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## THE NINTH DEVELOPMENT PLAN (2007-2013) AND NEW REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY OF TURKEY: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

With the New Development Plan of Turkey introduced in 2006, a new approach was developed to address the structural problems of regional development in Turkey. Concentrating on the actual issues of local administration, development paradigm, rural planning, spatial planning system and settlement hierarchy, this new strategic document emphasises the necessity of performing tasks in four policy areas: local devolution, regional prioritisation, holistic development strategy, new rural planning strategy and subnational planning. This paper analyses the development policy issues, problems and prospects of the Ninth Development Plan of Turkey (2007-2013) in respect to these four policy areas. Methodologically, instead of making a fully descriptive analysis, the paper tries to develop a critical view of Turkish development planning regarding the main policy areas in the latest development plan.

**Keywords:** regional development, New Development Plan of Turkey, New Regional Development Policy and Structural Problems of Socio-Spatial Development in Turkey.

Узбек О.

## ДЕВ'ЯТИЙ ПЛАН РОЗВИТКУ (2007-2013) І НОВА РЕГІОНАЛЬНА ПОЛІТИКА РОЗВИТКУ ТУРЕЧЧИНИ: ПРОБЛЕМИ ТА ПЕРСПЕКТИВИ

З новим планом розвитку Туреччини, який введений у 2006 році, був розроблений новий підхід до вирішення структурних проблем регіонального розвитку в Туреччині. Концентруючись на актуальні питання місцевого самоврядування, парадигми розвитку, сільського планування, системи територіального планування і розрахунку ієрархії, цей новий стратегічний документ підкреслює необхідність виконання завдань в розрізі чотирьох напрямів: передача місцевим регіональним пріоритетів, стратегії цілісного розвитку, нове планування сільських населених пунктів, стратегія субнаціонального планування. У даній статті аналізується розвиток політичних питань, проблем та перспектив Дев'ятого плану розвитку Туреччини (2007-2013) щодо цих чотирьох напрямів політики. Методологічно, замість того, щоб повністю описового аналізу, в статті була зроблена спроба критично планування розвитку Туреччини за основними напрямками політики розвитку.

**Ключові слова:** регіональний розвиток, Новий план розвитку Туреччини, Нова регіональна політика розвитку і структурні проблеми соціально-просторового розвитку в Туреччині.

Огус Узбек

## ДЕВЯТЫЙ ПЛАН РАЗВИТИЯ (2007-2013) И НОВАЯ РЕГИОНАЛЬНАЯ ПОЛИТИКА РАЗВИТИЯ ТУРЦИИ: ПРОБЛЕМЫ И ПЕРСПЕКТИВЫ

С новым планом развития Турции, который введен в 2006 году, был разработан новый подход к решению структурных проблем регионального развития в Турции. Концентрируясь на актуальные вопросы местного самоуправления, парадигмы развития, сельского планирования, системы территориального планирования и расчета иерархии, этот новый стратегический документ подчеркивает необходимость выполнения задач в разрезе четырех направлений: передача местным региональным приоритетов, стратегии целостного развития, новая планировка сельских населенных пунктов, стратегия субнационального планирования. В данной статье анализируется развитие политических вопросов, проблем и перспектив Девятого плана развития Турции (2007-2013) по этим четырем направлениям политики. Методологически, вместо полностью описательного анализа, в статье была сделана попытка критического анализа за планирования развития Турции по основным направлениям политики развития.

**Ключевые слова:** региональное развитие, Новый план развития Турции, Новая региональная политика развития и структурные проблемы социально - пространственного развития в Турции.

**Introduction.** The experiences of development planning in Turkey seemed to be closely associated with the general and idiosyncratic paradigm of economic development (state capitalism or

*étatisme*) and administrative concerns of the unitary state. In this vein, regional development strategies and practices have a recent history in the Modern Turkish state. The spatial planning tradition in Turkey is mostly based on a centralised public administration system and to the extent that, the planning of socio-economic development remained as a key issue in the realm of the Turkish state since its foundation in 1923. However, the institutional problems (inefficient implementation tools of spatial planning, the institutional and administrative deficiencies like bureaucratic structure of public administration, partisanship and misuse of political power) negatively affected the implementation and management of regional development plans and strategies.

