 5393, issued in 2005, granted municipalities authority on Urban Transformation. One of the duties of TOKI as it was mentioned in the founding law was to develop urbanization projects in cooperation with the municipalities. After that, with the law numbered 5609 issued in 2007, TOKI became the only authorized institution. This is one of the signs showing that centralization came to the forefront instead of localization in the neoliberal period after 2002.

On the one hand while the primary importance of economic development in shaping the urban area requires 'market-oriented' transformation, governance systems equipped with entrepreneurship redefine urban actors. Local governments and planners, who have had a say in the public interest in shaping the urban area so far, are now the main actors in the activation of entrepreneurship (Güzey, 2012, p.66).

The applications and steps related to the decentralization of the management continued in the period beginning with 2002, termed as the 2nd neoliberal period. Here are some of the regulations issued between 2004-2005; Law on Metropolitan Municipalities no. 5216 (10.07.2004); Law on Municipalities no. 5272 (07.12.2004), Law on Special Provincial Administrations no. 5302 (22.05.2005). However, immediately after the adoption of the aforementioned laws, some of the

articles were changed immediately and new statements were added. Especially, many changes were made with omnibus bills<sup>1</sup> (Eraydın, 2012).

Eraydın and Taşan Kok (2013) At the beginning of the 2000s, many responsibilities of central authorities were transferred to the local governments within the framework of the decentralization. However; then it was renounced and taken back from the local governments and given to the central organs such as TOKİ, The Ministry of Environment and Urbanization etc. One of the significant differences between the neoliberal urbanization mechanisms between the period 1980-2000 and the neoliberal urbanization policies from 2002 until today that while in the first period decentralized governance models were implemented, in the second phase all of that power was recentralized.

In particular, efforts such as giving the power to the center rather than local (Eraydın, 2012) is an evidence of the fact that neoliberal policies consider cities as entities having potential to compete globally and a source of finance. In cities such as Istanbul, which are supported and promoted so that they could compete on a global scale, the presentation of mega projects (Çilgin Proje, Kanal İstanbul) by the central government not by the local entity (in this case metropolitan municipality) and the involvement of Prime Minister in the announcement and even in the design shows that the city is nothing but a total commodity to neoliberal policies.

Neoliberal policies were implemented in a more authoritarian way. What made authoritarianization possible is the redefinition of spatial construction in the country (Şahin, 2013). In this period, the impact of neoliberal policies on cities was not equally same. Although the most influential period appears to be this period, not all cities were affected in the same way. Taşan-Kok (2015) highlights path dependency as the reason for why cities respond differently to same global developments. They refer to path dependency and contingent factors as indications of what shapes the differences in the neoliberal processes that Turkish

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<sup>1</sup> Omnibus bills are simply packages of budget measures and policy changes, a way for lawmakers to bundle similar proposals together in one place.

cities have gone through. For instance, according to Taşan-Kok, the case that AKP came into power in 2002 is a contingent event, so is economic crisis.

At this stage of neoliberalism, a dual approach is adopted. On one hand, a number of interventions such as the presentation of common consumption goods and the improvement of the habitats of disadvantaged groups in order to achieve social improvement are done, on the other hand, an aim to develop policies and plans in search of expanding the activities that will increase the surplus and rent in the city is pursued (Eraydın, 2013).

### **3.3. The Profession of Planning and its Transformation before the Neoliberal Period in Turkey**

When we look at the changes and transformations that the planning profession has undergone, it is important to examine the period before Neoliberal Time separately in order to understand the planners and the planning profession. It is better to divide the time from the establishment of the Republic to 1980s into two periods. First period covers the years between 1923 and 1945, second period entitles the years from 1945 to 1980. The changes that the planning profession went through will be analyzed in the same manner that was done for neoliberal urbanization periodization.

Before the foundation of the Republic, planning was a professional activity run by topographic engineers. After Republic, termed as first period in this text, planning and planning profession was defined over beautification of the cities. Therefore, architects became the leading actors. Moreover, in the same period, planning changed its perspective from partial to comprehensive approaches that take into consideration the whole city. At that time, public interest was of the utmost importance and planner was “sacred”(Tekeli, 2007).

During that time, since there were not many planners in Turkey, people (Jansen, Löhrer etc.) were invited from abroad to realize projects. Şengül (2007) defines this kind of planning as “author planner”. What is meant by this is that the

interdisciplinary role of planning hadn't surfaced yet and plans were done only by planners. Other occupational groups had no impact.

When it was 1950s, described as the second period, the profession of planning began to institutionalize. The urban plan is considered to be an interdisciplinary scientific activity that is no longer a responsibility to be entrusted to a person. In this period, it was accepted that the growth of a city could be predicted based on scientific knowledge (Tekeli, 2007). Tekeli (2007) also states that the concept of public interest was the basis of the planner and planning. Unlike the previous period, the planner was the first among the equals that directs the interdisciplinary work rather than a superior creator.

Şengül (2007) claims that planning developed into team planning diverting from "author planner". It became an interdisciplinary profession. The Planning Bureaus, which were established by the Ministry and transferred to the related Municipalities, shattered the author planner view and started to accommodate the idea of team planning. The plans that emerged as a result of this passed beyond the nature of the physical plan and began to carry positive features including researches, scales and steps involving different sectors of urban life.

### **3.4. The Profession of Planning and its Transformation in the Neoliberal Period in Turkey**

Market and planning are two alternative mechanisms and methods in the distribution of resources. If markets are the major tool of neoliberal applications, planning is not a credited tool and institutionalization in the neoliberal environment (Balamir, 2007). Market and planning are two different areas which are always expected to clash due to their different formations in nature. As the market functions using the logic of deregulation, decontrol, privatization, user fees (Dyckman, 1983), the planning and planning profession is based on concepts such as public interest and planning principles. Therefore, planning and the market are always two areas that are expected to conflict with each other. Nevertheless, Harvey (1986) says that in today's capitalist system, planning and market logic do not function in contradiction with each other, but planning works

in a way that facilitates the work of the market. The role of the state in this is tremendous. The state itself controls planning and operates according to the market logic. On that account, although the planner is the authority that is expected to make plans considering public interest, social justice, etc., the core of these concepts is eviscerated and they are obliged to work in the re-accumulation of the capital. According to Harvey, the planner is only one of the many mechanisms by which the state makes sure that the market operates without causing crisis.

At the same time, the Liberals do not define the relationship between market and planning as opposites. Richardson and Gordon (1993) points out that planner should act according to this purpose in order to maintain the market's proper functioning and not to cause market failure. This view supports the idea that the market attends to efficiency, the planners look after equity." (Richardson & Gordon, 1993). In 1990s and 2000s, property developers played an important role in urban development instead of planners. The role of the planner faded. It was highly defended that planning must be a more partial, short-term, opportunity-driven activity. So it happened in the end. The planners couldn't grasp the period. Their education was not designed for this as well. They were not educated to know how the Capitalist system works and what it provides. So, they were unaware of the benefits of the new order.

The public dimension of planning is important, because producing solutions in urban planning doesn't correspond to making planning decisions. The urban planners are not decision makers but professionals who guide and warn them. Beyond doubt, planning has a management function. However, preparing a plan doesn't mean managing it. Therefore, we should not forget that the recommendations are expressed in the planning documents turn into planning decisions only when they are adopted by the decision-makers (Bademli, 2005). For this reason with the changes in routines and manners, the role of the planner in this period has decreased completely. Due to the plans that were partial, short termed, the importance of the planner subsided.

Balamir (2007) claims that when technical decisions are made with political tendencies, the assumption that elected ones are competent in every subject prevails. This, according to Balamir is the political party's control over the Professional authority. The planning was ineffective during this period and because of that the planner was also neutralized. The impact of planners in Turkey on the general public is said to be less than the planners' influence in the other countries which have completed the process of capital accumulation. This is due to Turkey's ownership structure and partial planning understanding. With the neoliberal policies, the impact area that wasn't wide at all lessened more.

Şengül argues that, in the post-1980 period, first giving importance to localization and enhancing the municipalities' authorities in terms of planning, later giving up these policies, focusing back on centralization (especially after 2000) centralization led to a scattered organization (Şengül, 2007). The dominant centralism of the period before 1980 decreased considerably in the post-1980, and the municipalities started to act independently, but the central government had maintained its powers in tourism and similar fields. Especially in areas that are subject to privatization, central government units acquired the power to plan. TOKİ became prominent in the area of housing. To sum up, the long-term and public interest-centered characteristics of planning became questionable in this period. Another feature that distinguishes this period from others is the loss of faith in planning and planners (Şengül, 2007).

The competence of the planner was open to questioning as capital accumulation mattered most. At the time when projects were popular, what was demanded from the planners was to find technical solutions to the decisions of big investors, which discredited the planner's authority. In short, the planner and the planning institution became alienated from the concepts they had acquired in relation to their legitimacy (Şengül, 2007).

After 1980, the public quickly began to delegate its powers to market mechanisms. The planning and planning profession got its share from this.

Urban Planning market -as we call it -which will be discussed in detail in chapter 4 and 5, was formed by the state by handing over the works related to planning.

### **3.5. Urban Planning Profession in Academia in Turkey**

The history of urban planning in the academic field begins with the establishment of Department of City and Regional Planning in METU in 1961. As of 2019, the academic education of planning, which has been offered for more than 100 years in the World, is celebrating its 58th year in Turkey. After foundation, the department could not start the undergraduate studies in the first year due to the lack of educated staff but offered master's degree. Next year the department was able to accept undergraduate students but still the shortage of skilled teachers and lecturers continued to create challenges (Ersoy, 2010). The second planning school in the country was founded in 1979 at Dokuz Eylül University, 18 years after METU. In 1982, there more Department of City and Regional Planning was opened at Yıldız Technical University, Mimar Sinan University and Istanbul Technical University.

Today, there are 27 Universities that offer academic education in City and Regional Planning. While there was a total of 13 universities which had City and Regional Planning departments by 2010, after 2010, with ‘‘a university in every city’’ policy, this number has increased from 13 to 27 in 9 years. Şengül points out that this constitutes to be one of the other professional problems in the academic field. He says that while the number of urban planners is increasing, the planners who are going to enter the market are nor qualified enough (Şengül, 2007). In addition to opening of departments of city and regional planning at universities, The Association of Planning Schools in Turkey TUPOB was founded in 2004 under the secrateriatat of the Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (TMMOB) to ensure coordination between universities and increase the recognition and efficiency of planning profession.

Planning education in Turkey, especially in the first years, was more focused on design aspect of the profession. It is no surprise that the departments were under the Faculty of Architecture. However, in application the curriculum was designed

and the education was given in accordance with the physical planning concept which was a part of the planning approach in those years.

Then, in 1960s and 1970s worldwide, it was began to be discussed that planning was mostly seen as a sub-branch of architecture and design and emphasized that the importance of social sciences and scientific aspect of it should also be taken into consideration. It took long years for this approach to find a place in the academic education in Turkey. Today, the idea that planning is a design-based profession is still prominent.

With the rising number of departments over the years, the number of urban planners who graduates every year also increases. In Chapter 4, we will take a closer look at how many of these graduates prefer to do business in the urban planning market sector.

### **3.6. The Construction of Urban Planning Market and Planners in Turkey**

Up until now, many theories have been put forward about the city, how it is formed, how it has changed and how it is affected by social, economic and political events (Harvey, 1973; 1982; 1985; 2005; 2012; Lefebvre, 1974; Castells, 1977; Şengül, 2001). The transformation of space related to capital or state or class conflicts and the change of spatial planning over the years are two of the most discussed and mentioned issues in the academy.

While there are more studies about urban space itself, there is less about the profession of urban planning; how the urban planners do their jobs and how their working environment, etc is. The aim of this section is to understand how the Urban Planning Market in Turkey was formed and what kind of changes happened in the working environment of planners.

In Turkey planners can find job opportunities both in public and private sectors. The focus of the following parts will be on the birth of planning profession in Turkey, the transformation of it through neoliberal period and how it has grown into a market.



### **3.6.1. The Structure/Principles of Planning Profession in Turkey**

Upon gaining legitimacy and being institutionalized after 1960s, foundations and principles of planning profession began to be discussed and evaluated. Independent from Turkey, the profession of planning entails some principles and concepts. Planning is a public service carried out by a public agent that is the planner, in order to enhance public interest (Tekeli, 2007).

Urban planning, by its nature, is a public service that pursues public and community's benefit. In other words, urban planner is an expert in public service, whether he is in private or public sector (ŞPO, 1995).

In 1995, The Chamber of City planners described planning and planning profession in an article in Planning Journal from the perspective of public service and on account of public interest. It is the concept of public interest that stands out in definitions of planning and provides legal legitimacy for planning.

#### **3.6.1.1. The Concept of Public Interest in Planning**

Although the profession of planning had the highlight of “public interest” in its very core, especially after the planning works were taken from public sector and passed over to the private sector, the question of how one of the fundamentals of planning, the principle of public interest, will be implemented and whether a public mission can be carried out by private sector emerged.

Planning for public interest is a concept that is referred to when describing planning or sometimes included in the definition of planning. What is public interest really? In fact there is no one definition of public interest that has been agreed on. Keleş (2000) makes a summary of four different views on definitions of planning as: Explaining the concept of public interest, the first understanding takes an individualistic stand; “according to them, public interest is the sum of the benefits of individuals. The emphasis is on civil society rather than the state. Thinkers like Hobbes, Hume, and Bentham accept this point of view.” Second view holds a general public interest. To them, public interest is a common interest that is above the selfish individual benefits and exists as an independent, “general

or shared benefit”. The main purpose of public services such as justice, defense, health, education and others is for the benefit of common and comprehensive. This approach supported by Jean Jacques Rousseau and William Pareto argues that general public interest has always been there before individual interests of people and is beyond anyone’s advantage. Third point of view is defended by Plato, Aristotle, Hegel and Marx. According to them “it is emphasized that the public interest must inevitably be based on value judgments. Hence, the concept has a normative character and is directly related to political preferences and individual values.”

As it can be concluded from all these definitions, there is no consensus on the definition of public interest. Although no single, unified definition is present, the concept of is one of the fundamental reasons for planning decisions under judicial control. Planners rely on and take advantage of this when they are acting (Campbell & Marshall, 2000). Together with neoliberal urbanization it was subjected to vagueness in meaning. Harvey (1985) claims that the concept of public interest is preserved and taken into consideration to the extent permitted by the market.

### **3.6.2. Institutionalization of Planning Profession**

The acknowledgement of planning profession in Turkey happened later than European countries and the USA despite the fact that all are neoliberal countries. The classification of planning as a profession started after 1950s (Tekeli, 2007). In his article published in the Planning Journal, Esat Turak (1994) states that the first important development in the institutionalization of the planning profession was the foundation of Ministry of Public Works and Settlement in 1958. Later, the first department of city and regional planning was found in METU in 1961, which gave pace to the progress of planning to settle in as a profession. Prior to that, planning activities were executed by architects in Turkey. In the early years of planning (1960s) when it was newly pronounced as a specific occupation, the city planning was regarded as a profession only responsible of what was to come up with “development plans” (Tekeli, 1994). Mainly the physical dimension of planning was highlighted and it was defined as an area closer to architecture. This

physical planning-based understanding of the profession was proceeding in line with the rest of the world.

The profession was given right to plan with 38th Article of Law on Urban Development no.3194. Preparation of topographic maps and development plans and their responsibility for implementation is on engineers, architects and urban planners depending on specialization and working subjects of these individuals and related laws. Hence, planners were authorized to make plans.

### **3.6.2.1. The Establishment of Chamber of City Planners**

The developments started in 1930s such as the establishment of Bank of Provinces and Municipality Road and Buildings Code, placed importance on planning. However, there was no attempt for institutionalization at the time. Planning was carried out by architectures and engineers. With the increase in the number of urban planners in the 1960s the debate on the establishment of a separate chamber for planners in the TMMOB was exacerbated. Architects, who monopolized the profession, objected the establishment of such a chamber (Tekeli, 1994). When in 1960s the approach to planning as a profession which only entitles development plans was criticized and the department of City and Regional Planning was opened in METU, the establishment of the chamber of city planners became inevitable. The chamber of city planner was born in 1969.

The Chamber of City Planners is one of the 23 professional chambers affiliated with the Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (TMMOB), a public institution established by law in 1954. TMMOB Chamber of City Planners was established in 1969 and has a country-wide organization with its 6298 members, 12 branches as a national professional organization, and representatives in 28 provinces.

At the same time, urban planners operating in the urban planning market must be registered in the chamber to be accredited. During the process of competency license applications given by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, it one of the criteria that is controlled and verified by the ministry if the planner is

registered in the chamber or holds bureau registration license. This shows us that there is a clear connection between the Chamber of City Planners and the urban planning market.

### **3.6.2.2. Establishment of State Planning Organization**

The State Planning Organization was established on 30 September in 1960. From the beginning of the 1950s, the state in search of a solution to squatter houses and urban deterioration resulted from intense migration influx from rural to urban, understood the importance of planning in terms of economic development (Şengül, 2007). In this period, the belief in planned development in the aftermath of crisis experienced in the cities was much deeper and more systematic in both political and bureaucratic levels compared to the previous periods. In this sense, the establishment of the State Planning Organization is important in terms of its national recognition and legitimacy.

### **3.6.3. Emergence of Private Planning Bureaus**

As mentioned, Urban Planners can find job opportunities in the private sector and the public sector. As it is summarized above, the history of profession of city planning in Turkey is not very old. To better understand the main focus of this thesis the emergence of private planning bureaus and how they were regulated by the government will be specified.

Article 8 of the Development Law no. 3194 on the preparation and approval of the plans states that zoning plans are made or assigned by the relevant institutions (municipalities within the boundaries of municipalities, governorships outside the boundaries of the municipality) as it can be understood from this statement, the public does not get all the plans done by its own planners. Some plans on behalf of the public are done by planning bureaus in the private sector.

We have summarized above that it was 1960s when the institutionalization of the profession of planning began to institutionalize. Urban planners were assigned to make plans after the regulation on the implementation of Construction Law no.

6785 issued in 1960 which was issued after Construction Law of 1957 and the foundation of City and Planning Department apart from the branches of architecture and engineering in the academic field. Thus, these legislative and academic developments also affected the private sector and urban planners became more and more active.

The first private planning bureau opened by an urban planner was set up in 1968 (Çiftçi-Sert, 2018). In 1985, the numbers of private planning bureaus were 20, when it was 1992 the number rose to 232 with a big leap. Today, as of 2019, there are 525 active bureaus. In terms of their organizational structure, most of them (44%) are self-employed with one employee while 25% have 2 employees and 10% have 3 employees (ŞPO).

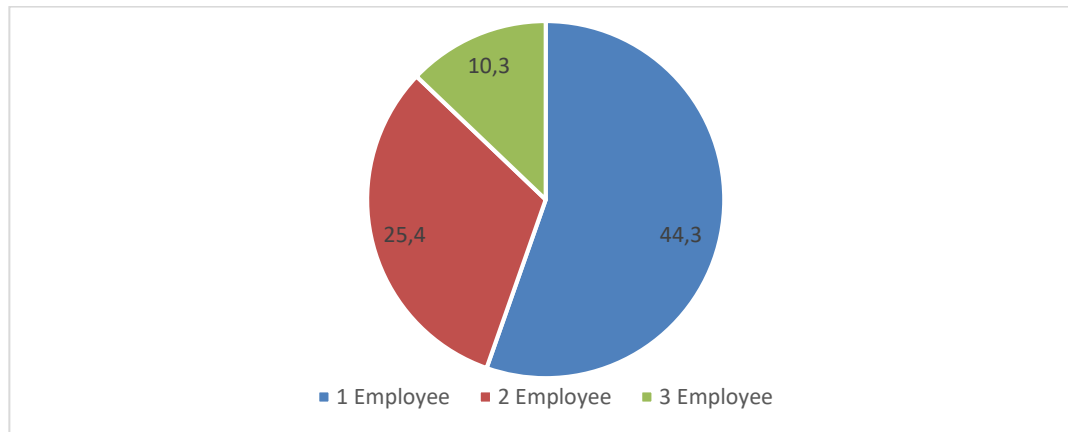


Figure 3.1: The Proportion/Number of Employees in Private Planning Bureaus.  
*Source: Chamber of City Planners*

Private planning bureaus can operate as incorporated or limited companies or freelance urban planner bureaus. The first prerequisite of being able to work as urban planner in private sector is to be verified and hold accreditation certificates provided by the ministry. This license is issued to the urban planners who are members of the Chamber of City planners and meet the conditions set out in the regulations. Urban planners can practice their professions in private sector with these licenses.

Together with neoliberal period, the urban planning market in Turkey was formed by the state. Planning bureaus had to obtain licenses to be a part of the system. As

the pace of urbanization accelerated after the start of AKP period, the urban planning market evolved into a more competitive and monopolized environment. Moreover, the market transformed into a dual structure and a contradictory system was created. Chapter 4 and chapter 5 will examine this binary structure, its causes and consequences in detail.

#### **3.6.4. Competency Licenses**

It has been stated that the authorization of urban planner was defined in the Development Law no: 3194. in the 6<sup>th</sup> Article of The Educational Qualifications of Project Owner of the Regulation on the Proficiency of the Project Owners to Undertake the Making of Plans stating:

The Project owners who will conduct the planning works should be graduates of City and Regional Planning Departments. For those who have completed their higher education abroad, it is compulsory to get approval from authorities stating that their education is equivalent of the education and degree received in the country.

These statements cleared the vagueness over the educational prerequisites of urban planners.

Other than having an education in a 4-year City and Regional Planning Department, some other requirements were described in this regulation.

The document that the Competency License first appeared in writing is the Regulation on the Technical Conditions and Implementation Styles of Road Direction Plans and Development Plans and Competency Levels Required for Experts to Perform These Works. Despite the fact that Ministry sought for some conditions and qualifications for planners in the plans made until this date, they were unclear and not obvious (Kıral, 2010). It is known that the competency license system given to the contractors engaged in construction was taken as an example. Urban planners are able to take a competency license (CL) in 6 groups that are A-B-C-D-E-F. They can do business based on their status and get promoted to the next level of CL classifications depending on the contracts they

complete successfully. All competency requirements are determined by the regulations issued by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization.

### 3.6.5. The Operation Sites/Areas of Private Planning Bureaus:

It has been noted that private planning bureaus emerged in the 1960s, with the license requirement brought to this market in 1969 and the subsequent neoliberalization process an urban planning market was quickly formed. When the public sector handed over the task of making plans to the private sector, private planning bureaus emerged and started to make public plans on behalf of the public. Though plans were designed by these private planning bureaus, it is the public authorities to approve. Plan types and levels are defined in the Law on Land Development Planning and Control no 3194.

Table 3.4: The Types of Plans Made by Private Planning Bureaus

The Type/Name of Plan		Plan Approval Authority
Environmental Plan (1:50000, 1:100000)		Ministry of Environment and Urbanization
Development Plan	(Master Development Plan)	Municipalities, Metropolitan Municipalities, Provinces Administration.
	(Implementation Plan)	
	(Conservation Plan)	
	(Partial Development Plans)	
	(Plan Modification)	
Urban Transformation Projects		Municipalities, Metropolitan Municipalities, Ministry of Environment and Urbanization
Urban Design Projects		Municipalities, Metropolitan Municipalities
Consulting Services: Real estate investment and valuation consultancy, Zoning Applications, Private Sectors and Local Governments Planning Services Consultancy Services		

*Source: Compiled by the Author*

In Table 3.4, the types of work done by the private planning bureaus are examined. As seen, Private planning bureaus make Environmental Plans, Development Plans, Urban Transformation projects, urban design projects etc. To summarize who is entitled to make which of these plans: Group A planners can conduct environmental plans. A group license is granted based on the size of the area and population. The other zoning plans and other lower level plans. However, special purpose plans such as Conservative Plans require a license pre-

determined based on the size of the area and population however, it can't be lower than License E.

### 3.6.6. Regulations Regarding to the Urban Planning Market and Their Impacts on Urban Planning Market

As stated above, urban planning was accepted as a profession and began to be executed by planners around 1960s. Urban Planning is different from other professions because it performs public service. The state regulates this field with its own practices and official regulations. The profession of planning also changes and transforms in relation to the regulations that frames planning and the profession itself. In order to better understand how the state manages the urban planning market in particular, we will examine the laws and regulations in this area. The Laws and Regulations will be examined in particular from the point of how they affect the urban planning market itself. Other issues covered by the laws are outside of the scope of this thesis.

Analyzing the Urban Planning market in terms of regulations we will divide the stages that it has gone through from the creation of the market up until now into two main periods: non-neoliberal period and neoliberal period. The implementation of competency licenses began in 1969. In other words, a practice that had started in non-neoliberal period was subject to some changes but managed to survive into the neoliberal period. Right at this point, the distinction between non-neoliberal and neoliberal periods gains importance.

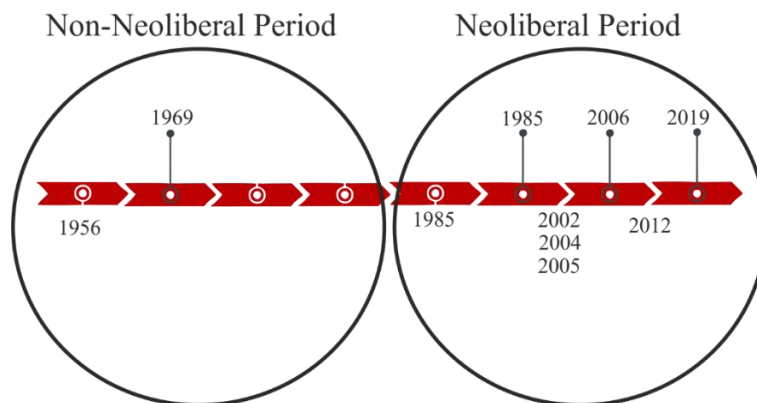


Figure 3.2: Periodization of Non-Neoliberal Period and Neoliberal Period (Compiled by the Author)



## Laws and Regulations on Urban Planning Market

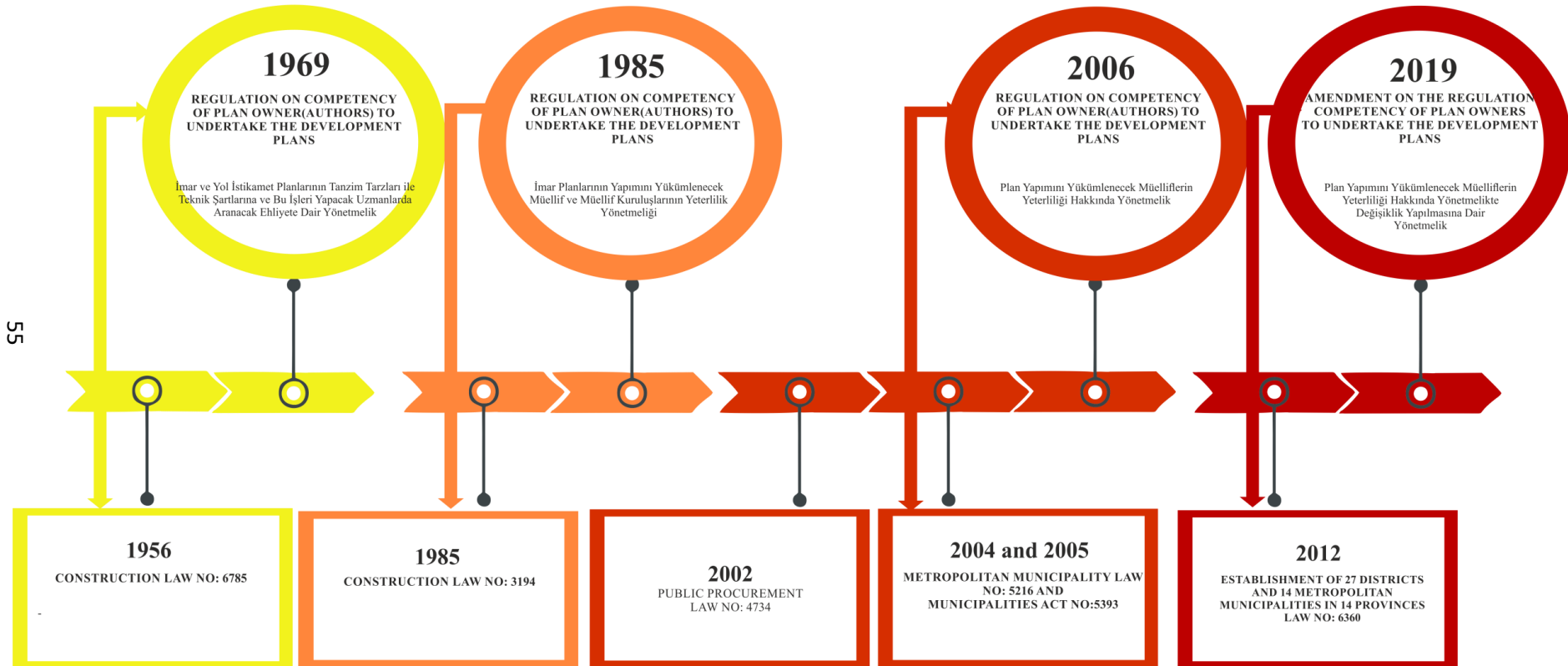


Figure 3.3: The Scheme of Laws and Regulations which affect Urban Planning Market (Compiled by the Author)

These regulations, which were introduced to the urban planning market and formed a competition and oligopoly through license regulations, had appeared in the non-neoliberal period, before 1980. The classification system, which was adopted from the USA in 1969, namely non-neoliberal period, continues existing in the neoliberal period as well. In fact, when a practice of non-neoliberal period survived into neoliberal times, the market was created. The regulation enacted in 1969 determined today, the present. The private planning bureaus which were not defined as urban planning market prior to 1985, got completely marketized after 1985 with rapid urbanization reflexes and regulations developed by the state. Also, it became a system full of intense competition and oligopoly. Today's strictly oligopoly system was made possible by the classification system started in 1969. Figure 3.3 details the regulations and Figure 3.2 present relations on a timeline. Thus, two periods are depicted in an obvious way for the reader.

#### **3.6.6.1. Construction Law No: 6785 (1956)**

The Construction Law, which was accepted in 1956 and came into force in 1957, replaced the Municipal Law of Construction of Buildings and Roads no. 2290 of 1933. With the law no. 2290, the obligation of all municipalities to make a construction plan was eliminated. While municipalities with a population of more than 5,000 were required to make an urban development plan, the others whose population is less than 5,000 were exempt from this necessity. These plans, which were not really applied in reality, gained a realistic approach. At that time, the responsibility to make plans was lifted for 600 municipalities (with population less than 5000) of 860 were lifted (Geray, 1960).

Again, with this law, the authority to approve the Development Plans was given to the Ministry of Public Works and Housing (current Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning). Since the city planning profession was carried out by other professional groups in this period, urban planner was not mentioned in the law. In the 14th article of Law No. 6785, there is a definition framing that the construction plans are done by advanced construction architects, advanced engineers, architects and engineers.

The first time when urban planners were given the right to make plans by law was mentioned in Article 14 no.6785. It was published in the Official Gazette No: 10445 dated 1 March 1960. In this regulation,

Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning have granted authorization to those who have acquired titles as urban planners, regional planners and similar titles at universities and higher education institutions in the areas of Regional and Urban Planning and declared them as competent to design and implement the zoning plans and road direction plans (Kıral, 2010).

Therefore, it can be concluded that before 1969, accreditation means similar to competency license for urban planners was applied by the Ministry. Although being a graduate of city and regional planning departments is a prerequisite now, there was none at that time. Moreover, there were only three people who acquired these degrees from abroad universities: Esat Turak, Aydın Germen and Tuğrul Akçura (Kıral, 2010).

#### **3.6.6.2. Regulation on the Technical Conditions and Implementation Styles of Road Direction Plans and Development Plans and Competency Levels Required for Experts to Perform These Works (1969)**

Until 1969, other than diploma there were no clearly stated criteria which determine the qualifications of the actors who will make the zoning plans. It was thought that having won a prize in city planning competitions would have a positive impact. However, there is no information as to how the criteria were determined from 1933, when the Council of State Building and Roads Law entered into force, until 1969 when regulations were introduced (Kıral, 2010). With this regulation that was issued in 1969 competency license was introduced.

Detailed information about how the zoning plans would be implemented was determined by the regulation published in 1969 which included the law no: 6785. The planning process consists of research, planning, approval of the plan and plan implementation stages (Keleş, 2010). Preceding that, neither Law 6780 nor the Law No. 2290 did not contain an article or reference related to the planning process. With this regulation, it was determined what the research had to include.

Keleş claims that there was a gap in the law on the research process (1984) by drawing attention to the fact that in the Law No. 3194 which is being implemented today, there is no provision regarding the researches that should be done before the preparation of the plans, and even more there was no provision regarding same issue in the Competency Regulation of Authorized and Authorized Institutions enacted in 1985 replacing a law from 1969. Still the regulation didn't refer to urban planners as the ones who will make City Plans. It required competency license for those who will be authorized to make the zoning plans (architects and architects who are not urban planners for that period). Some criteria have been introduced for this;

Based on their future population prospects competency licenses were divided into six groups as:

1. More than 300,000 population (excluding metropolitan area) Group A
2. From 100.000 to 300.000 population Group B
3. 50.000 to 100.000 population Group C
4. From 30 000 to 50,000 population Group D
5. from 10,000 to 30,000 population Group E
6. Less than 10,000 population as Group F.

1. Group A: To have completed at least two contracts in Group B plans, to be the winner of a Group A city planning competition and to have completed at least 500 hectare part of the master plan or to get the first place in the Group A city planning competition and to have completed at least one job in this group city plans.
2. Group B: To have completed at least two contracts in Group C plans, or to have achieved the first place in Group B city planning competitions and to have completed plans of at least 300 hectares with the draft plan or to be the winner in the Group B city planning competitions and to have completed at least one job in Group C city plans.

3. Group C: To have completed at least two contracts from Group D city plans, or to have completed at least one job in Group D city plans alongside teaching at universities, academies in the field of urban planning, or to have taken first place in Group C city planning competitions and finalized that work or to have taken first place in city planning competition in Group C city planning and having completed at least one job in Group D city plans.
4. Group D: To have completed at least three contracts from Group E city plans or to have worked in city planning in official institutions or in a private planning bureau at least for six (6) years or to have taught urbanism at a university, academy and to have received a testimonial or to have taken first place in Group D city planning competitions. And to have completed at least one job in Group E.
5. Group E: To have completed at least three contracts from Group F city plans or to have worked in city planning in public institutions or in a private planning bureau at least for four (4) years or to have taught urbanism in universities, academies and to have achieved testimonial or to have acquired a degree in the Group A and B city planning competitions or to have achieved the first place in a city planning competition from Group A or a mention in Group A and B city planning competitions and to have completed at least one work from Group F.
6. Group F: To have worked in city planning in public institutions or in a private planning bureau at least for two (2) years have worked or to have taught urbanism in universities, academies and to have received testimonials or honorable mentions in city planning competitions of Group A and B or to have taken first place in F group city planning competitions and to have finalized that work.

This classification logic, which emerged in the non-neoliberal era, has now developed a closed oligopoly system where competition is at a high level and access to the market is almost impossible. As a result of the idea started in neoliberal period that regarded the cities as commodities, they became important tools of capital accumulation. The urban planning market, which was expected to

support this understanding of planning in the cities, started to be designed and shaped by the state in this way.

#### **3.6.6.3. 3194 Law on Land Development Planning and Control (1985)**

Construction Law No. 3194, issued in 1985, is still in force. One of the most important features that differentiates this law from the Law No. 6785 is the authorization to approve plans was taken from the Ministry and given to municipalities. Plans were started to be approved by the municipal councils.

It is also the first law by which urban planners were given the authority to plan. Together with the article 38 of this law, the authorization to make plans, which was mentioned in the regulations previously, was given to urban planners by law. It is a milestone in terms of the gains of urban planners in time.

#### **3.6.6.4. Regulation on Competency of Plan Owners and Plan Owner Institutions to Undertake the Development Plans (1985)**

Regulation on Competency of Plan Owners and Plan Owner Institutions to Undertake the Development Plans was enacted after Law on Land Development Planning and Control numbered 3194. In 1969, the regulation that was in use since 1969 was amended and replaced by this regulation dated 1985. The purpose of this regulation is “to regulate the principles and requirements regarding the qualifications of the project owners who will take responsibility of the construction of the plans.”(Official Gazette, 1985) The procedures and principles set out in the regulation dated 1969 are accompanied by new regulations and procedures. To specify the differences between the 1969 regulations; in the 1969 regulation, there was only population criterion for the A-B-C-D-E-F rationing groups whereas with the 1985 regulation, the size of the hectare mattered besides population.

- a) The plan construction area above 5,000 hectares or more or depending on the future population projection, The settlement area or settlements with a population of 300,000 and more, GROUP (A);

- b) The plan construction area around 2.000 and up to 5.000 hectares or depending on the future population projection, settlement areas or settlements which may have 100,000 to 300,000 population, GROUP (B);
- c) The plan construction area around 1.000 and up to 2.000 hectares or depending on the future population projection, settlement areas or settlements which may have 50.000 to 100.000 population, GROUP (C);
- d) The plan construction area around 500 and up to 1.000 hectares or depending on the future population projection, settlement areas or settlements which may have 30.000 to 50.000 population, GROUP (D);
- e) The plan construction area around 200 and up to 500 hectares or depending on the future population projection, settlement areas or settlements which may have 10.000 to 30.000 population, GROUP (E);
- f) The plan construction area up to 200 hectares or depending on the future population projection, settlement areas or settlements which may have 10.000 or less population, GROUP (F);

Another change that was brought through law was promotion based on time for urban planners working in public institutions. The right for promotion based on service time which was only granted to the planners until Group D in the regulation of 1969, was extended to until Group A with 1985's regulation. Hence, urban planners who had worked in public institution for 12 years were entitled to be certified as Group A, while urban planners who had worked for ten years could be in Group D, others who had worked for 10 years, 8 years, 6 years, 4 years and 2 years were awarded to have competency license of Group B, Group C, Group D, Group D and Group F respectively. This amendment initiated a great deal of discussion. It was argued that it became easier for urban planners working in the public sector to raise their competency license group compared to the ones in the private sector. For them it was much more difficult to promote. Many architects and urban planners who completed their time in the public sector after the start of this practice resigned and transferred to the private sector. Özcan (1988) says that 21 architects resigned from Planning Directorate General of Reconstruction and went to work at private sector planning bureaus.

Again, in this regulation, the place given to the planning competitions was the same as 1969. There was no restriction on architects. They continued to acquire competency license with the same rights as urban planners.

The differences between the classification systems introduced in 1969 and 1985(amendment) show that the regulation of 1969 actually aimed to measure experience, whereas in 1985's regulation, the experience measurement criterion was pushed one step back and opened the way for Group A license holders outside of the market. In fact, with the implementation of the 1985 regulation, it started to form a gap between t Group A and F. Other laws and regulations enacted in the neoliberal period also deepened this gap.

#### **3.6.6.5. Public Procurement Law No. 4734 (2002)**

The procurement law no. 2886, which was in force before 2002, had originally been enacted in 1983. In 2002, on the grounds that the public procurement law no. 2886 was incompatible with the EU procurement law and other international procurement regulations, public procurement law no. 4734 was enacted.

With the new procurement law, in the public, the contracting authorities are liable for ensuring transparency, competition, equal treatment, reliability, confidentiality, public supervision, and fulfillment of needs appropriately, promptly, and efficient use of resources (Official Gazette, 29 April 2019).

If we examine, in more detail, how this law, which covers all public procurement, has an impact on the planning field and planning work; first, we should consider how the administrations implement the planning works.

1-Open Tender Method: According to the article 19 of the Law, Open procedure is a procedure where all tenderers may submit their tenders. It is explained under the article 30 of the Law. All of the offers shall be placed in a closed envelope. All documents required under the rules of participation in the procurement including the tender letter and the tender security shall be placed in an envelope. The offers of those who are determined according to the 10th article and which



are determined according to the evaluation criteria specified in the tender documents are taken into consideration.

Negotiated procedure is defined by Article 21, which states

Article 21- Negotiated procedure may be applied, where;

- a) no tender is submitted in open or restricted procedures,
- b) it is inevitable to conduct the tender procedures immediately, due to unexpected and unforeseen events such as natural disasters, epidemics, risk of losing lives or properties or events that could not be predicted by the contracting authority,
- c) it is inevitable to conduct the tender procedures immediately, due to occurrence of specific events relating to defense and security,
- d) the procurement is of a character requiring a research and development process, and not subject to mass production,
- e) due to specific and complex characteristics of the works, goods or services to be procured, it is impossible to define the technical and financial aspects clearly,
- f) Product good, material and services procurements by contracting authorities with estimated costs of up to fifty billion Turkish Liras (225.403 Turkish Liras as for 2019). (Official Gazette)

In this method, especially for planning works, the clause f is used Municipalities and other administrations have a bargaining method by preferring this application instead of open bidding for works that will not exceed 225.403 tl (2019). After the planning bureaus call for tender through invitation procedure, tender is assigned to planning bureaus which offer lowest price.

2-Direct Procurement: It is not a procurement procedure but a supplying method. It is explained under the article 22 of the public procurement. It is explained under sub articles of 22.a-b-c-d-e-f-g-h-i-i, in which cases direct procurement should be applied. The planning works are subject to the sub article d.

d) procurements not exceeding fifteen billion Turkish Liras (67.613 Turkish Liras as for 2019) for needs of contracting authorities within the boundaries of metropolitan municipalities and procurements not exceeding five billion Turkish Liras (22.524 Turkish Liras as for 2019) for needs of other contracting authorities, and purchases with regard to accommodation, trip and subsistence within the scope of representation expenses (Official Gazette)

With the 22-d article, the Metropolitan Municipalities and the Other Administrations use this method for the non-large planning works.

3-Designing Contests: In order to acquire the required plans and projects relating to architecture, landscaping, engineering, urban design projects, urban and regional planning and fine arts; the contracting authorities may conduct contests, with or without prize, in which the winner is selected through an evaluation by a jury, by advertising such contests in a way to ensure a competitive environment in accordance with the principles and procedures stated in the related regulation. (Official Gazette, article 23) With this method, municipalities can procure their planning works by the private planning bureaus.

4-Procurement of Consulting Services: It is regulated in articles 48-52 of Law No. 4734. According to the article 48 “ Services in technical, financial, legal or similar fields such as engineering and architecture, surveying and project, map and cadastre, development plan in any scale, development application, preparation of Environmental Impact Assessment Reports, plan, software developing, design, preparation of technical specifications, supervision and controlling shall be procured from consultancy service providers.” (Official Gazette). Only “the restricted procedure” shall be applied to tenders regarding consultancy services. Municipalities and other administrations are also contracting their planning works in accordance with this procedure.

It is observed that the most important difference in terms of planners and planning bureaus between public procurement law no.4734 in 2002 and public procurement law no.2886 in 1983 is criteria related to the tenders.

The criteria set by the public procurement law no 2886 as “... the price for which the tender commission considers that the price is not less than the estimated cost...” has been changed by the law no.4734 as “ the economically most advantageous tender shall be awarded with the contract” so the lowest offer shall be awarded. In addition, “the economically most advantageous tenders shall be determined by taking into account the non-price factors in addition to the price” criteria have been introduced. This enabled the implementation of the technical scoring system for planning tasks. However, because it was not a necessity, most public institutions offered tenders at the lowest price. This led to a decrease in the quality of the plans. It led to a great competition in the urban planning; therefore, bureaus which are unable to compete were kicked out of the market.

#### **3.6.6.6. Law on Metropolitan Municipalities 5216 (2004)**

The Metropolitan Municipality Law No. 3030 was abolished and the Metropolitan Municipality Law was introduced in 2004. The part of this law that is directly related to the urban planners and the profession is the increasing responsibility areas and planning authorities of the Metropolitan Municipalities. The metropolitan municipality boundaries were expanded with 20, 30 and 50 km diameters regardless of any qualitative characteristics. This invalidated the requirements of the regulation published in 1985 on Proficiencies of Project Owners and Project Owner Institutions to Undertake of Development Plans (1985).

Therefore, in 2006 the regulation was revised and the sizes of population and the hectares of the metropolitan municipalities were renewed.

#### **3.6.6.7. Regulation on Competency of Plan Owners (Authors) and Plan Owner Institutions to Undertake the Development Plans (2006)**

Differing from 1985's regulation, the regulation in 2006 removed the right of gaining competency license for architects by introducing the requirement to complete the city and regional planning department with a bachelor's degree for the plan owner who would undertake the responsibility of planning. Although the rights of the architects who had already acquired a competency license were

reserved, they could not promote it. One of the most important features of the 2006 regulation is that planner gained full say in their profession.

In accordance with the increase in urban populations and enlargement of the areas, the population and hectare size criteria to be applied in the competency license grouping introduced in the 1985 regulation were increased:

- a- The plan construction area around 10.001 hectares or more or depending on the future population projection, settlement areas or settlements with 1.000.001 or more population, GROUP (A);
- b- The plan construction area between 5.001 and 10.000 hectares or depending on the future population projection, settlement areas or settlements with 500.001 to 1.000.000 population, GROUP (B);
- c- The plan construction area between 2.001 and 5.000 hectares or depending on the future population projection, settlement areas or settlements with 200.001 to 500.000 population, GROUP (C);
- d- The plan construction area between 801 and 2.000 hectares depending on the future population projection, settlement areas or settlements with 50.001 to 200.000 population, GROUP (D);
- e- The plan construction area between 301 and 800 hectares depending on the future population projection, settlement areas or settlements with 10.001 to 50.000 population, GROUP (E);
- f- The plan construction area between 25 and 300 hectares depending on the future population projection, settlement areas or settlements with 10.000 and less population, GROUP (F);

Another amendment was made to the time specifications for promotions of urban planners working in governmental institutions. In the regulation 1985, a urban planner was able to get promoted and gain right to hold a competency license of group A in 12 years, after this regulation this time span was raised to 15 years. It was 12 years for Group B, 9 years for Group C, no change was made for Group D, while it became 4 years for Group E and 3 years for Group F. The discussions that

started in 1985 did not come to an end in 2006. Although the number of working hours in the public sector was increased, this didn't fully solve the disagreement and the controversy among the private and public sector.

The license practice, which highlighted the importance of experience in 1969 and later turned into a tool in shaping the urban planning market in order to increase the urbanization speed, was revised and reissued in the form of a continuation of 1985's in 2006. From 1985 to 2006 no significant action was taken to close the deepening gap between the A and F groups in the market. In fact, this gap was further supported by it. There was no improvement in the 2006's regulation regarding 1985's regulation, in which intergroup growth was already difficult and transition between groups was almost impossible. It was desired to ensure the continuity of the existing closed and oligopoly system. Though it presented itself in favor of neoliberal policies, the state didn't try to prevent the monopolization here. On the contrary, the continuation of existing regulation was granted with laws enacted in 2006.

The importance of the competitions was then completely reduced by this regulation. In fact, no competency license upgrade was made based on planning competitions. One of the most important reasons for this is the fact that no planning competition was held in the country-wide and the city-wide. Mostly, the competitions were on urban design scale. Although the law didn't remove the item which stated that promotions could be gained by degrees taken at the competitions, it wasn't applied.

#### **3.6.6.8. Law on Establishment of 27 Districts and 14 Metropolitan Municipalities in 14 Provinces (06.12.2012)**

In line with this law, enacted in 2012, 27 districts and 14 metropolitan municipalities were founded in 14 Provinces. There were many innovations and changes brought about by the law. Here, the effects of this law on urban planners working in the private sector will be examined. Along with the law, the boundaries of metropolitan municipalities which were already metropolitan cities were based on the provincial borders. The same application was valid for the

newly established Metropolitan Municipalities. Consequently, boundaries of 30 metropolitan municipalities unified with the territorial borders of their provinces. This law led to some changes in the Regulation on the Proficiency of Project Owners to Undertake Design of Plans, issued in 2006. When above-mentioned metropolitan municipalities enlarged their boundaries to the provincial territories, their population exceeded 1.000.000, which enabled all of the planners in these metropolitan municipalities holding Group A competency license to make plans. This increased the existing controversy between the groups. The system began to work in favor of Group A planners. The other groups - B-C-D-E-F- were unable to work in the planning field in the private sector. This application hasn't changed since then.

#### **3.6.6.9. Amendment on the Regulation Competency of Plan Owners (Authors) and Plan Owner Institutions to Undertake the Development Plans (2019)**

According to the Amendment on the Regulation on the Proficiency of Project Owners to Undertake Design of Plans, the territories of Metropolitan Municipalities were decided based on space and population. Hence, this evaluation caused only the urban planners with Group A CL to do business in these 30 cities. The main purpose of the Regulation Amendment made on 22 January 2019 was to eliminate this problem among the groups. The fact that only Group A planners could make plans in these cities and others were exempted led to great injustice.

As a result of this, following two amendments were made in the 5th article of the regulation dated 22 January 2019:

Plans of all sizes and types are subject to document application. Spatial Strategy Plans, Environmental Layout Plans and any changes, additions and revisions related to these plans call for Group A documents. In the construction of zoning plans, a competency license shall be sought for the planning field based on group of the settlement to be planned. The same procedure is applied for the zoning plans in the settlements within the borders of the metropolitan municipality.” “In this context, the additional plans, plan revisions and changes shall be deemed to be in the group of

the plan that they are related to based on the area or population (Official Gazette, 22 January 2019).

These changes in the regulations brought the criterion that even though the area to be planned is under the responsibility area of a metropolitan municipality, the group CL is demanded based on the group not on the entire area and population of the municipality. Thanks to this change, the system operating in favor of Group A brought justice back.

To sum up, in this chapter, the changes and transformations of Turkish cities in neoliberalization processes were taken into consideration. In doing so, the relationship of the state with the urbanization process has been evaluated through the urban planning market. The state itself has been the leader of the rapid urbanization thanks to the laws and regulations it enacted, which paved the way for obtaining rent from the cities. It is seen more clearly when the urban planning market is observed in particular. In the market, the state voluntarily created an oligopoly structure and by doing so, it searched for a way to ease rapid urbanization. Oligopoly and closed structure in the market were exploited by the state and neoliberal market. Accreditation applications, which aimed to measure experience in the pre-neoliberal period in 1969, has now been transformed into a structure where there is only oligopoly, closeness and high-level of competition. Starting with 1985, the process created in the market including the dilemma between A and F groups today has grown further and the system has turned into a complete closed box.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **OLIGOPOLY IN URBAN PLANNING MARKET IN TURKEY**

#### **4.1. Introduction**

When the state in Turkey, began to be dominated by neoliberal policies, it assigned the planning services to private sector and withdrew to controlling duties for itself in time. Central government dealt with the controlling duty up until 1985, when the Construction Law was enacted in 1985. Then, it was assigned to local authorities, municipalities. Together with assigning the competence of planning to private sector and establishment of planning bureaus in private sector, the new market structure with its own competition and cooperation conditions emerged. We have mentioned under Chapter 3 that urban planners working in private sector and private planning bureaus must acquire certain qualifications to perform their duties. These conditions are set by the regulations. Under Chapter 3, the kind of requirements that these directives and laws bring for the market, planning profession and planners have been listed. Within this Chapter, we will analyze the statistical outcomes of them to take a picture of the market in detail. We will also examine dissolutions, competitions and fractions occurred due to the policies carried out by the state,

To perform planning in the private sector, the state obliged planners to acquire competency license. In this section, we will try to understand how competency license affected private planning bureaus and planners.

It is known that private planning bureaus began to emerge after the late 1960s. At that time, there was only METU with an urban planning department. This created a system where architects dominated the private sector. From the beginning of the



1970s up until today it has been observed that private planning bureaus experienced various fractions and remodeling along with legal arrangements and changes in socio-economic situation of the country.

The 1969 regulation obliged planners for the first time to have a competency license. With the new competency directive issued after the construction law of 1985, the obligation to obtain a competency license continued. The statistics, we have here are from the archives of the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization covering from 1985 to the present (2019). From 1985 to 2019, the total number of urban planners and architects who have received competency licenses in the private sector is 2166. It includes all planners who are certified whether they are Passive or active.

#### **4.2. Urban Planning Market Before 1985**

The private planning bureaus, whose seeds were planted at the end of the 1960s, but did not yet form a market structure; experienced a period of centralization when all plans were approved by the Ministry, starting from the early 1970s until 1985 when construction law no. 3194 was enacted. In this period, the number of planning bureaus was outnumbered. Interviewee 1A stated that ‘‘the first planning bureau was opened in 1968, and the number of planning bureaus did not increase much in the 1970s until the 1980s’’. In other words, when we look at that period, it is seen that there was not a system which we can name as competitive ‘‘market’’ as it is today. In this period, the state was still in the planning part rather than controlling, therefore, the planning works were dominated by the state.

Interviewee 2A commented on the time before 1985 as Bank of Provinces would call for tender and it used to insist us to take the jobs. Before 1985, the construction law number 3194 was not yet enacted; however, 1969 directive related with the CL was in force. The condition to gain experience in the public or private planning bureaus for 2 years in order to have F-group competency license, was present in the 1969 competency license regulation, but did not exist in later regulations. This point was emphasized and mentioned by all Interviewees. It was abolished with 1985 CL regulation and F-group CL was granted based on the graduation diploma. Interviewee 1A, said the CL regulation exists to measure the experience, so the

abolition of the 2-year experience item increased the entry of unexperienced ones to the market. Pre-1985 period can be called as a time when the state predominantly engaged in the planning work and also controlled it in a centralized way. While the Bank of Provinces tenders the planning jobs, the Ministry of Public Works and Housing was the only institution having authority to approve. Interviewee 3A stated that there were also planning competitions organized by some provinces except the Bank of Provinces but they were relatively small.

It was observed that the architects were dominant in both public and private sectors in this period. The reason for this is the relatively late maturing of city and regional planning profession, as the departments opened lately in the universities, they became dominant later in the market. Interviewee 3A stated that the number of urban planners who entered the tenders prior to 1980 constitutes 20-25% of the project owners who were involved in total tenders. It is said that not only in the private sector, but also in the public authorities who were interested in the drafting regulation were architects. Interviewee 3 stated that this played an important role for our profession to remain infertile.

As explained in Chapter 3, pre-neoliberalization process in Turkey was also observed during this period. This period was more centralized. The state had a control over and a significant role in the planning. The planning profession gained importance in academic and public domains.

#### **4.3. Urban Planning Market In General between 1985-2019**

When Urban Planning market is examined from 1985 to present, it is observed that there are turning points. The increasing trend which started with the construction law of 1985, continued in line with the urban planning market which experienced a decline in 2000s. Basing on the interviews, the sources and statistics analyzed, it can be argued that this decrease was primarily due to the procurement law changed in 2002, and as well as the other factors including the newly changed government itself and the policies implemented by it. Therefore, periodization of urban planning will be made in two sections as follows: 1985-2002 and 2002-2019.

It will be examined in terms of license holders in the Urban Planning market and the total size of the work in the market and how these existing bureau owners are set apart according to the types of licenses and how this is done through regulations. In the period from 1985 to 2019, it was observed that private planning bureaus with licenses increased rapidly in 1985, but the number of jobs and bureaus in this market did not increase at the same rate. Although there was no equality between the rationing groups in the early 1985s, the gap between the A and F groups was not deep compared to today. Now, the inequalities are obvious.

#### **4.3.1. The Period of 1985-2002**

As of 1980, neoliberalization process became obvious in Turkey. Urban planning and planning profession were no exceptions to that. In the following years, urban planning market was formed and grew rapidly with the actualization of Construction Law in 1985 and replacement of 1969's competency license regulation same year with the updated new version.

The effects of decentralization such as localization, privatization and other impacts of neoliberal policies began to show itself in the urban planning market as well. First of all, transferring the authority to approve planning from Ministry of Public Works and Housing (current Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning) to the municipalities and the wider rights provided to the public service planners thanks to CL regulations (mentioned in chapter 3) led to the rapid expansion of the private planning bureaus. Whereas in 1979 there was only one city and regional planning department in Turkey, in 1985 there were at least 5 at different universities.

Taking the developments happened in these years into consideration, it is seen that in 1985 there were 238 license holders, and in 1990, this number reached 626. A 163% increase is seen. One of the reasons for this increase was the right to grant competency licenses to the urban planners and architects working in the public sector with the 1985 CL regulation. Thanks to this amendment, the ones who had been working in public sector and had completed declared time of active work (12 years for Group A, 10 for Group B, 8 for Group C, 6 for Group D, 4 for Group E and 2 for Group F) resigned or got retired and switched to private sector.

At those times, architects also had the right to claim competency licenses. Until the regulation issued in 2006, they were able to be certified. Between 1985 and 1990, there were 68 urban planners and architects who resigned from the public sector and transferred to planning jobs in the private sector. The majority of this number consists of architects.

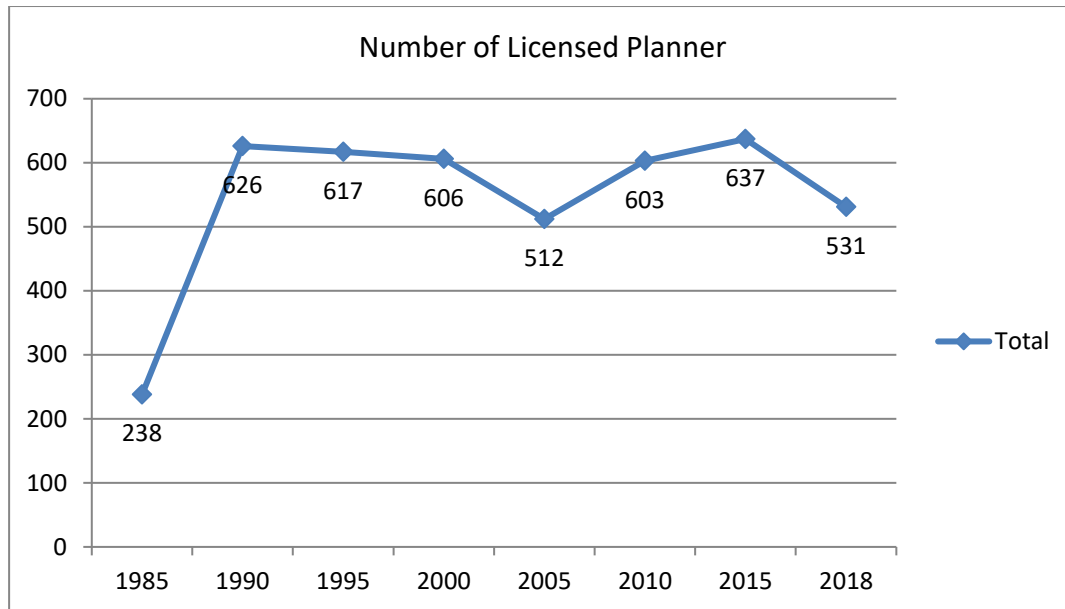


Figure 4.1: Total Number of Planners Who Have the License in Private Sector by Years

*Source: Compiled by the Author from Ministry of Environment and Urbanization Archive*

Even by looking at this 5 year period time, in fact, the unfair competition in the urban planning market is visible since one who worked in public sector planning units for 12 years and was entitled to receive Group A competency license according to the pre-determined time periods but was not obliged to design as many plans as some other person working in private sector enjoys the privilege of being able to start in the private sector by 1-0. Moreover, 58 of these 68 planners are architects.

The rapid increase between 1985-1990 had some consequences in the urban planning market. One of them was the increased competition in the market. Although, at the time, municipalities were given the authority to approve plans even though they did not have the technical proficiency and equipments. In a survey conducted by Bank of Provinces in the 1970s, the number of technical staff at the level of engineers, architects and urban planners at 1 077 municipalities

excluding Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir was only 127. In the 478 municipalities, it was reported that there were no technical personnel at all. (İller Bankası, 1974) Interviewee 4A stated that even though the municipalities had maintained the authority to make and approve plans, they didn't have the courage to do so due to lack of qualified personnel and background information and such works carried out by Bank of Provinces, which led an increase in the number of planners despite the amount of work stayed the same. This also produced the competition that did not exist in the market before.

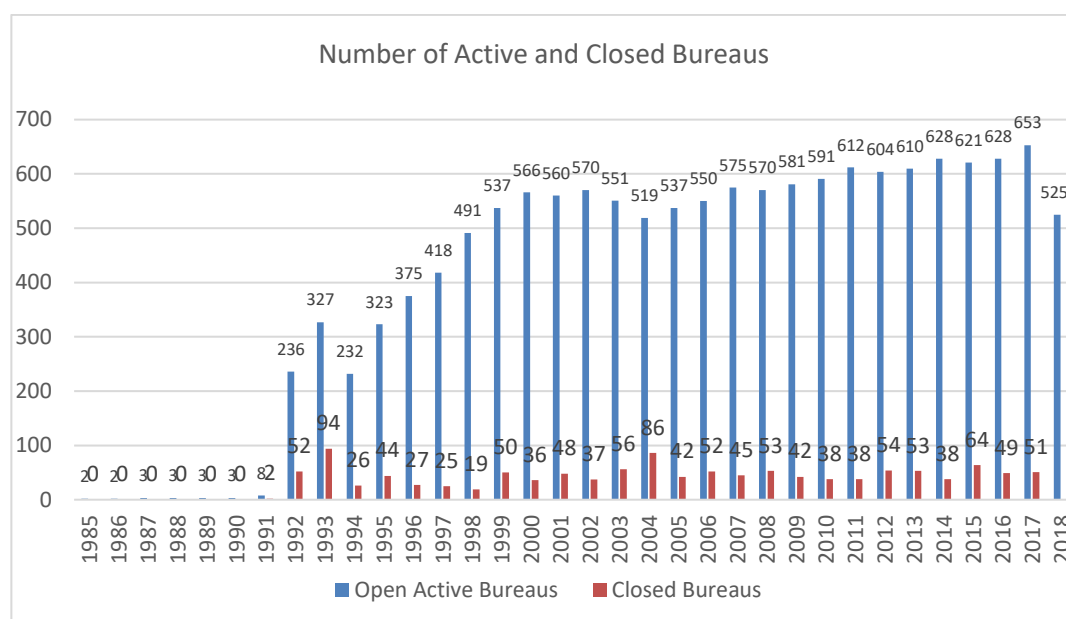


Figure 4.2: Total Number of Active Planning Bureaus and Closed Bureaus by Years  
Source: Chamber of City Planners

The data provided by the Chamber of Urban Planners tells us that the increase, started after 1990 and continued until 2000. There is an increase in the demand for competency license after 1985 while the number of bureaus began to multiply after 1990. This was regarded as an interim period in which planners preferred doing individuals jobs to starting their bureaus even though they acquired their licenses.

There happens to be a fixation between 1990-2000. The rapid introduction to the market continued from 1985 to 1990. The market reached saturation after 1990. It remained stable until 2000. Interviewee 5A explains the situation as: After 1985, when the number of planners entering the tenders increased and the number of work per person decreased, as planners, we pressured the Bank of Provinces to

increase the exploration costs; and they did as they were asked to. Thus, even though little work was done, the bureaus continued to earn the same profit. We were making less work than before but gaining same money. This is how the competition was handled at those times.

Between 1985 and 2002, the tender procurement law didn't process according the lowest price hinters, which caused the prices of tender to have a moderate value. According to Interviewee 3A, planning activities had a certain quality at that time. The biggest reason for this was that the tenders were granted based on a certain average value, not the lowest price. Interviewee 6A stated that, with the amendment to the procurement law, the urban planning market and, consequently, the planning work professionally were negatively affected. According to Interviewee 6, if there is CL regulation on one side of the medallion which affects urban planning unfavorably, the Public Procurement Law numbered 4734 issued in 2002 is definitely on the other side of it.

#### **4.3.1.1. Bank of Provinces**

Bank of Provinces was founded in 1945 by undertaking tasks of Municipalities Bank with the law numbered 4759. From the first day of its establishment to 1985s, it carried out an important responsibility in terms of planning profession. It implemented construction and investment activities in all of the provinces. It was also of great importance for planners in these years, because the planning works were contracted out by the bank of provinces. Interviewee 5 said, the most honest tenders were made by the Bank of Provinces. I could not exist in the private sector without it. In other institutions personal relationships mattered most. This wasn't the case there. In municipalities, contracts are provided even more improperly. Bank of Provinces withdrawn from the market and municipalities started to give jobs, so the unfair competition in the market started to increase.

With the law no. 3194 authorizing the municipalities to make and approve the zoning plan, the Bank of Provinces began to lose its old significance. Although it still has the power to make plans today, the influence and dominance it had before 1985 ended.

#### **4.3.2. The Period of 2002-2019**

In 2002, with the change of government and the emergence of public procurement law no. 4734, various transformations occurred in the planning profession, likewise in all the other fields of life. Between 2000 and 2005, there was a noticeable decrease in the number of license holders. In 2000, there were 606 active competency license holders, while in 2005, this number decreased to 512. It can be said that the reason of this 15% decline is due to the policies implemented by the changing political power at that time. In the previous chapters, it has been mentioned that the importance of urban space as a tool to earn income became more and more popular. Thus, again in this period, the commodification movement towards urban space was not done by the private sector alone but the state itself played a leading role in this regard (Eraydın and Taşan-Kok, 2013). The state, itself, initiated this through TOKİ, a state extension, which led a stagnation and a 15% decrease in the urban market and in the entrances to the market. Additionally, the procurement law no. 4735 caused planning bureaus have difficult time because not only the application of average value was abandoned in the auctions made by the public but also the contract was offered to the lowest price bidder. Providing tenders to the lowest price issuer was also adopted by the municipalities. In addition to CL, this also affected private planning bureaus in a negative way. The Interviewees all stated that granting the contracts to lowest bidder, in particular, reduced the value of planning, the plans made were of poor quality and the private planning bureaus entered a phase of struggle for existence since they couldn't make any profit.

Interviewee 1A gave the following example; The offers they made was not enough to make any profit. They found some other ways to make money. Once, they got a job for 24.000 TL for which I had demanded 400.000TL. Later, I learned that immoral, unfair ways were followed so that they could earn money. In almost all in-depth interviews, these kind of or very similar complaints were made by the Interviewees. The conclusion to be drawn from this is not only about the reduction of the profit rates of private planning bureaus, but also it is related to the fact that the planning profession, which is supposed to act according to the

principle of public interest, has become a market system where personal interests are at the forefront. Interviewee 9A commented that granting the works only by price evaluation and doing this based on the lowest price led our profession which is basically a highly labor-intensive work experience great misery.

After the enactment of 2002 public procurement law, along with the CL, the work completion licenses were started to be requested in the planning work tenders. Completion and the CL were two conditions. According to Interviewee 7, the Bank of Provinces didn't use to as for CL in the tenders it made between 2004-2006, and would require only work completion. This led to a decrease in interest and necessity of the CL. In 2006, when CL was issued again with CL Regulation (2006), the Bank of Provinces kept up with the change and reinstated CL condition. The Bank of Provinces set as an example for other institutions and municipalities followed it. As it can be seen from the CL statistics, this is the primary cause for the decrease in this period. The CL Regulation was amended in 2006. An increase in the number of planners occurred after it. There is a steady increase until 2015. In 2005, the number of planners with CL is 512 while in 2010 this number is 603; in 2015 it reached to 637. This increase is not significant compared to the number of graduates.

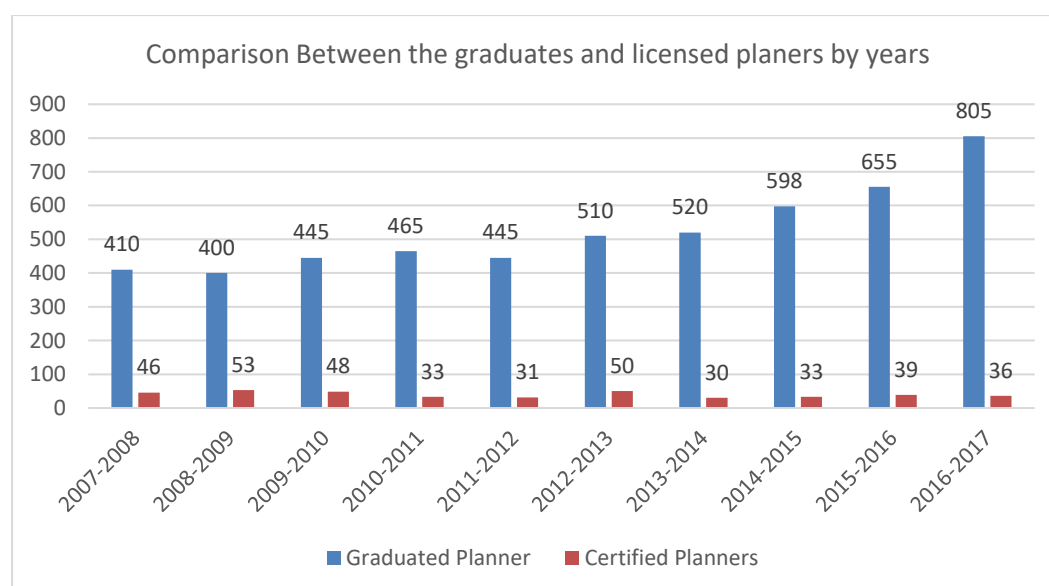


Figure 4.3: Comparison Between The Numbers of Graduates and Certified Planners by Years

Source: Compiled by the author from the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization Archive



As seen above, the number of graduates in 2010 was 465; the number of planners who took the CL was only 33.

The sizes of private planning bureaus have been summarized in Chapter 3. According to the data of the Chamber of City Planners, 44.3% of the private planning bureaus have 1 employee and 25.4% of them have 2 employees, and 10.3% have 3 or more employees. Based on this data, it can be concluded that new graduates do not prefer or find a place in the private sector. It is seen that the number of the graduates is higher than the need due to the number of city and regional planning departments increasing increases every year. This leads to more and more unemployed planners. All bureau owners whom we interviewed stated that they have received hundreds of job applications however they were unable to provide job opportunities to new graduates because it was already difficulty to maintain their current bureaus.

The situation and well-being of private planning bureaus is affected not only by the regulations, but also by the economic and social conditions of the country. The economic crisis that started after 2015 also shook them up profoundly.

According to the Interviewee 4: The state's reduction of public resources during this period forced municipalities to reduce their budgets, so happened restrictions in planning works. Hence, private planning bureaus could not get jobs from the municipalities, or could get jobs which have very low profit margins. The same Interviewee said the jobs offered by the individuals decreased in number like the opportunities provided by the public sector. When the construction sector went into a time of draught, the butterfly affect reached to the bureaus as well. Interviewee 7 pointed out that small CL groups suffered from this decline in construction more than the others.

#### **4.4. Oligopoly in the Urban Planning Market**

As explained in the previous section, the planners perform their profession in a market-like environment. In the simplest terms, market is a structure that brings buyers and sellers together and allows them to exchange information to buy and

sell (Ertek, 2006, p.31). The urban planning market can be defined as “strictly regulated”. It is shaped and transformed by the regulations issued by the state. In this case, the state determines who will be the market players through licensing regulations. Also, since the planning works are tendered by the state, the prices are determined by it as well. In order to be able to provide planning services in the private sector, urban planners also have to fulfill some of the conditions set by the state. Number one of these requirements is competency licenses as mentioned above. Competency licenses divide the planners in the private sector into 6 different groups. Whoever the highest group of competency license (Group A), has the right to plan in places with larger scale and population while the lowest group, namely Group F, plans settlements with the smallest area and density. This regulation is a direct reflection of state’s intervention following titles will focus on the situation created by CL and other regulations.

#### **4.4.1. Oligopoly**

We have tried to understand in general how the urban planning market has been shaped by state regulations since 1985 and with the change of economic and social structure brought about by neoliberal policies.

The state intervention has led to an oligopoly market structure over the years. In order to understand it and underlying mechanisms, we should understand first what is meant with the term “oligopoly”. Oligopoly market is defined as domination of small number of companies and limited entrance to the market. (Ertek, 2006, p.31). The oligopoly market and its types is not the subject of this thesis, but a brief introduction is necessary for comprehension of the matters and the study area of the thesis.

#### **4.4.2. Oligopoly in Urban Planning Market in Turkey**

The Urban Planning market started to form in the 1960s. The market emerged as the state gradually handed over the planning works to the private sector. The state deliberately shaped and managed it using its power to regulate.

In this section, we will examine how the market is oligopolized. The statistical data and quotations from the interviews will be presented to clarify the point.

We have discussed the change in the number of urban planners with competency license and the factors affecting it in 1985. Now, a review of competency license holders will be done. As it has already been underlined, competence license is a must for a planner to be able to have a place in the private sector. We have also mentioned that these competency licenses are composed of 6 groups. While the top group is A, the lowest group is F.

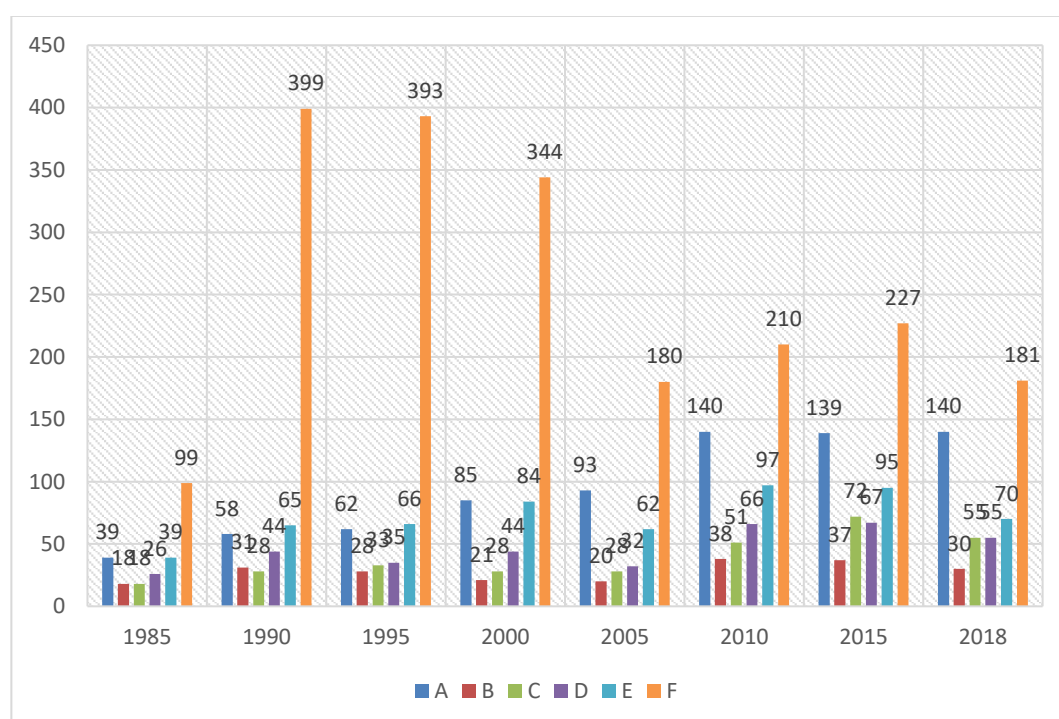


Figure 4.4: Number of Planners Who Have CL According to the Groups in Private Sector by Years

*Source: Compiled by the Author from the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization Archive*

In 1985, the number of planners in group A was 39, while the number of planners in F group was 99 and the total number of other groups was 101. In 1985, the number of urban planners with competency license in private sector was 239, 39 (16%) of whom were A group licensed.

In 1990, although an increase seemed to have occurred when an influx of F group entered the field, the share of planners with A group license was only 9,2%. It is

seen that in 1995, the A group rate was 10%, in 2000 14%, 18% in 2005, 23.2% in 2010, 23% in 2015 and 26% in 2018. In years, the number of planners in group A has reached  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the market. Looking at the proportions, where there are 6 groups (from A to F). The top-level CL holders constitute  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the market system.

The number of group F planners who constituted 41,25% of the market in 1985 rose to 63,7% in 1990 with a sudden increase. The urban planning market, obviously, experienced rapid entries in these years. In 1995, group F rate was 63% and it started to decline after 2000. This rate was 56% in 2000, 53% in 2005 and 34% in 2010. Since 2010, it has not shown an upward trend.

The rate of intermediate groups, B-C-D-E has remained stable and in minority since 1985. Examining the change of A, F and intermediate groups over the years in detail, it can be said that Group A, which has the greatest power in terms of capacity to get works in the market, started to oligopolize the market in time and as a result of this, the market reached saturation and blocked further entrances to the market.

In addition to these statistical results, the conclusions that are drawn from them are also supported in in-depth interviews with the A and F groups.

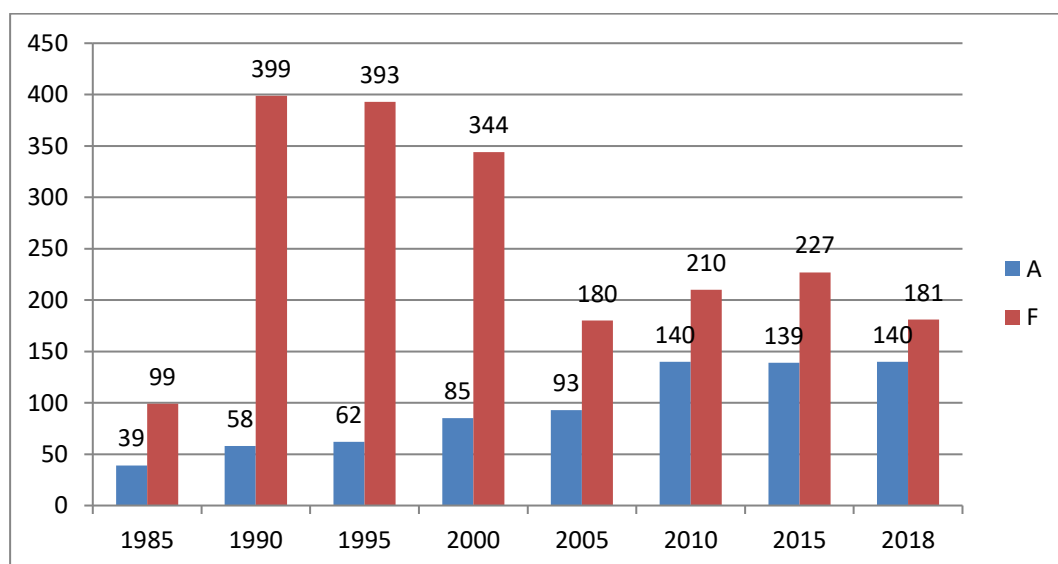


Figure 4.5: Number of Planners Who Have CL According to the Group A and F in Private Sector by Years

Source: Compiled by the author from the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization Archive

As depicted in the Figure 4.5, the relationship between A and F groups in detail gives us signals of oligopoly in the market. Even though group F is equal to A in number, they do not have fair, balanced competition conditions with group A members. Group F members have the right to plan in a planning field up to 10,000 hectare and 10,000 people, while group A can plan in places of 10,000 hectares and above, 1000.000 people and more. At the same time, though the rules set by the regulation states that a certain type of CL holding group cannot plan areas falling under an upper group's responsibility scope, the opposite is not valid. In other words, groups can get planning works of subgroups. That is, when an A group planner has the right to take planning works in places where group F CL is enough, an group F member can only do planning works in their assigned areas, which creates a straightforward unfair competition between them. With the enactment of the Law No. 6360 issued in 2012 the Metropolitan boundaries were extended to the administrative borders of the province and interpretations of the CL regulations were changed, ending in introduction of the condition that group A CL is a necessity to do jobs in all Metropolitan Municipalities.

In 30 metropolitan municipalities in Turkey, (which cover more than half of the population) A group CL requirement was introduced. For example, in case of Ankara;

An A group planner is allowed to plan both in Ankara city center and in the most remote areas of its districts, while an F group does not even have the right to plan in the city center, including plan renovations. F group planner doesn't have the right to make any plan renovations even in an area of 1 hectare in Evren district of Ankara. As a result of these changes in 2012, the F groups which couldn't compete with conditions were doomed to be completely deleted from the market. From 2012 to 2019, CL application made it more difficult to survive for the F groups that had to deal with unfair, one-sided circumstances. This application was terminated with the latest legislative amendment made in January 2019. In the metropolitan cities, there is still A group CL condition for city centers, the districts are evaluated according to their area and population sizes. This, to some extent, has relieved the obstruction experienced by the subgroups.

Under these conditions F group planners sought other ways to ease the difficulties that they were experiencing. One solution was to enter tenders on behalf of planners who have A-group CL and to get big-scale jobs that way. During in-depth interviews conducted throughout the study, both the A group and the F group members accepted that this practice had been widely used in the urban planning market. Interviewee 1A explained, Reaching a deal with subgroup member planners, A group planners were paid 300tl per week. They didn't know what the job was. There are a large group of planners who put their stamps on the plans without even taking a glance at the map. In many other interviews same issue was raised and these planners are nicknamed as "signatory A's." They are believed to constitute a large majority in the market and said to be mostly planners who have gained this right by fulfilling the time requirement in the public services as stated in the CL regulations. Interviewee 9 complained that people who had somehow worked in the public sector for 15 years at any planning unit, but who had no experience at all, retired as A group CL owners and then started to sell their license in the private sector. Such behaviors that don't comply with professional ethics are quite common. No monitoring mechanisms. Neither the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization nor the Chamber of City Planners takes a step towards this issue.

Other small groups got over this unbalanced competition conditions by negotiating with "signatory A's". Thus, the CL application is eliminated in practice. Though in the first place it was thought to be a regulation that was going to reflect on importance of experience in the profession, it couldn't fulfill its aim and failed to measure previous practices and background knowledge of the planner. Some other ways were found to void the regulation which paved the way for oligopoly and its imposition by the state. Group F members have found a way to maintain their existence within the urban planning market system no matter what, though it's mostly thanks to this solution which exceeds the limits of professional ethics and moral values. Interviewee 12F said If I have completed like 100 works by this time, 8 of them are under my own name. The rest is under another beloved planner acquaintance of ours who owned group A CL. It is

impossible for small groups to survive in the market if it's not for the "signatory A's".

In addition to the CL, the work completion documents requested by public institutions were also mentioned by Interviewees as an instrument that favors group A members and overwhelm F group members. You get completion licenses based on the jobs you accomplish to finalize. Large bureaus can take bigger jobs and they are able to finish the job. Therefore, the A groups still have higher chances in tenders.

Another point that needs more thinking is that CL is given to the individuals. Interviewees stated that giving it to the teams rather than individuals was more compatible with the structure of planning as an interdisciplinary profession. Almost all planning bureaus include an urban planner in the bureau. There is no sociologist, archaeologist, map engineer, architect who should take part in these plans concerning the whole city. In all the bureaus where in-depth interviews took place, no member of other occupational groups was present.

After the decrease in the procurement prices, the competition in the market has deepened. Planners of group A stated that they did not prefer to participate in the tenders launched by the Bank of Provinces anymore. One reason for this is that planners with low CL groups, such as F, E, run bureaus with fewer employees than the A group companies which relatively include more employees, therefore have higher expenses. Interviewee 10A: 10 people work in my bureau; F planner enters a Bank of Provinces tender as one person. He makes plans at home at his private computer. The money granted is not even enough for the salary of my three planners. Therefore, I do not prefer to enter the works offered by the Bank of Provinces. The interviews cleared that in contrast to their past preferences, group A planners now would rather accept jobs mostly coming from municipalities, provincial administrations and ministries. Interviewee 3A: Different sized bureaus make different offers. Bigger sized bureaus have to include all expenses in the offers they make. A bureau with only one employee knocks money off, which results in downsizing of the bureaus. In fact, it is

observed that the regulations and procurement regulations issued by the state prevents the institutionalization of the urban planning market and the growth of the bureaus. Both the CL system and the procurement law cause the bureaus to become smaller.

F groups stated that they continue to receive tenders from the Bank of Provinces at low cost. Interviewee 11 F: In order to promote our CL, we are collecting tenders of Bank of Provinces even at low prices. We can either sign a business by paying money to A groups, or we can do business on our own behalf to promote our CLs and become more competitive in the market even at a loss.

At the same time, it was stated by the Interviewees that social capital is an important factor in getting planning works. In particular, it is said that A groups are more fortunate in this respect compared to F groups. Interviewee 5: 'I've been in this industry since 1985. I know more people and corporations than my new planner friends. This makes it easy to receive works. It is observed that personal relations can play a decisive role, in particular, in municipal tenders.

It was stated by the Interviewees that the political relations within the social capital played an important role in the urban planning market. According to the Interviewee 9A: When municipal administrations move from party A to party B; planning works are transferred to planners who are close to party B from planners who are close to party A.

As a result, it is seen that the urban planning market, established and regulated through changes by the state, creates a dual market structure based on A and F groups. The state builds and supports this market, in a way feeds the gap between the two. While the market did not entail this dual dilemma before 1985, this change occurred rapidly after 1985. The most important reason for the formation of this dual structure is the license regulation. From 1969 to 1985, there were few private planning bureaus and during this period, planning works were shared because of this. However, with the change made in 1985, the state wanted to increase competition in the market. Therefore, entries into the market increased from 1985 to 1990-1995. Competition surfaced as the size of the cake didn't meet



the increase in the number of players in the market. Therefore, powerless F groups had to withdraw from the market. In the following years this led to an even more closed system. Briefly, a strictly oligopoly system was formed by the state, which served the neoliberal concept of urbanization.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE IN URBAN PLANNING MARKET**

#### **5.1. Introduction**

In the Article 5 of Regulation on the CL, after the definition of planning groups, it is stated that “Plans of all sizes and types are subject to Competency License” Thus, all plans to be designed in private or public sector are subject to this competency regulation. In other words, competency license is a necessity even for plans covering an area of 1 hectare. The regulations are designed in this way. Therefore, private planning bureaus operating in the private sector and in the urban planning market will be reviewed with regards to this regulation. Competency License, which is the first condition to operate in urban planning, has been presented and elaborated on with numerical data, in-depth interviews and literature reviews in Chapter 4.

At the same time, from 1985 to 2019, it was understood that the rate of profits in the urban planning market decreased due to an increase in the number of planners entering the market. However, job opportunities remained constant, which shows that the shares in the market have shrunk and more shareholders emerged. Therefore, the competition reached its peak. To exemplify, in 1985 a market consisted of 100 people was competing to share a total income of 100 units, whereas in 2019 300 people struggled to take their shares from an income of 50 units. In other words, the market was suffering not only from its own oligopolization but also from total market deterioration.

This analyzes show us that the urban planning market has been divided between A group license holders and the rest. The most important factor in this process is the way of accreditation of the planner that is competency licenses. Moreover, the Public

Procurement Law and all the other laws and regulations examined in chapter 2 helped build a cast system in this sense. On the whole, two profiles of planners in the urban planning market seem to exist: “Advantageous Planner” and “Disadvantageous Planner”. In this section, we will try to understand these two profiles by looking at their positions in the market and the competition and cooperation patterns between them. In addition to this, the way that urban planning market works by disabling the CL regulation in practice, and the importance and recognition of the CL regulation given in the market will be portrayed.

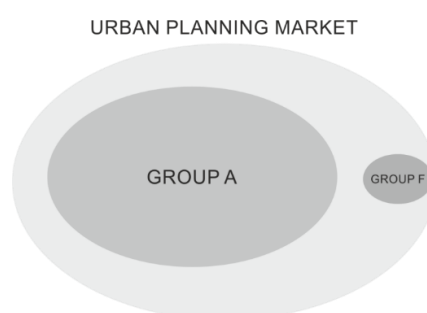


Figure 5.1: The Structure of Urban Planning Market (Created by the Author)

## 5.2. A Group License Holders in Urban Planning Market

The Regulation on the Competency Licenses defines Group A as:

A- The plan construction area around 10.001 hectares or more or depending on the future population projection, settlement areas or settlements which may have 1.000.001 or more population, GROUP (A)

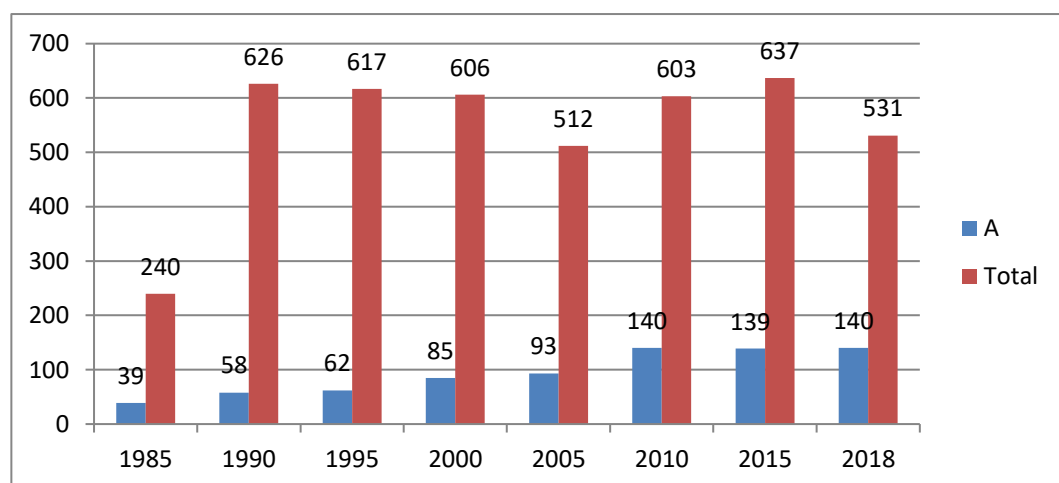


Figure 5.2: Number of Planners Who Have CL Group A and Total

Source: Compiled by the Author from the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization Archive

To reiterate, in 1990, only 9% of all the plan authors held A group plan construction competency license, while in 2018 this rate increased to 26%. Today, they constitute one-fourth of the whole market. These ratios four-tenths in number and much more in terms of work volume. Though the relevant regulation prohibits doing business in the upper group responsibility areas, there is no obstacle to engage in businesses falling under lower group authority areas. Any A group license holder planner can do business in any area of B, C, D, E, F groups. On the other hand, the otherwise is not possible due to regulatory restrictions. Moreover, the current populations of 23 provinces in Turkey are over 1.000.000. The Law on Establishment of 27 Districts and 14 Metropolitan Municipalities in 14 Provinces numbered 6360 issued in 2012, enabled A group planners to make plans in 30 provinces. Thus, A group planners who makes up ¼one fourth of the whole urban planning market have the privilege to plan 75% of Turkey's total population. From 2012 to 2019 – even though with regulation changes in 2019 this situation was revised and straightened out a little bit- A group planners had the advantage of being able to plan on behalf of 75% of whole population, while other groups they were not entitled to make plans in these areas.

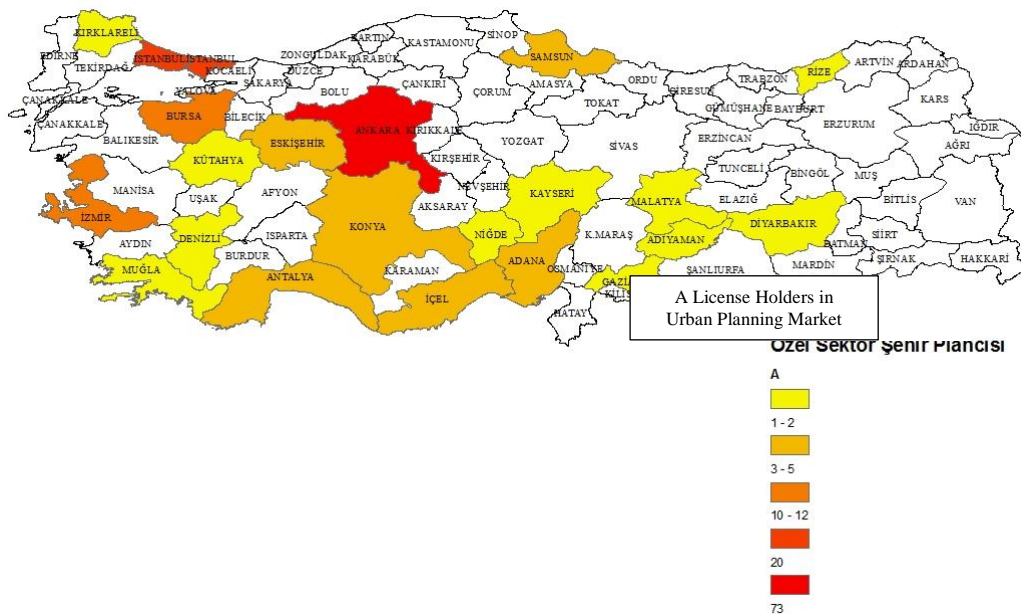


Figure 5.3: Distribution of A Group Competency License Holders Based on Province  
Source: Compiled by the Author from the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization Archive

A group Licensed planners get  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the share of the market even though they make up only  $\frac{1}{4}$  the whole market numerically. The distribution of Group As is as depicted in the Figure 5.3:

The figure 5.3 details the spread of Group As based on provinces. We see that they are gathered around metropolitan municipalities. The highest number of Group's are in Ankara and it is followed by Istanbul, Bursa and Izmir. In other cities the number decreases to a great extent.

Not officially but in practice, Group A planners are divided into two categories: The ones who own planning bureaus and do the job actively and others who are called "signatory A's" selling their signatures, don't have bureaus, engage in partnerships of small-sized bureaus or work on business-basis. The archives of the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization show that active A Group planners are those who obtained their A group CL before 1980s and have been actively in the market since then. All Group A planners with whom in-depth interviews were done, started their careers around 1980 or earlier and acquired their licenses way before 1990. This information is obtained through their narrations and documents, not stated by them. They all expressed that thanks to small number of planners in 1980s and an abundance of job opportunities, they were able to get promoted quickly and easily. In the market, in all of these A group planning bureaus which have been active since 1990s, an average of 5-6 planners (there are some with more than 10 planners or less than 5, such as 1-2 planners) are employed.

The competition in the market deepened after 2000s causing Group As to encounter some challenges as well. Due to serious downtrends in profits, they began to earn less even though they had no difficulty in finding jobs.

Interviewee 5A, the procurement law and the way administrative bodies treated us made it impossible for me to employ ten planners in my bureau. The state, in a way, is telling me not to institutionalize, grow stronger but retain 1 or 2 planners regardless of the quality of the planning. Well-known planning bureaus like ours need to be supported and embraced by the public/government. We contribute to employment but if nothing changes, we will have to reconsider our capacity.

Same concerns have been mentioned by the other interviewers who reported that the profit didn't meet the costs required to run the bureaus.

Furthermore, as for one source of the problem of noticeable break downs in prices, Group A planners refer to the fact that Group F planners can act individually. Interviewee 8A, A Group F planner accepts a job of 100.000 TL for 20.000TL because he/she doesn't have so many expenses as I do. They work on their computer while they are sitting at home. Under no circumstances can I compete with that! The struggle of existence between Group A planners as owners of institutionalized bureaus and Group F planners as individuals create such and more varied complications and dilemmas.

The second groups of planners are who are known as "signatory A's" in the market. They are the ones who resigned after working for 15 years in public sector, or switched to private sector after retirement by. The ones who got retired but has no experience in private planning jobs yet want to make use of their CL can be mentioned in this group as well. Both "Group A planners" and "Group F planners" are disturbed by "signatory A's". Interviewee 13F, The CL regulation places making deals out of our reach. Therefore, we are bound to "signatory A's". They are not included in the plans. They demand money based on the size of the job, so we have to negotiate with them to survive in the field. Interviewee 18F, We see "signatory A's" as dinosaurs. Although they have no connection to the field in practice, they enjoy the advantage of holding an A Group CL. "Signatory A's" have been criticized in such ways during most of the interviews conducted.

The Group A's that are currently active have also expressed their grievances against the signatory As. Having planners in the market who see no harm in signing under plans that they haven't analyzed doesn't go with professional ethics and has negative results in terms of the occupation. The governing idea behind competency license regulations that "planning works require certain amount of experience" has been eliminated because of such mischiefs.

Since no control mechanisms and sanctions are implemented by the Chamber of City Planners or the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization that is responsible

for competency license regulations, this has turned into a source of income in the market. Interviewee 19F, there are expensive “signatory A’s” and convenient ones. Some price based on the size of the work or the degree of risk. These are all very well known in the area.

In short, both of these two profiles continue to exist in the market. The first group of planners who are actively involved in the market outraces Group F planners as they had started doing business much earlier than the Group F planning bureaus. As the social capital of these planners are wider than Group F’s their personal relationship with the organizations are broader. That makes it easier for them to get jobs.

### 5.3. F Group License Holders in Urban Planning Market

The Regulation on the Competency Licenses defines Group F as:

The plan construction area between 25 and 300 hectares depending on the future population projection, settlement areas or settlements which may have 10.000 and less population, GROUP (F)

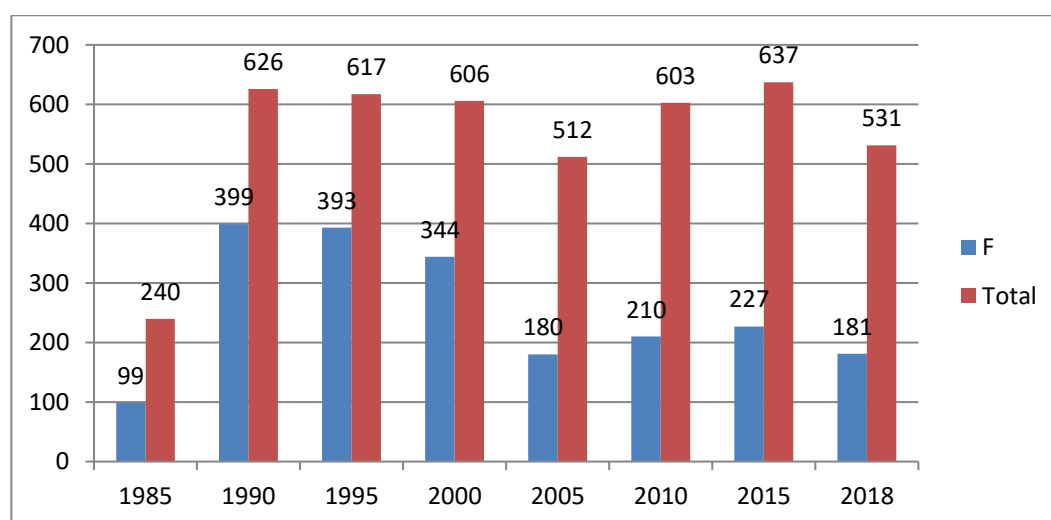


Figure 5.4: Number of Planners Who Have CL Group F and Total

*Source: Compiled by the Author from the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization Archive*

The F groups in Urban Planning Market accounted for 41.25% of the total market in 1985, and this rate increased rapidly to 63.7% in 1990. In this period, the

market didn't reach saturation yet, the future was promising. As of 2000, it entered a downward trend. This rate was 56% in 2000, 53% in 2005 and 34% in 2010. After 2010 until today, the pace has remained almost the same.

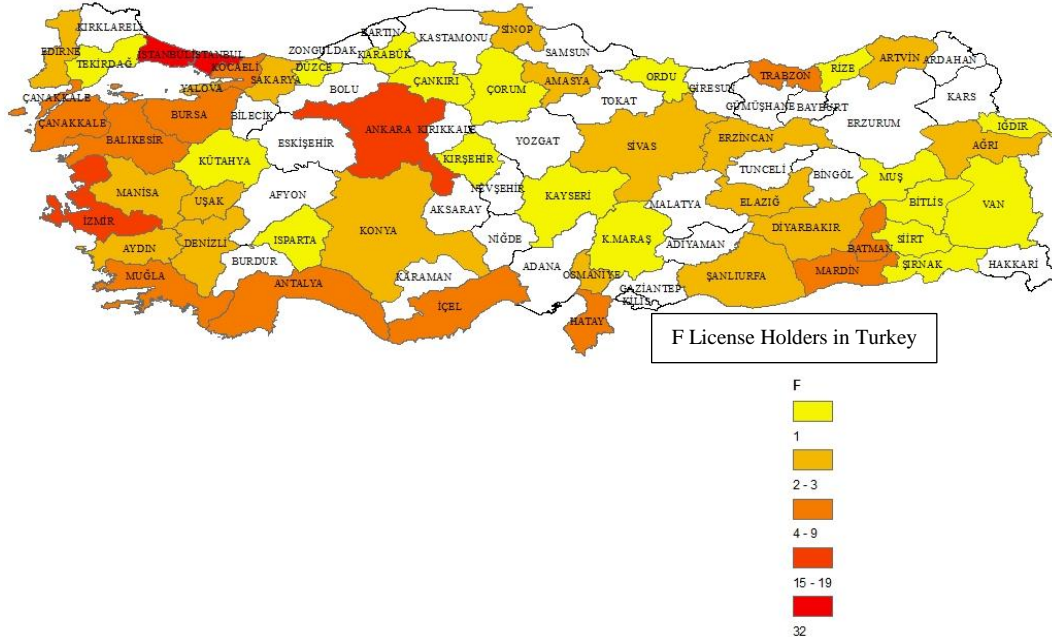


Figure 5.5: Distribution of F Group Competency License Holders Based on Provinces  
*Source: Compiled by the Author from the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization Archive*

It has become very difficult for Group F planners, who constitute 1.5%, to do business in the market. Due to increasing population numbers in the provinces and Metropolitans, Group As possess the right to plan 75% of Turkey while Group F's come in last place after B-C-D-E. In other words, they are entitled to make plans for much smaller areas. As shown in the map, similar to Group A planners, though existing all around the country F's also concentrated in municipalities.

When Group F's are classified among each other; there is a group that cooperates with 'signatory As and makes offers using their access and another group who were able to gain competency license but withdrew from the market due to lack of offers.

To sum up, the only way to survive in the market is to pay tribute to As. The system has made all kinds of limitations possible to subjugate F group planners to the As.



Since 2002, in addition to the competency license, work completion licenses have been demanded from the bureaus. So, planners had to meet the competency license qualifications and also think twice before taking a job. Group F planners are more affected by this new regulation. Not only they were in great difficulty due to competency licenses, but also they couldn't cope with work completion conditions. Group As on the other hand, doubled their advantageous position in the market for they completed more jobs than the others. With the introduction of job completion documentation in the tenders initiated by Bank of Provinces, other public institutions also started to request same documentation in the auctions. This situation made F groups more dependent on the signatory A's and put them in more difficult positions.

Additionally, Group F's were more affected by the recent economic crisis occurred in construction sector. It was stated by the Interviewees that when contractors were negatively affected by the crisis, Group F's, whose main job was to do modifications and amendments to the plans, were shaken up to the same extend. All of the Interviewees pointed out that the financial difficulties experienced in public institutions because of economic crisis led to serious decreases in the number of tenders; therefore, all groups were negatively affected.

F Group planners get most of the works from Bank of Provinces thanks to significant break downs in prices. Interviewee 20F, prices are so low that Group A's do not condemn to take jobs from Bank of Provinces. We are obliged to take jobs at such low prices. Even if there is no profit in the first job, by breaking the prices there are companies entering the market with the hope of being recognized by the institutions.

Interviewee 15F, I don't aim to raise my competency license. Because I know that no matter what I do, I cannot improve it. I am F. I will continue existing in the sector by taking the signatures of Group As and conducting jobs on small scales It is observed that none of the F Group holders are in pursuit of improving their competency license. They all expressed that such an ambition would be hallow and impossible to realize under these circumstances.

To sum up, analyzing statistical data regarding Group F's presence in the market, it is seen that there is a flow starting in 1990s until 1995s. This flow is broken when the market reached its peak point and the unfair competition conditions forced F's to step back. The ones who were already in began to divert from the market. The proletarian planners, who were oppressed by the A group licensed planners, have switched to other sectors or are still trying to survive in the hemispheres of the regulations by pushing the limits.

#### **5.4. Regulatory Failure**

The competency license requirement was introduced in 1969. It was adopted from the USA. The main focus of these regulations is on experience. In other words, new graduates were prevented from planning an area bigger than 10.000 hectares without gaining enough experience in the field. Although there have been various changes in the regulation so far, this grounding principle prioritizing skill and knowledge was preserved in all of the amendments made in 1985 and, 2006 and most recently in 2019. Although this principle has been determined so precisely in the regulation, it has been somehow eliminated and abandoned in the system. Regardless of their inexperience and lack of competency licenses, Group F planners engage in A competency license requiring jobs with the help of "signatory A's". This fact shows that the main purpose of the competency license regulation is disqualified and the regulation is neglected. Briefly stating, it can no longer fulfill its mission.

The competency license regulation has not been rendered dysfunctional just by manipulating it. There is also little awareness of the regulation. Some of the works submitted to the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization by planners for the purpose of raising their rationing groups consist of upper group level of works. In 2015, 5 out of 41 plan authors applying to the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization for this purpose have included works that are classified as out of the scope of their license authorization. Surprisingly, the plan author who wasn't supposed to work on these projects, submit them to the Ministry, the owner of the regulation. In 2017, 6 of the 39 requests made for improvement in the CL included such unauthorized works. This number represents the group of planners who are

uninformed about the regulation. There are also another group of jobs that were not reported to the Ministry, therefore unregistered. In practice, the lack of a penal sanction encourages going beyond the competency license regulation, and the non-qualified planners are forced to do business in other areas unless otherwise is demanded by the administrations of the companies that they are working with.

This issue was raised in in-depth interviews. Interviewees stated that some of the smaller municipalities did not know about this regulation and therefore did not include this requirement in tender specifications. Interviewee 2A: For a certain time, between 2004 and 2006, Bank of Provinces did not impose a competency license requirement for tenders. Thus, it is not known everywhere and by everyone.

#### 5.4.1. Interest in the Competency License over the Years

Above, in the section where we detailed data regarding CL acquisitions, we also examined the entrances into the urban planning market from 1985s. As presented in the Figure 4.1, there was a rapid from 1985s till 1990s. When it was 2000, the market which was stabilized after 1990s, experienced a decline again between 2000 and 2005. Then, it achieved a balanced situation and maintained its current state. Despite the increasing number of graduates over the years, the number of planners active in the market stayed the same. It maintained the number of planners as in the 1990s.

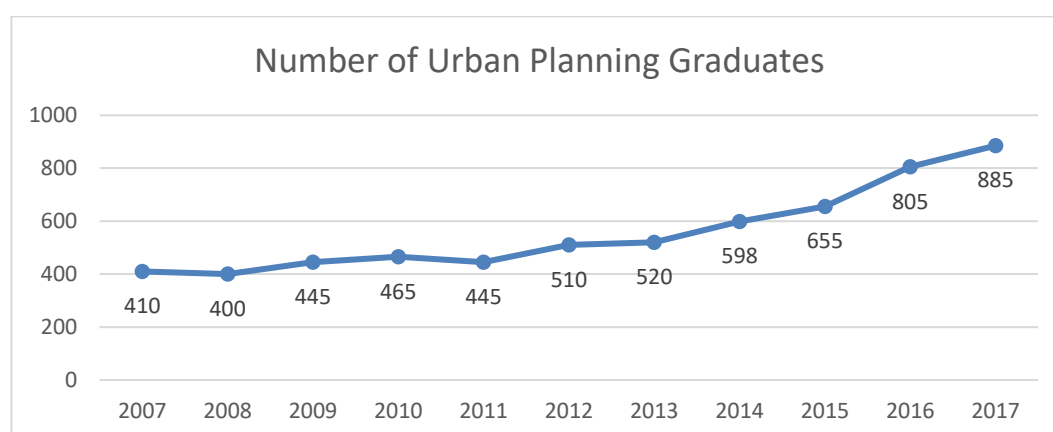


Figure 5.6: Number of Urban Planning Graduates

Source: OSYM web page, 2004-2010 ÖSYS Higher Education Programs and Guidelines for Quotas.

*\*: The number of graduates was estimated based on the quotas of city and regional planning departments of universities. For example, in 2004, the total number of quotas of planners in universities was 410, after the 4 years (planning education in Turkey is 4 years) in 2008 the estimated graduates number was approximately 410.*

One of the consequences of this market working like a closed system is that the interest shown in the competency license has decreased over the years.

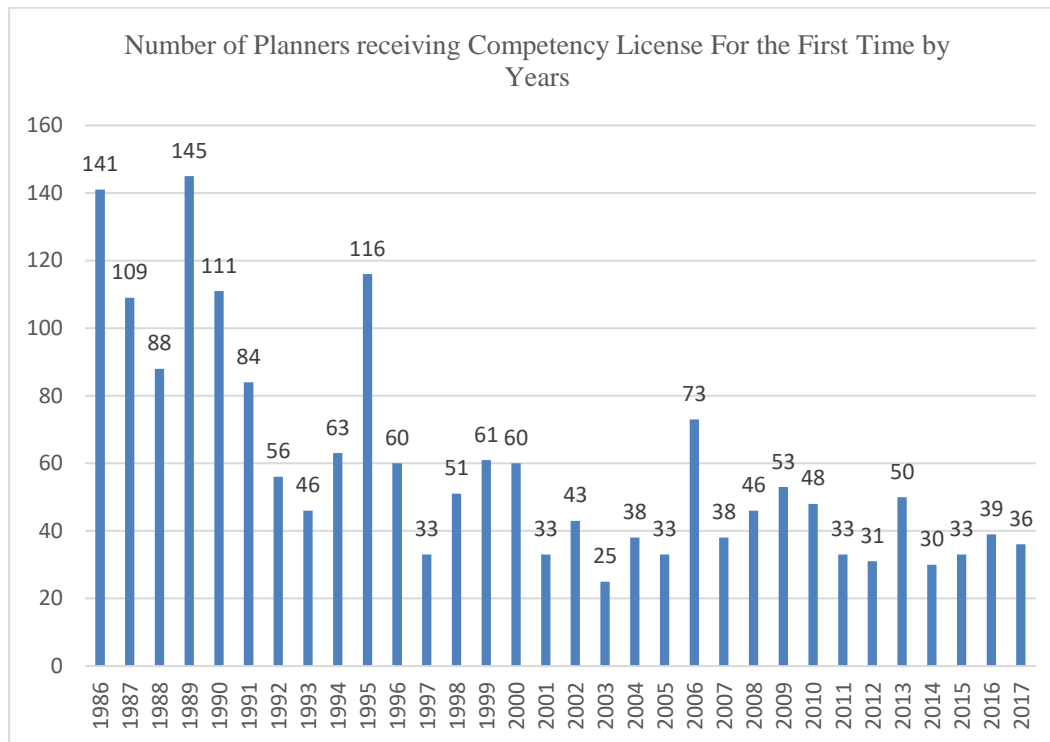


Figure 5.7: Number of Planners Who Received a CL For The First Time  
Source: Compiled by the Author from the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization Archive

The Figure 5.6 shows us the number of planners who received competency licenses for the very first time. It was 141 in 1986, every year until 1990, about 100 planners requested certification. After 1991, there happens to be a decrease in the number of demand. The reason for this is the fact that the total number of license holders in 1990 reached 626, so there was a great density in the market. Since the number of planners multiplied as the number of works offers stayed stable planners consequently lost their interest in the planning market and certifications. Although there was a slight increase in demand from 1990 to 1995 this change didn't last for long. Starting with 2000s, there was a greater decline in market inflows. Again, although there was a trivial increase with the

revision of the regulation in 2006, it didn't grow bigger in the following years. This indicates the falling interest in verifications. We can conclude that new entries to the urban planning market were preferred anymore.

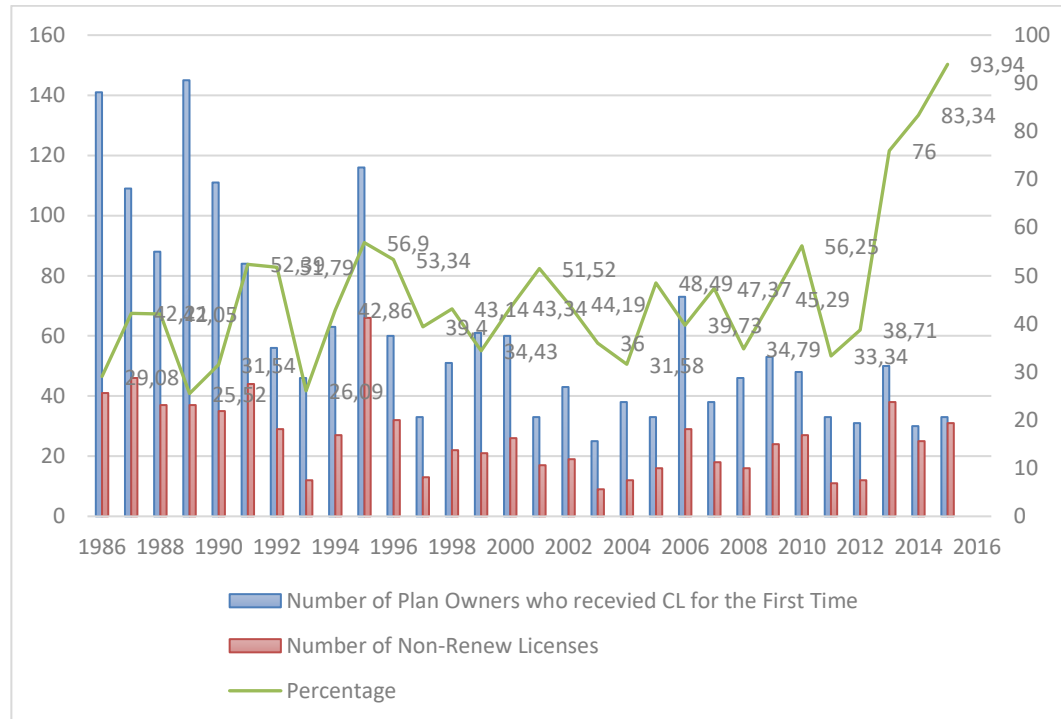


Figure 5.8: Comparison between Licensed Planner (For The First Time) and Non-renewed Licensed Planner  
Source: Compiled by the Author from Ministry of Environment and Urbanization Archive

Plan Production Competency License is a license is valid for 3 years after it is obtained. It has to be renewed every three years. In the Figure 5.7, we see the rate of planners who got certified in the first place but chose not to renew it. They in other words left the market. In 1987, 30% of the newly certified planners left the market after their first three years. It is seen that this rate increased gradually in the upcoming years. Similar to the decrease in the entrance to the market over the years, the time of stay in the market has also declined. For instance, in 2010, 56% of the newly certified planners did not renew their certifications and stopped working in the market.

Both the recognition of the certification regulation and interest in these licenses has decreased significantly over the years. The urban planning market therefore grew into a self-contained, restricted environment. Group As dominated the

system and established oligopoly over the others while the rest was struggling to exist.

### **5.5. Competition and Cooperation between Group A and Group F's**

The state doesn't only shape the urban planning market but also determines the level of competition. It has been maximized in the market together with the license regulations and the procurement law. This has led to the elimination of those who do not have sufficient power to survive in the market (F Groups) or to operate at the lowest level in terms of profitability.

When we examine the competitive environment in the market, a fair competition was not present between the A and F groups. It is not possible to speak of a fair competition because they cannot compete under the same conditions. The competition in the urban planning market takes place between the upper-group members themselves and the competition among the sub-groups. For example; A group planners were withdrawn from the tenders initiated by Bank of Provinces because the prices were very much broken and the rate of profit was low. On the contrary, the F group planners compete to get Bank of Provinces tenders. As for municipal tenders, the A groups compete against each other. There is a serious competition among the A groups that have been active in the market for years and they are in close contact with the municipalities thanks to the social networks that they built in years.

Inquiries regarding solidarity pattern in the market were asked in in-depth interviews. However; although the competition is quite strong, it is stated that there is no solidarity at all.

### **5.6. The Chamber of City Planners**

The Chamber of City Planners was founded at the end of the 1960s when the profession struggled to exist. The chamber, which was closed immediately after its establishment, was reopened in 1972. There is also a significant relationship between the urban planning market and the chamber whose purpose of

establishment was to contribute to the development of the profession and support the professionals and protect their interests in favor of the public.

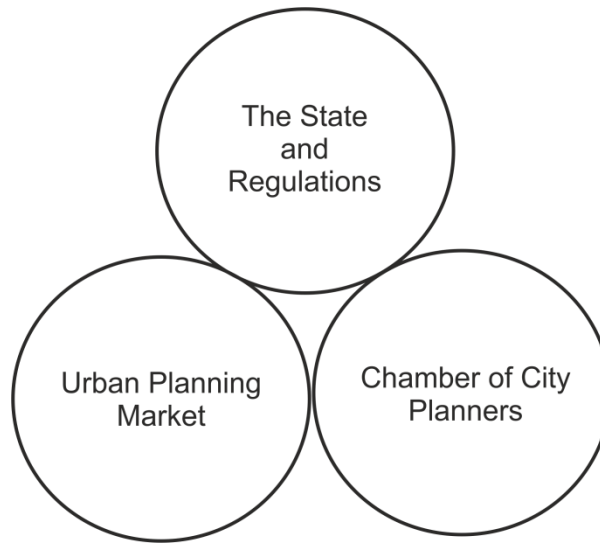


Figure 5.9: The Scheme of 3 Related Areas; The State, Urban Planning Market and CCP

The chamber is supposed to operate as a protector of urban planners against the dominating state regulations and constitutes a body to which planners can apply to share the problems that they encounter in their professional life. One of the tasks attributed to the chamber is as opposed to regulations set by the state which have determining powers on the professionals; it should fight for planners to have equal rights in the market.

Entered into force in 2011, The Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects, Free Urban Planning Services, Bureau Registration, Professional Audit Implementation and Lowest Wage Regulation states that:

Professional Audit Implementation (PAI) is to protect and develop the rights and interests of the profession and colleagues, to ensure that free city planning services are carried out by authorized professionals, to create equal competition conditions and the process of examining, auditing and keeping records by the Chamber within the scope of Free Urbanism Service Regulations and its annexes done by the qualified, reliable and high technical features holding Free Urbanism Bureau (ŞPO Ankara, 2019).

A case was opened by a member of the chamber. The purpose of the case was to investigate whether the plans done under the scope of professional auditing practices set by the regulations and approved by the chamber were conducted by mentioned planner or not. The Ministry of Environment and Urbanism took part in the case as a party. The majority of urban planners argue that the practice of professional supervision is not sufficient. Interviewee 4A, the chamber takes money from us under the name of Professional Audit Implementation. But we are left alone against our certification-related or procurement related regulations. It doesn't protect us. The inspections that are said to be made are all in theory, not in practice.

Interviewers were asked questions about the chamber to discover if this was the case in real life too.

In almost all of the in-depth interviews, planners expressed their discomfort about Professional Audit Implementation. They stated that the chamber should be included in the professional audit practice in a way that will cover and identify “signatory A's” and should take actions to solve this problem.

The chamber, in its body, also has a Court of Honor/Discipline Committee. The Chamber has the right to refer any member to the Discipline Committee when an act contrary to the ethics and principles of planning profession is detected. However, the monitoring mechanism is not fully operational due to the lack of sufficient number of employees and the lack of adequate amount of financial power. Although a professional supervision of the plans is made, no control can be made in terms of the content. The content of the plans is not examined unless there is a dispute. It is also one of the issues raised by some Interviewees that illegal, improper work is done in the urban planning market in order to avoid the supervision and not to pay fee to the chamber.

As a result, the Chamber of City Planners is a professional, legal body that is regarded as public authority found to develop and protect the profession Even though it lacks the power to break the monopoly present in the market supported



by the state's highly dominating policies, the planners expect the chamber to take a more active role.

In conclusion, group F license holders, are the most disadvantaged on the market. Group F's who are struggling to exist in the market are crushed under group A hegemony. To get rid of this hegemony, they have to abide by another hegemony, that is the "signatory A's". In order to break the dominance of group A, they are literally fighting for their places in the market trying to equalize the situation by paying certain prices to the signatory As. There are two different kinds of intervention by the state. It regulates the market strictly both directly and indirectly. On one hand, the license regulations issued determine the players in the market. On the other hand, the pricing policy determined by the public procurement law and as the employer, its right to determine the prices fuel the conflict between these two groups. In addition to these, there are regulations regarding urbanization policies which indirectly touch the urban planning market. It is seen that these regulations paving the way for neoliberal urbanization support this dual structure in and guide and head the system that way. Therefore, this strictly regulated oligopoly market is closed in itself and contains high levels of competition. Group F's struggle to exist in the market and they make concessions from professional ethics and principles to do so (engaging with the signatory A's), and those who cannot keep up have to withdraw from the market quickly.

The Chamber of City Planners, which is and is supposed to be on the market side of the relationship between the state and urban planning market, is tried to be neutralized by the state. The state wants to reduce and even eliminate the impact of the chamber with the regulations targeting it. The state seems to be in a struggle to ensure that it is the sole owner of the urban planning market by taking away the practices such as the professional audit practice held by the Chamber of City planners. Considering triangle including state - urban planning market - the Chamber of City Planners, F group licensed planners get no professional support in their fights from the chamber. The dual armor in the market continues to exist that way.

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **CONCLUSION**

The aim of this thesis was to examine how and under what political conditions the market we termed as urban planning market emerged, by whom it is created and what are the transformations that it has gone through within the years. While exploring these factors, the role of the state that created it and the relationship between these two parties is detailed. It has been observed that this market, including private planning bureaus, has undergone changes over the years with the policies implemented by the state. As a result, the planning environment was directed by the policies of the state. It “marketized” the urban planning market and kept having an impact on it directly and indirectly.

This study highlights the fact that regulations issued by the state formed an order with complexities and a dual structure. These regulations, not only established the organizational structure of the market but also continuously enabled the state determine the players and the size of the businesses presented and manipulate the relationships between the market players. To clarify, it has produced the market. As detailed in Chapter 4 and 5, A system, based on A and F Groups, where they are positioned in two polarized states has been formed. Group A appears to be the advantaged side whereas group F suffers as the disadvantageous. Legal statements have had profound impacts on the market. All private planning bureau owners have been somehow struggling to exist in the market regardless of their groups. To conclude, the planning market entails an oligopoly and a strictly regulated system. The state as the creator of this improper functioning makes use of the faults and flaws in the system.

Chapter 2 was on the neoliberalization processes in the world. The position of the planner was depicted in relation to the changes brought about by these processes. The period before and during the neoliberalization in Turkey was discussed under Chapter 3. Şengül (2009) divides the urbanization process in Turkey into 3 periods: 1<sup>st</sup> period is the process of urbanization of the nation state. During this period, as the state was trying to ensure its legitimacy, public investments intensified. The capitalization power of cities was not discovered yet. 2<sup>nd</sup> period is the process of urbanization of the labor. In this period, the state was able to play an effective role as intensive immigration took place from rural to urban areas (squattling etc.). Planner was regarded as an elitist professional group before the neoliberal period. The period after 1980s is referred as the period of urbanization of the capital. With this period, the role of the planner also changed. The planner entered a period in which the concept of public interest that had been leading the mechanism for the functioning of the market mechanism, stayed in the background. In order to better understand this point, the history of planning in Turkey has been reviewed through developments of institutions and legislations.

The development of the institutionalization of the planning field over the years has been detailed. The laws that directly or indirectly affected the market system have also been specified. A legislative review has been conducted on how below mentioned laws and regulations affected the urban planning market:

1. Construction Law enacted in 1956,
2. Regulation on the Technical Conditions and Implementation Styles of Road Direction Plans and Development Plans and Competency Levels Required for Experts to Perform These Works enacted in 1969
3. Law on Land Development Planning and Control no. 3194 enacted in 1985
4. Regulation on Competency of Plan Owners and Plan Owner Institutions to Undertake the Development Plans enacted in 1985
5. Public Procurement Law enacted in 2002
6. Law on Metropolitan Municipalities no. 5216 enacted in 2004

7. Regulation on Competency of Plan Owners (Authors) and Plan Owner Institutions to Undertake the Development Plans enacted in 2006
8. Law on Establishment of 27 Districts and 14 Metropolitan Municipalities in 14 Provinces enacted in 2012
9. Amendment on the Regulation Competency of Plan Owners (Authors) and Plan Owner Institutions to Undertake the Development Plans enacted in 2019

These laws and regulations have also been classified. They have been divided into two groups depending on their direct or indirect impacts. Figure 1.1 is a comprehensive depiction of these interferences by the state.

Competency license implementation is the most obvious instrument that is used by the state to shape the market. This impact dates back 1969 when it was first introduced. Though it went through some changes in 1985, 2006 and lastly in 2019, the state has always kept the market under its spell thanks to the regulatory advantages.

The indirect interference of the state continued via other laws. In other words, the urban planning market was influenced by changes and regulations done in other fields. A prominent example is Law on Land Development Planning and Control no 3194. In brief, the authority to approve plans was taken from the ministry and passed over to municipalities, which marked the start of a new area in terms of urban planning system. Later, the Procurement Law came into force which covered all institutions and all kinds of works that had indirect influences over the urban planning market as well. The statement that “economically most advantageous price, that is lowest bidding price, wins the tender” led to a more competitive environment but cheaper prices in the urban planning market. The Law on Metropolitan Municipalities No. 5216 issued in 2004 extended the borders of the municipalities, leading to amendments in the regulations regarding competency licenses in 2006. Thus, the area sizes assigned to every certification group were broadened. A Law no 6360 enacted in 2012 enlarged the borders of metropolitan cities to the limits of the provinces’ administrative borders this had a great impact on the market as well. An unbalanced competition and

oligopolization arouse in the market after the Group A license holders had the right to make plans for all metropolitan cities.

In Chapter 3, subsequent to analysis made on laws and their impacts on the urban planning market, the changes that urban planning market gone through before and after Neoliberalization process has been covered. In the early years of the Republic, since there was no academic entities focusing on the profession, planners from abroad were invited. In this period, planning was regarded as a privileged profession. Referring to the profession in a holistic view, and emphasizing the physical side of it, no interference was made to the technical opinions of the planners. At the same time, the concept of public interest was considered important and it was considered as one of the fundamentals of the profession. After 1980, the profession acquired a certain degree of market logic. It evolved as the uncompromising relationship between planning and the market started to be used for the market to function well. Planners were expected to take the side of the priorities of the market rather than the public interest.

In Chapter 4 and 5 where case studies have been presented, the definition of urban planning market is done. Both statistical and in-depth interviews related to this market and literature review and the internal structure of urban planning market have been examined. The main findings of this study are as follows:

1. **As neoliberal policies gained pace in Turkey, of the planning profession and an urban planning market were formed. This market was created, shaped and directed by the laws and rules set by the state:** When the state began to withdraw from planning the space, there was an increase in the number of planning bureaus in the private sector. Later on, together with the Law on Land Development Planning and Control No. 3194 and competency license regulations, the rules were decided and controlled by the state.
2. **In the competency regulations (1969, 1985, 2006, and 2019), rules regarding this market were established. They led oligopolization of the market:** Classifying the urban planners into A,B,C,D,E,F groups and giving the highest license holder the right to plan in broader areas and lowest license

holders the authority to plan small-sized, less-populated areas preceded by unfair competition conditions and monopolization of the market.

3. **There are two types of planners in the market: 1. Advantageous Group A Planners 2. Disadvantageous Group F Planners:** Group A licensed planner, especially after the Metropolitan Municipality Law of 2004 and the Law No. 6360 issued in 2012, had the right to make plans in 75% of whole country's population while Group F licensed planner was under a lot of strain finding jobs. Since group A planner was sought in  $\frac{3}{4}$  of Turkey, the competition was fierce in the rest of the country. As Group As got oligopolized, other groups and especially Group Fs started to struggle in the market.
4. **Leaving the planning work to the lowest price offered with the Public Procurement Law has led to a decrease in the quality of the plans in the market:** The planning profession has defined the planner as the protector and collector of public interest from the very beginning. The role of the planner is primarily to protect public interest and to make plans in line with the principles of planning. The intensifying competitive environment, neoliberalization and the state's leading role in this regard caused the prices to be reduced to a point where it wasn't possible to make any offers. This has reduced the quality of the plans and paved the way for improper work.
5. **In addition to the Procurement Law and Competency Licenses, 'work completion documentation requirement' alienated Group Fs from the system:** After 2002, planners were also asked to submit work completion documents for the tenders. Thus, the A group planner, who had already had great deal of work, had the advantage of eliminating their rivals, while the F groups completely disappeared.
6. **The oligopolized environment created by Competency License Regulations, set the scene for 'signatory A's':** increasing competition hardened survival of Group Fs in the market. After 2000, Group F's started to withdraw from the market. On the other hand, by disabling the CL regulation, the remaining groups in the market started to take jobs with the help of other planners called signatory As.

7. **The policies of the state prevent the institutionalization and growth of the planning bureaus:** The private planning bureaus that exist in the urban planning market are small sized bureaus with 1, 2 or 3 employees on average. For the emphasis is not on the nature of the work carried out in the field but on pricing, offers manage the work flow. This leads to shrinking of bigger sized bureaus.
8. **The economic crisis that affected the construction sector in the aftermath of 2017 had bigger impacts on the Group F planners than the others:** the construction sector's fragility, the slowdown in the construction works led to the reduction of the plan modifications. Knowing that Group Fs were mostly engaged in plan renovations, there was a cut-down in the flow of work, so they experienced the crises deeper.
9. **In urban planning market, social capital and political relations are the parameters of recruitment of new works:** After 1985, municipalities were the authority to plan and approve, and the logic of taking business in the market also changed. The works, which had been given as open tender procedure by Bank of Provinces started to be taken from the municipalities and the processes that had been transparent before blurred. With the change of the system, the power of bilateral relations and social capital played the key role getting the jobs.
10. **New graduates do not prefer to enter the urban planning market:** The number of City and Regional Planning Departments, which increased especially after 2000s, brought an increase in the number of graduates every year. Although there are almost 1000 graduates every year, the number of new urban planners entering the urban planning system does not reach 100. This is one of the consequences of oligopoly system.

### **6.1. Further Remarks for Future Research**

This study is a discussion of the concept of urban planning market and an evaluation of its shaping by the regulations. Direct interference of the state to urban planning market through regulations and laws caused unfair competition

and creation of oligopoly in urban planning system. This brings to mind the following question:

Is the Competency License Regulation really necessary? And is it successful in measuring experience?

When urban planning systems in other neoliberal countries is analyzed, it is seen that the system in Turkey is more state-oriented. Though in countries like US and UK, verification and accreditation of planners are done by independent organizations (AICPA, RTPI); in Turkey it is the state which determines the rules.

Competency License is an old application that has been implemented for map engineers and Civil Engineers as well as urban planners. However, the problems created in the system have now rendered the market unworkable. This application, which has been removed from other professional fields, is still valid for urban planners. The Competency License Regulation hasn't created a fair environment in the urban planning market. Although this system, which is the forerunner of oligopolization of the market, intended to measure the experience in the first place, it does not fulfill its purpose. This indicates the need to remove or revise the application.

In addition, the crushing of the planning field under the market also undermines the public image of the work of the planners. This resulted in the deterioration of both the importance of the planning field and damaged planning profession and its legitimacy. The interviews revealed that both Group A and Group F licensed bureau owners are desperate for future of the market and are uncomfortable with the fact that the planning profession itself serves to the market at the expense of reducing the quality.



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## APPENDICES

### A. TERMS, NAMES AND REGULATIONS

Table A.1 TERMS, NAMES AND REGULATIONS

Açık İhale	Open Tender
Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı	Ministry of Public Works and Housing
Belediye Kanunu	Municipalities Act
Büyükşehir Belediyesi Yasası	Metropolitan Municipality Law
Çevre Düzeni Planı	Environmental Plan
Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı	Ministry of Environment and Urbanization
Devlet İhale Kanunu	State Procurement Law
Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı-DPT	State Planning Organization- SPO
Doğrudan Temin	Direct Procurement
İl Özel İdaresi	Provincial Administration
İlave İmar Planı	Additional Development Plan
İller Bankası	Bank of Provinces
İmar Kanunu	Construction Law
İmar Planı	Development Plan
İmar Planların Yapımını Yüklenecek Müellif ve Müellif Kuruluşlarının Yeterlilik Yönetmeliği (1985)	Regulation on Competency of Plan Owners (Authors) and Plan Owner Institutions to Undertake the Development Plans (1985)
İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı	Ministry of Public Works and Housing
İmar ve Yol İstikamet Planlarının Tanzim Tarzları ile Teknik Şartlarına ve Bu İşleri Yapacak Uzmanlarda Aranacak Ehliyeteye Dair Yönetmelik (1969)	Regulation on the Technical Conditions and Implementation Styles of Road Direction Plans and Development Plans and Competency Levels Required for Experts to Perform These Works
İş Bitirme Belgesi	Work Completion Certificate
İş Deneyim Belgesi	Work Experience Certificate
Kamu İhale Kanunu	Public Procurement Law
Koruma Amaçlı İmar Planı	Conservative Plan
Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı	Ministry of Culture and Tourism
Mesleki Denetim Uygulaması	Professional Audit Implementation

Mevzii İmar Planı	Partial Development Plans
Müellif	Plan Owner
Nazım İmar Planı	Master Plan
On Dört İlde Büyükşehir Belediyesi Ve Yirmi Yedi İlçe Kurulması İle Bazı Kanun Ve Kanun Hükmünde Kararnamelerde Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Kanun	Law on Establishment of 27 Districts and 14 Metropolitan Municipalities in 14 Provinces (06.12.2012)
Özel Planlama Büroları	Private Planning Bureaus
Pazarlık Usulü İhale	Bargaining Method Procedure
Plan Yapımı Yeterlilik Belgesi	Competency License
Plan Yapımını Yüklenecek Müelliflerin Yeterliliği Hakkında Yönetmelik	Regulation on Competency of Plan Owners (Authors) and Plan Owner Institutions to Undertake the Development Plans (2006)
Plan Yapımını Yüklenecek Müelliflerin Yeterliliği Hakkında Yönetmelikte Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Yönetmelik	Amendment on the Regulation Competency of Plan Owners (Authors) and Plan Owner Institutions to Undertake the Development Plans (2019)
Revizyon İmar Planı	Revision Development Plan
Toplu Konut ve Kamu Ortaklığı İdaresi	Mass Housing Development Administration
Türk Mühendis ve Mimar Odaları Birliği-TMMOB	Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects-UCTEA
Uygulama İmar Planı	Implementation Plan

## B. QUESTIONNAIRE

1. **Mezun olduğunuz okul?** (The school you graduated from?)
2. **Mezuniyet yılı?** (Graduation year?)
3. **Özel Sektörde planlama işlerine başladığınız yıl?** (What year did you start planning in the private sector?)
4. **Özel sektörde planlama yapmayı seçme nedeniniz? Neden kamu sektörü değil de özel sektörde planlılık yapıyorsunuz?** (Why you choose to plan in the private sector? Why do you plan in the private sector, not the public sector?)
5. **Yeterlilik Belgesi aldığınız yıl?** (The year you received the License of Competency?)
6. **Yeterlilik Belgesi grubunuz?** (Your Competency License group?)
7. **Karnenizi düzenli olarak (3 yılda 1) yeniliyor musunuz?** Do you regularly renew your report card (every 3 years)?
8. **Sizce Karne uygulaması gerekli mi/ devam etmeli mi?** (Do you think the competency licenses are necessary / should the application continue?)
9. **Karne grupları arasında geçişin zor olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?** (Do you think it is difficult to move between the license groups?)
10. **Plan Yapımını Yükümlenecek Müelliflerin Yeterliliği Hakkında Yönetmelik ile ilgili düşünceleriniz? Karne grupları, gruplar arası yükselme vs.** (What do you think about the Regulation on the Competency of Authors to Compose Plan? License groups, switching between the groups, etc..)
11. **Mesleğinizi etkileyen yasalar nelerdir?** (What are the laws that affect your profession?)
12. **Daha çok nerelerden, hangi kurumlardan iş alıyorsunuz?** (From where and from which institutions do you get work?)
13. **Özel planlama büronuz sadece planlama işleri mi yapıyor? Bunun yanı sıra bilirkişilik vs gibi yan gelirler elde edebileceğiniz işler alıyor musunuz? Bunların genel işlerinize oranı nedir?** (Does your private planning office only do planning tasks? In addition to this, do you get jobs where you can get side income such as expertise etc.? What is the ratio of these to your general business?)
14. **A grubu karne sahibi bir planlı olarak diğer gruplara göre kendinizin daha kolay iş alabildiğinizi/yapabildiğinizi düşünüyor musunuz? F**

**grubu karne sahibi bir planıcı olarak diğer gruplara göre daha zor iş alabildiğinizi düşünüyor musunuz?** (Do you think as an A Group certified planner can/are you able to find or get a work more easily than other groups? Do you think as an F Group certified planner that you can/are able to find or get a work harder than other groups?)

- 15. Özel sektörde diğer planıcılarla aranızdaki rekabeti belirleyen parametreler sizce nelerdir? (karne grupları ya da onun dışında)** (What are the parameters that determine the competition between you and other planners in the private sector? (license groups or other)
- 16. Yaptığınız planlarda planıcı olarak uygun görmediğiniz kararları iş yaptığınız idare tarafından dikte ettirilip yaptırıldığı oldu mu?** (Have your plans ever been dictated or is any related work forcibly made done by an administration that you do not see as appropriate?)
- 17. Üniversite eğitiminizi özel sektörde plan yaparken yaptığınız planlara aktarabildiğinizi düşünüyor musunuz? Ya da yaptığınız planlara daha çok plan yaptığınız idareler tarafından müdahale ediliyor mu?** (Do you think that you are able to transfer your university education to the plans you make in the private sector? Are your plans interfered by the administrations you work for?)
- 18. Planlama mesleği sizce disiplinlerarası bir meslek mi? Büronun aldığı işlerde Plan yaparken planıcılar dışında hangi meslek grupları bu plana dahil oluyorlar?** (Do you think the planning profession is an interdisciplinary profession? What kind of occupational groups are included in the plans except planners in the process?)
- 19. Bu piyasa ortamında özel sektörde plan yapan biri olarak sizi zorlayan faktörler nelerdir?** (In this market environment, what are the factors that challenge you as a private sector planner?)
- 20. Sizin dışınızdaki diğer planlama büroları ile ilgili görüşleriniz nelerdir? (2ye bölersek A grupları ve F grupları olarak adlandırabiliriz.)** (What are your views on other planning bureaus outside yours?)
- 21. TOKİ ya da Bakanlıkların planlama yetkilerini tekrar bünyesinde toplamasıyla birlikte özel planlama büroları nasıl etkilendi?** (How were the private planning bureaus affected by TOKİ or the Ministries reintegrating their planning authority?)
- 22. Şehir Planıcıları Odası ile ilgili görüşleriniz?** (Your opinion about the Chamber of City Planners?)
- 23. Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı ile ilgili düşünceleriniz?** (What do you think about the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization?)

### C. INFORMATION ABOUT INTERVIWEE

I1A	A group license holder since 1990 and Private Planning Bureau Owner since 1982
I2A	A group license holder since 2001 and Private Planning Bureau Owner since 1972
I3A	A group license holder since 1995 and Private Planning Bureau Owner since 1985
I4A	A group license holder since 1985 and Private Planning Bureau Owner since 1975
I5A	A group license holder since 1994 and Private Planning Bureau Owner since 1970
I6A	A group license holder since 1993 and Private Planning Bureau Owner since 1986
I7A	A group license holder since 2001 and Private Planning Bureau Owner since 1986
I8A	A group license holder since 1997 and Private Planning Bureau Owner since 1975
I9A	A group license holder since 1999 and Private Planning Bureau Owner since 1972
I10A	A group license holder since 1982 and Private Planning Bureau Owner since 1989
I1F	F group license holder since 2000 and Private Planning Bureau Owner since 2000
I2F	F group license holder since 1999 and Private Planning Bureau Owner since 2000
I3F	F group license holder since 2000 and Private Planning Bureau Owner since 2003
I4F	F group license holder since 2005 and Private Planning Bureau Owner since 2009
I5F	F group license holder since 1992 and Private Planning Bureau Owner since 1995
I6F	F group license holder since 1996 and Private Planning Bureau Owner since 1996
I7F	F group license holder since 1999 and Private Planning Bureau Owner since 1999
I8F	F group license holder since 2003 and Private Planning Bureau Owner since 2003
I9F	F group license holder since 2007 and Private Planning Bureau Owner since 2008
I10F	F group license holder since 2004 and Private Planning Bureau Owner since 2005

#### **D. TURKISH SUMMARY/ TRKE ZET**

Devletin neoliberalleşme politikalarını uygulamaya başlamasıyla her alanda olduğu gibi planlama alanında çeşitli değişimler yaşanmıştır. Bu değişimlerden bir tanesi de plancıları barındıran bir piyasa sisteminin 1980'lerden sonra oluşmaya başlamasıdır. Özel planlama bürolarından oluşan bu piyasanın devletin planlama yapım işlerini özel sektöre devretmesi ve kendisinin sadece bu sektörü şekillendiren (yasa ve yönetmeliklerle), kontrol altında tutan tarafa geçmesiyle oluşmuş olan bir piyasadır. Bu piyasada faaliyet gösteren plancılar kamu kurumlarından ya da şahıslardan planlama işleri alarak var olmaktadır. Bu piyasada yer alan plancılar şirket kurarak ya da serbest meslek erbabı olarak faaliyetlerine devam etmektedirler.

Bu çalışma ile özel planlama bürolarının var olduğu tarihten günümüze kadar devletin ürettiği politikalarla nasıl şekillendiğini irdelemek ve bunun planlama meslek alanına etkilerini anlamak amaçlanmaktadır. Bu amaca ulaşabilmek için planlama mesleğinin var oluş sebebi olan Dünyada ve Türkiye’de kentsel planlama tarihçesi ve bunun devlet politikalarıyla ilişkisi irdelenecektir. Kentsel planlamanın 1980 öncesi ve neoliberalleşme sonrası gelişimi anlatıldıktan sonra daha detaylı olarak planlama meslek alanına direkt etkileyen devlet tarafından çıkarılan mevzuatlar incelenecektir. Mevzuatlar sonucu piyasada yaşanan istatistiksel sonuçlar ve yapılan görüşmelerle algılanmaya çalışılarak mevzuatın etkileri anlaşılabacaktır. Bu kapsamda araştırma sorularımız şunlardır;

1. Devletin çıkartmış olduğu yasa ve yönetmelikler nasıl bir piyasa sistemi şekillendirip/yaratmıştır?
2. Özel Planlama bürolarından oluşan bu piyasada çalışan plancılar bu sistemde nasıl var olma mücadelesi veriyorlar?
3. Piyasada yer alan ve farklı Yeterlilik Belgesi sahipleri arasındaki rekabet ve dayanışma nasıl şekilleniyor?

#### 4. Devletin fiyat politikaları özel planlama bürolarından oluşan bu piyasayı nasıl etkiliyor?

Bu soruların cevapları tartışılırken piyasa ile devlet arasındaki ilişkinin yanı sıra geleceğe yönelik meslek alanında var olabilecek çeşitli dönüşüm ve değişimlerin de sinyalleri verilmiş olacak. Mesleğin özellikle özel sektörde oluşturulan bu tezde piyasanın bu mevzuatlar doğrultusunda nereye doğru gitmekte olduğu ve geleceği hakkında da bilgi verecektir.

Tezin ana sorun alanı ve araştırma sorularına cevap bulabilmek için öncelikle kavramların tarihsel süreçte geçirdiği değişimler ülke örnekleri ile birlikte literatür incelemesi olarak ortaya konmuştur. Ardından aynı kavramların Türkiye'deki incelemesi yasal mevzuatla ilişkilendirilerek, ana amacı etkileyen/etkilemiş olan geçmişten günümüze çıkartılmış olan bütün mevzuat incelemesi yapılmıştır. Nitel çalışma alanı olarak da mevzuat incelendikten sonra Bakanlık arşivindeki dosyalardan 1985 yılından günümüze kadar tüm gruplardan karne almış bütün plan müelliflerinin verisi toplanmıştır. Plan müelliflerinin sayısal verisi yıllara ve yasa değişimlerine yönelik etkileri analiz edilmiştir. Bunun yanı sıra ana sorunu çözmemize yardımcı olması amacıyla derinlemesine görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Derinlemesine görüşmeler, yasal mevzuatın incelenmesi ve sayısal verilerin biraraya getirilerek mevzuat etki analizi yapılmıştır.

Tez sorularının ve sorun alanlarının daha iyi anlaşılabilmesi için özel sektörde planlama işi yapan planlama büroları ile derinlemesine görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Bu görüşmelerle özel planlama bürolarında faaliyet gösteren şehir plancılarının devletin çıkardığı yasa ve mevzuatlara göre nasıl şekillendiğini, özellikle 1985 sonrasında çıkarılan yasa ve yönetmeliklerle nasıl kırılmalar yaşadığını anlamak amaçlanmıştır. A grubu karneye sahip ve F grubu karneye sahip plancılarla derinlemesine görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Ankara'da halihazırda faal olan A grubu karneye sahip 10 plan müellifi (I1A, I2A, I3A, I4A, I5A, I6A, I7A, I8A, I9A, I10A) ve yine Ankara'da halihazırda aktif olarak çalışan F grubu karneye sahip 10 plan müellifi (I1F, I2F, I3F, I4F, I5F, I6F, I7F, I8F, I9F, I10F) ile derinlemesine görüşmeler yapılmıştır. 2019 yılı itibariyle özel sektörde aktif olarak çalışan ve karneye sahip olan Türkiye genelindeki toplam şehir plancısı sayısı 634 bunların 120si Ankara'da faaliyet göstermektedir. Ankara da bu şehirlerin başında

gelmektedir. Aynı zamanda ilk dönemde merkeziyetçi bir anlayışla planlama yapılması ve bütün bakanlıkların da Ankara’da yer alması ve en eski planlama bürolarının da Ankara’da bulunması sebebiyle derinlemesine görüşme yapılacak şehir olarak Ankara seçilmiştir.

Bu tez 6 bölümden oluşmaktadır. İlk bölüm giriş bölümüdür. Bu bölümde genel inceleme yapıldıktan sonra çalışmanın ana amacı ve araştırma sorularından bahsedilmiştir. Ardından tezin yapısı ve yapılan derinlemesine görüşmelerin yapısı hakkında ve bunu izleyen bölümde de tezin metodolojisi ile ilgili bilgi verilmektedir.

Bölüm 2 teorik çerçevenin ortaya konduğu bölümdür. Bu bölümde kentsel planlamanın tüm dünya üzerinde geçirdiği değişim ve dönüşüm anlatıldıktan sonra planlama mesleğinin neoliberal ülkelerdeki var oluş süreci ve gelişen politikalar ve planlama trendlerinin değişimi ile nasıl şekillendiği literature taramasıyla açıklandı. Bu bölümde amaç Türkiye gibi neoliberal politikalarla yönetilen diğer dünya ülkelerinin planlama ve meslek olarak planlama alanında ne gibi süreçlerden geçtiğinin anlaşılmasıdır.

Bölüm 3’te ise Türkiye’deki planlama tarihi ortaya konduktan sonra planlama meslek alanının da bu süreçte nasıl var olduğu, ne gibi dönüşümler yaşadığı anlatılmaktadır. Üçüncü bölümün ikinci kısmında ise devletin çıkardığı ve planlama mesleğini etkileyen yasa ve yönetmelikler açıklanmaktadır. Bu bölümde amaç, planlama mesleğinin dönüşümünün devlet politikalarıyla nasıl şekillendiğinin, mevzuatların neler olduğunun ve meslek alanını nasıl etkilediğinin anlaşılmasıdır.

Dördüncü bölümde ise özel planlama bürolarından oluşan piyasanın yapısı istatistiksel verilerle ortaya konduktan sonra bu alanı etkileyen yasalarla karşılaştırma yapılarak piyasanın istatistiksel olarak ve yapılan derinlemesine görüşmelerle nasıl etkilendiği ortaya konmaktadır. Genel tablo ortaya konduktan sonra piyasa içindeki gruplar arası ayrışmanın yarattığı durumlar ortaya konmaktadır. A ve F karne grupları arasındaki haksız rekabet ve piyasanın tekelleşmesi sorunu yapılan mevzuat analizi ile ortaya çıkarılıyor. Bu bölümde; oligopolleşmenin iki ayrı plancı profilinin ortaya çıkarttığı gözleniyor. Bunlardan ilk profil devletin koyduğu mevzuatlar yoluyla A grubu karneye sahip “avantaj



sahibi planıcı” profili iken diğer profil mevzuatların yarattığı durumlar sonucunda piyasada var olma mücadelesi veren “dezavantaj sahibi planıcı” profilidir.

Beşinci bölümde ise tanımı yapıla “Avantaj sahibi Planıcı” ve “Dezavantaj sahibi planıcı” arasındaki rekabet ve dayanışmanın nasıl yürütüldüğü, aynı zamanda ekonomik anlamda piyasayı etkileyen mevzuatların piyasadaki tüm grupları nasıl etkilediği ortaya konması amaçlanmıştır.

Sonuç bölümünde ise çalışmanın ana sorun alanına ve araştırma sorularına, yapılan veri toplama çalışmaları ve derinlemesine görüşmelerle yanıtlar bulunarak bir çerçeveye oturtulmuştur. Çalışmanın genel bir özeti ve yapılan çıkarımlar anlatılmaktadır. Aynı zamanda bu bölümde ileriye dönük olarak tartışma başlıkları ortaya konarak piyasanın bir projeksiyonu ortaya konmuştur.

Özel planlama bürolarını kapsayan bu piyasanın devletin uyguladığı politikalarla yıllar içinde değişimler geçirdiği gözlenmiştir. Bunun sonucunda piyasanın hem devletle olan ilişkisi hem de yine devletin politikalarıyla yönlenen planlama dünyası ve diğer devlet politikaları ile ilişkisi incelenmiştir. Bu kapsamda özel planlama bürolarını devletin piyasalaştırdığı ve direkt ve dolaylı olarak bu piyasaya yönelik etkileri olduğu gözlenmiştir. Bu çalışma ile bu etkiler ve sonuçları araştırılmıştır.

Giriş bölümünden sonra gelen ikinci bölümde planlama mesleğinin tarihsel olarak gelişmesinin anlatılmasıyla başlanmıştır. Sanayi devrimi sonrasında kentlerin hızla yoğunlaşması ile kentlerde yaşanan sağlıksız gelişmenin bir sorun olarak algılanması ile planlama ihtiyacı gündeme gelmiştir. Planlamanın bir meslek olup olmadığı 19.yy. sonu 20.yy başında tartışılmaya başlanmıştır (Howard, J.H. 1954; Lee, J.E 1960; Hiltner, S. 1957; Perloff, H.S 1956). Üniversitelerde şehir ve bölge planlama bölümlerinin açılması ve planlama ihtiyacının günden güne artması sonucunda meslek meşruiyetini o yıllarda kazanmaya başlamıştır. Daha sonra çeşitli planlama yaklaşımları ortaya atılmıştır; Kapsayıcı planlama, Savunucu planlama vb gibi. Bu yaklaşımlardan en önemlisi ve günümüzde artık önemini yitirmeye başlamış bir tür olan Kapsamlı planlama yaklaşımıdır. 1900lerin başında Kapsamlı planlama, bütüncül ,uzun vadeyi kapsayan ve fiziki planlamayı öne alan ilkelerle ele alınırken kapitalist dünya düzeninde yaşanan sosyo-ekonomik değişimler bu planlamaya çeşitli eleştiriler getirmiştir; devamında

Aşamalı planlama gibi daha parçacıl, adım adım giden planların ya da savunucu planlama gibi kapitalist düzende dezavantajlı grupların çıkarlarını koruyacak şekilde planların yapılmasının değişen dünya koşullarına uyumlu olduğu tartışılmaya başlanmıştır. Marksist yaklaşım ise mekana daha farklı yaklaşarak kapitalist sistemin girdiği çıkmazdan kent mekanını keşfederek çıktığını iddia eder. Bu görüşe göre kent artık metalaştırılarak sermayeye hizmet eder. Bu yaklaşımlardan sonra kapitalist sistemde işleyen gelişmiş ülkelerin planlama alanındaki mevzuat gelişimleri incelenmiştir. Neoliberalleşme öncesi dönem bu şekilde özetlendikten sonra sermayenin kent mekanını neoliberal dönemle keşfetmesiyle kentsel mekanın planlanma alanında yaşanan değişimlerden söz edilmiştir. Tüm bu değişimler sonucunda plancının da neoliberal öncesi dönem ve neoliberal dönem sonrasında da toplumdaki rolü değişmiştir. Planlama mesleği değişen politikalar sebebiyle var olduğu günden bugüne sürekli kendi kimliğini ve mesleki tanımını arayan meslek alanlarından bir tanesi olmuştur (Albrechts,1991). Plancının, toplumda ona atfedilen rolü de değişen politikalarla dönüşmüştür. Dünya üzerinde planlama mesleğinin meslek olarak Kabul edilmesinden bu yana ilk tanımlandığı haliyle kalmamış, sürekli bir değişim içinde olmuştur. Plancılar da bu duruma ayak uydurmak zorunda olmuşlardır.

Dünyada üzerinde neoliberalleşme süreci anlatılıp bu çerçevede plancının durumu ikinci bölümde incelendikten sonra üçüncü bölümde Türkiye’deki neoliberalleşme dönem öncesi ve neoliberal dönem anlatılmıştır. Türkiye’de yaşanan kentleşme sürecini Tarık Şengül (2001) üç bölüme ayırmıştır; 1.dönem ulus devletin kentleşme süreci diye adlandırdığı dönemdir. Bu dönemde ulus devlet kendi meşruiyetini sağlama çabası içerisinde olduğundan kamu yatırımlarına ağırlık verilmiştir. Kentlerin henüz sermayeleşme gücü keşfedilmemiştir. 2.dönem emeğin kentleşmesi olarak adlandırdığı dönemdir. Bu dönemde kırdan kente göçün yoğunluğu karşısında devlet yaşanan sorunlar (gecekondulaşma vs) karşısında effective bir rol oynayamamıştır. Plancı neoliberal dönem öncesinde daha elitist görülen bir meslek grubudur. 1980 sonrasında ise sermayenin kentleşmeye başladığı dönem olarak adlandırır. Bu dönemle birlikte plancının rolü de değişmiştir. Artık plancı market mekanizmasının işlemesine ön ayak olan “public interest” kavramının daha arka planda kaldığı bir sürece girmiştir. Bu

noktayı daha iyi anlayabilmek için Türkiye’deki planlama tarihi kurumsal ve mevzuat olarak gelişimi incelenmiştir.

Planlama alanı ve ile ilgili kurumsallaşmanın yıllar içindeki gelişimi incelenmiştir. Bununla beraber devletin urban planning market sistemini doğrudan ya da dolaylı olarak etkileyen yasaları incelenmiştir. 1956 yılında çıkarılan İmar Kanunu, 1969 yılında çıkarılan İmar ve Yol İstikamet Planlarının Tanzim Tarzları ile Teknik Şartlarına ve Bu İşleri Yapacak Uzmanlarda Aranacak Ehliyete Dair Yönetmelik, 1985 yılında çıkarılan 3194 sayılı İmar Kanunu, aynı yıl çıkarılan İmar Planlarının Yapımını Yüklenecek Müellif ve Müellif Kuruluşlarının Yeterlilik Yönetmeliği, 2002 yılında çıkarılan Kamu İhale Kanunu, 2004 yılında çıkarılan Büyükşehir Belediye Kanunu (5216), Plan Yapımını Yüklenecek Müelliflerin Yeterliliği Hakkında Yönetmelik (2006), 2012 yılında çıkarılan On Dört İlde Büyükşehir Belediyesi ve Yirmi Yedi İlçe Kurulması ile Bazı Kanun ve Kanun Hükmünde Kararnamelerde Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Kanun (06.12.2012), ve en son 2019 yılında çıkarılan Plan Yapımını Yüklenecek Müelliflerin Yeterliliği Hakkında Yönetmelikte Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Yönetmelik (2019) bu kanun ve yönetmeliklerin piyasayı nasıl etkilediğine ilişkin bir mevzuat incelemesi yapılmıştır. Bu yasa ve yönetmelikler de sınıflandırılmıştır. Devlet piyasayı direkt olarak karne mevzuatı ile etkilemektedir. Bu alandaki etkisi 1969 yılında çıkarttığı ve bu Alana yönelik olarak koyduğu karne şartı ile başlamıştır. Daha sonra mevzuat 1985, 2006 ve 2019 da çeşitli değişikliklerle yeniden özel planlama büro piyasası direkt olarak etkilemeye devam etmiştir.

Dolaylı olarak ise devlet, planlama politikalarını etkileyen ve diğer politika alanlarını etkileyen yasalar çıkartmıştır. Ama bu yasaların sonucunda dolaylı olarak özel planlama büroları da etkilenmiştir. Bunlardan ilki 1985 yılında çıkarılan 3194 sayılı imar kanunudur. Özetle bu kanunla birlikte plan onaylama yetkisi Bakanlıktan alınarak Belediyelere geçirilmiştir. Bu da urban planning market sisteminde yeni bir devrin açılmasına sebep olmuştur. Daha sonra 2002 yılında çıkarılan tüm kurumları ve her türlü işi kapsayan Kamu İhale Kanunu sonucunda piyasa yine dolaylı olarak etkilenmiştir. Kanunda yapılan “ekonomik olarak en avantajlı bedeli veren yani en düşük fiyat teklifini verene ihale verilir”

kriteri ile piyasadaki rekabetin artmasına fiyatların düşmesine sebep olmuştur. 2004 yılında çıkarılan 5216 sayılı Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kanunu ile genişletilen Büyükşehir sınırları sebebiyle 2006da karne yönetmeliği değiştirilerek karne gruplarının büyüklükleri de artırılmıştır. 2012 yılında çıkarılan 6360 sayılı yasa ile de piyasa dolaylı olarak etkilenmiştir. Tüm Büyükşehir olan illerde plan yapma ehliyeti A karne grubuna sahip plancılara verilmesiyle urban planning markette haksız rekabet ve tekelleşme süreci yaşanmaya başlamıştır.

Üçüncü bölümde yasalar ve urban planning markete etkileri analiz edildikten sonra planlama professionının türkiyede neoliberal öncesi dönem ve neoliberalleşme sonrası dönemde yaşadığı değişimlere yer verilmiştir; cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarında mesleğin türkiyede akademik olarak bir bölümünün olmaması sebebiyle planlama için yurtdışından plancılar Türkiye'ye getirilmiştir. Bu dönemde bütüncül plan yaklaşımı ve daha çok planlamanın fiziksel yönünün ön plana çıkmış ve plancılar daha üst düzeyde görülmüş ve teknik görüşlerine karışılmamıştır. Aynı zamanda public interest kavramının da meslekle birlikte anıldığı ve öneminin korunduğu bir dönem olmuştur. 1980 sonrasında ise meslek biraz daha piyasa mantığı ile işletilmek üzerine yoğunlaşmıştır. Planlama ve piyasa arasındaki uzlaşmaz ilişkinin, planlamanın piyasanın iyi işleyebilmesi için kullanılmaya başlamasıyla planlama mesleği de evrilmiştir. Plancı da Türkiye'de kamu yararına hizmet etmekten çok piyasa yararını ön plana alması gereken bir konuma getirilmeye çalışılmıştır.

Dördüncü ve beşinci bölümlerde ise özel planlama büro piyasasının tanımı yapılarak bu piyasa ile ilgili hem istatistiksel hem de derinlemesine görüşmeler ile piyasanın iç yapısı incelenmiştir. Bu çalışma sonucunda ortaya çıkan ana bulgular şu şekildedir;

- 1. Türkiye'de neoliberal politikaların hakim olmaya başlaması ile birlikte planlama mesleği ile ilgili olarak da devlet tarafından yaratılan ve yine devlet politikalarıyla şekillenen ve ona göre yönlenen bir piyasa sistemi oluşturulmuştur:** Devletin, mekanı planlama görevinden elini çekmeye başlaması ile özel sektörde planlama işi yapan planlama bürolarının sayısında bir artış yaşanmaya başladı. Daha sonra 3194 sayılı İmar Kanunu ve onu takip eden karne

yeterlilik yönetmeliği ile bu piyasanın kuralları devlet tarafından belirlenerek işlemeye başlaması yine devlet tarafından sağlanmıştır.

2. **Devletin çıkarmış olduğu karne yönetmelikleri (1969, 1985, 2006, 2019) ile bu piyasaya ilişkin kurallar belirlenmiştir. Bu mevzuat piyasanın oligopolleşmesine neden olmuştur:** karne mevzuatı ile belirlenen şehir plancılarını A-B-C-D-E-F olarak gruplama şartı ve bu gruplamaya göre en üst düzey karneye sahip (A grubu) plancının büyük alanlarda, en alt düzey karneye sahip plancının ise küçük nüfus ve hektar büyüklüğüne sahip alanlarda plan yapma yetkisi verilmesi piyasada rekabetin adil olmamasına bunun da tekel bir piyasa sisteminin oluşmasına sebep olduğu görülmüştür.
3. **Devlet politikaları sonucu oluşan iki grup plancı tipi vardır: 1. Avantajlı Plancı (A grubu), 2. Dezavantajlı Plancı (F grubu):** A grubu plancılar özellikle 2004 Metropolitan Municipality yasası ve 2012 yılında çıkarılan 6360 sayılı yasa sebebiyle Tüm Türkiye nüfusunun %75'inde plan yapma hakkına sahip olurken, F grubu plan müellifleri planlama işi almakta çok daha zorlanmaya başlamıştır. Türkiye'nin 4te 3ündeki alanlarda A grubu şartı aranırken geri kalan alanlarda iş almak daha rekabetli hale gelmiştir. A grupları tekelleşirken diğer gruplar ve özellikle F grupları piyasada kalma mücadelesi vermeye başlamışlardır.
4. **Kamu İhale Kanunu ile karne şartının yanı sıra “iş bitirme” istenmesi F gruplarını daha da system dışı kalmaya itmiştir:** 2002 yılından sonra ihaleler için aranan şartlara karnenin yanı sıra iş bitirme de eklenmiştir. Bunun sonucunda halihazırda büyük işbitirmeleri olan A grubu plancılar rakiplerini elemekte eline avantaj geçirirken, halihazırda zaten iş bulmakta zorlanan ve dolayısıyla iş bitirmesi yeteri kadar olmayan F gruplarının rekabet edebilmeleri imkanı tamamıyla ortadan kalkmıştır.
5. **Kamu İhale Kanunu ile en düşük fiyat verene planlama işinin yaptırılması piyasada yapılan planların kalitesinin düşmesine sebep olmuştur:** Planlama meslek alanı plancıyı en başından itibaren kamu yararının koruyucusu ve kollayıcısı olarak tanımlamıştır.

Plancının rolü öncelikle kamu yararını korumak ve planlama ilke ve esaslarına uygun planlar yapmaktır. Neoliberalleşme ile birlikte rekabet ortamının artması ve devletin de bizzat bu konuda başrol oynaması ile ihale fiyatları yapılamayacak fiyatlara düşürülmüştür. Bu da planların kalitesini düşürerek aynı zamanda usulsüz işler yapılmasının önünü açmıştır.

- 6. Karne mevzuatının yarattığı bu oligopol ortamı “imzacı a’ların” doğmasına sebep olmuştur:** Devlet politikaları ile günden güne artan rekabet F gruplarının piyasada var olma mücadelesi vermelerine sebep olmuştur. 2000 yılından sonra F grupları hızla piyasadan çekilmeye başlamış, F grubu oranı düşmüştür. Piyasada kalan F grupları ise karne mevzuatını devre dışı bırakarak, “imzacı a’lar” denilen plancılar üzerinden iş almaya başlamış, bu şekilde piyasada var olmanın yolunu bulmuşlardır.
- 7. Devletin politikaları planlama bürolarının kurumsallaşp büyümesinin önüne geçmektedir:** Piyasada varlığını sürdüren özel planlama büroları halihazırda çok fazla çalışan barındırmayan ortalama olarak 1,2 ya da 3 çalışanı olan bürolardır. Yapılan fiyat uygulamaları ve planlama alanında yapılan işin niteliğine önem verilmemesi sebebiyle işler fiyat yönüyle verilmektedir. Bu da daha fazla çalışanı olan büroların küçülmeye gitmesine sebep olmaktadır.
- 8. 2017 sonrasında yaşanan ve inşaat sektörünü etkileyen ekonomik kriz piyasadaki F grubu plancıları daha fazla etkilemiştir:** inşaat sektörünün olumsuz olarak etkilenmesi, inşaat işlerinin yavaşlaması, plan tadilatlarının da azalmasına dolayısıyla daha fazla plan tadilatı işi yapan f gruplarının daha az iş alarak ekonomik krizden diğer gruplara göre daha olumsuz olarak etkilenmesine sebep olmuştur.
- 9. Özel Planlama büro piyasasında sosyal sermaye, siyasi ilişkiler iş alımlarında avantaj sağlayan parametrelerdendir:** 1985 sonrasına Belediyelere plan yapma ve onaylama yetkisi verilmesi ile piyasadaki iş alma mantığı da değişmiştir. Öncesinde iller bankasında açık ihale usulü olarak alınan işler ve şeffaf yaşanan süreçler, sistemin

değişmesiyle daha çok sosyal sermayesi olan ikili ilişkilerinin gücüyle işler belediyelerden alınmaya başlamıştır.

**10. Yeni mezunlar özel planlama bürolarından oluşan bu piyasaya girmeyi tercih etmemektedirler:** Özellikle 2000li yıllardan sonra artan Şehir ve Bölge Planlama Bölümü sayısı, her sene mezun sayısında artış yaşanmasına sebep olmuştur. Her sene hemen hemen 1000 mezun veren şehir ve bölge planlama bölümlerinden bu piyasaya giren yeni mezun şehir plancısı sayısı yıllık 100'ü bulmamaktadır. Bu da sistemin oligopol işleminin sonuçlarından bir tanesidir.

Sonuç olarak, piyasa oyuncusu olan F grubu yeterlilik belgesi sahibi plancılar piyasadaki en dezavantajlı gruptur. Piyasada var olma mücadelesi veren F grubu plan müellifleri A grubu hegemonyası altında ezilmektedir. Bu hegemonyadan kurtulmak için ise başka bir hegemonya altına girmek zorunda kalmaktadırlar. Diğer bir hegemoni ise imzacı A'lardır. A grubu egemenliğini kırmak amacıyla imzacı A'lara belli bedeller ödeyerek onlarla eşitlenmeye çalışmakta olan F grupları adeta piyasada var olma mücadelesi vermektedirler. Devletin burada iki türlü müdahalesinin ortaya çıktığını görmekteyiz. Hem direkt hem de dolaylı olarak piyasayı biçimlendirmektedir. Çıkardığı mevzuatla piyasadaki oyuncuları katı bir şekilde belirlerken, bir yandan da kamu ihale kanunu ile zaten iş veren olarak bizzat belirlediği ücret politikası da piyasada oluşan A ve F grupları arasındaki bu bölünmüş yapıyı desteklemiştir. Bunun dışından yine dolaylı olarak piyasayı etkileyen fakat direkt olarak da Türkiye'deki kentleşme politikalarını etkileyen yasa ve yönetmelikler vardır. Neoliberal kentleşmenin önünü açan bu devlet mevzuatının piyasadaki bu bölünmüş yapıyı desteklediği ve sistemi o şekilde yönlendirdiği görülmektedir. Kendi içinde kapalı olan ve üst düzeyde bir rekabetin olduğu, F gruplarının var olma mücadelesi verdiği, var olmak için meslek etiği ve ilkelerinden taviz verdiği (imzacı'lara iş yaptırarak), var olma mücadelesinde tutanamayanların ise hızla piyasadan çekildiği bir özel planlama büro piyasası yapısı oluşmuştur.

Bu devlet – piyasa arasındaki ilişkinin diğer bir tarafından olan ve olması beklenen Şehir Plancıları Odasının ise bu ilişkide devlet tarafından etkisizleştirilmeye çalışıldığı görülmektedir. Devlet bu sefer şehir plancıları

odasına yönelik olarak çıkarttığı yönetmeliklerle şehir plancıları odasının piyasa üzerindeki etkisini minimuma indirmek istemektedir. Devlet, Şehir Plancıları Odası'nın elinde bulundurduğu mesleki denetim uygulaması vs gibi uygulamaları elinden alarak bu alanda piyasa üzerindeki tek hakimiyet sahibinin kendisi olmasını sağlamaya çalışmaktadır. Devlet – özel planlama büro piyasası – şehir plancıları odası üçgeninde şehir plancıları odasının piyasaya ve dolayısıyla orada var olma mücadelesi veren F grubu yeterlilik belgesi sahibi plan müelliflerine de bir etkisi ve mesleki olarak bir desteği olamamaktadır.

Devlet çıkardığı yasa ve yönetmeliklerle birlikte özel planlama büro piyasası olarak adlandırdığımız piyasa düzenini oluşturmuştur. Sadece oluşturmakla da kalmayıp piyasa oyuncularını, piyasadaki işin büyüklüğünü ve piyasa oyuncuları arasındaki ilişkileri yine yönetmelikler yoluyla belirlemiştir. A ve F gruplarına dayalı ve A gruplarının avantajlı F gruplarının ise dezavantajlı olarak yer aldığı bir sistem devlet tarafından oluşturulmuştur. Dolaylı veya direct olarak yasa ve yönetmelikler yoluyla etkilenen özel planlama büro piyasası ve içindeki özel planlama büro sahipleri var oldukları gruplara göre piyasada var olma mücadelesi içinde olmuşlardır. Gelineen noktada, var olan yasa ve yönetmeliklerle piyasadaki bu bölünmüşlüğün gelecekte de artarak devam edeceği gözlemi ortaya çıkmıştır.



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