With the New Development Plan of Turkey introduced in 2006, a new approach was developed to address the structural problems of regional development in Turkey. Concentrating on the actual issues of local administration, development paradigm, rural planning, spatial planning system and settlement hierarchy, this new strategic document emphasises the necessity of performing tasks in four policy areas: local devolution, regional prioritisation, holistic development strategy, new rural planning strategy and subnational planning. It is very early to evaluate the performance of this new regional approach in the aforementioned fields. However, it is obvious that this new regional strategy has to grasp the nettle of the spatial planning system and public administration in Turkey in a similar way to the past. In this respect, the latest development plan of Turkey reflects the structural and hereditary problems of development planning in which the issues of management, governance, implementation and public administration remained neglected and under-theorised since the Planned Era of the 1960s.

Within this framework, this paper analyses the development policy issues, problems and prospects of the Ninth Development Plan of Turkey (2007-2013) in respect to four policy areas stated above. Methodologically, instead of making a fully descriptive analysis, the paper tries to develop a critical view of Turkish development planning regarding the main policy areas in the latest development plan.

The Ninth Development Plan and New Regional Development Policy of Turkey. Since 1923, in Turkey, the development efforts got off the ground on a central planning ideology and acquired a neo-liberal character starting from the 1950s. However, the spatial basis of this development ideology remained under-conceptualised until the Planned Era in the 1960s. Therefore, developing strategies and preparing plans for regions has a relatively recent history in Turkey and the main aim of the regional development policy was to eliminate or lessen the disparities between the east and west part of Turkey that still exist among regions as illustrated in Figure 1 by per capita gross domestic product (GDP) (Özbek, 2012: 253).

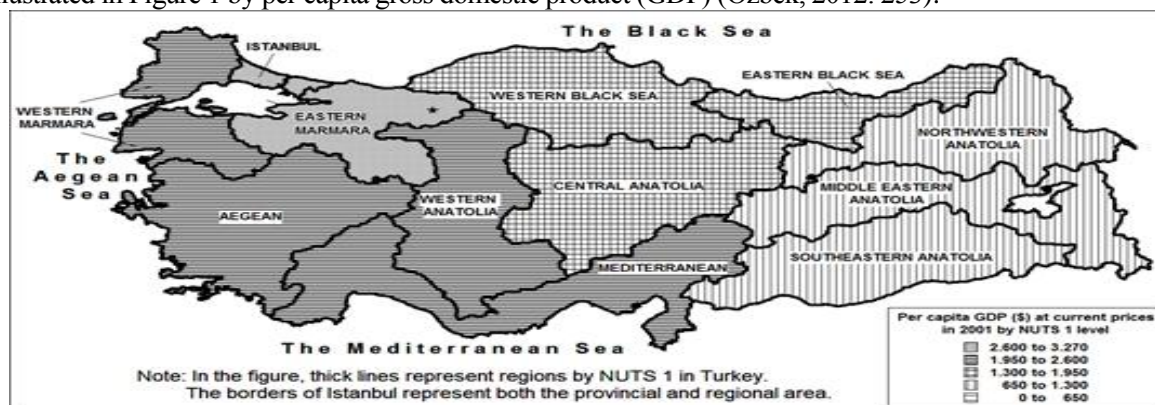


Figure 1 Regional (NUTS 1) distribution of per capita GDP in Turkey, 2001

Source: Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Turkey, 2002 and T.R. Prime Ministry Turkish Statistical Institute, 2008.

In Turkey, the spatial planning attempts starting from the late Ottoman period gained an institutional presence and legal clarity in the Republican era (since 1923). Among these attempts, regional planning emerged as a new policy area in the 1960s. However, a periodisation for regional planning in Turkey must take account of the 1950s at the time when the morphological changes in the cities have been occurring due to rapid rural-urban migration. Starting from the 1950s, the regional development policy of Turkey evolved from an investment-centric approach to a growth pole strategy emphasising the socio-economic disparities between regions. In this development process, the regional development policy in Turkey evolved through a number of stages: the spatial allocation of “public

investments” throughout the 1950s and the beginning of 1960s, the launch of “regional development projects” through the financial support of international institutions during the 1960s and the beginning of 1970s, the implementation of regional development projects for underdeveloped regions with a strong state incentive in the 1970s and last, a reorientation to the development projects for assisted regions since the 1980s (Eraydın, 2004: 139-40).

Today, the content of regional development policy in Turkey is determined by the priorities of “neo-liberalism with a regulatory state component” (Öniş and Şenses, 2007: 20-24) despite the claims of the official discourse on a social welfare oriented development policy. The 2000s saw a change in the policy priorities of regional development in Turkey whereas the neo-liberal context of the development policy remained the same. The key institutional changes shaped the scope of development policy in this period.

The regional development policy of Turkey in the early 2000s gained a new dimension parallel to the restructuring efforts on the hierarchy of spatial planning (see Figure 2 for the spatial planning system of Turkey).

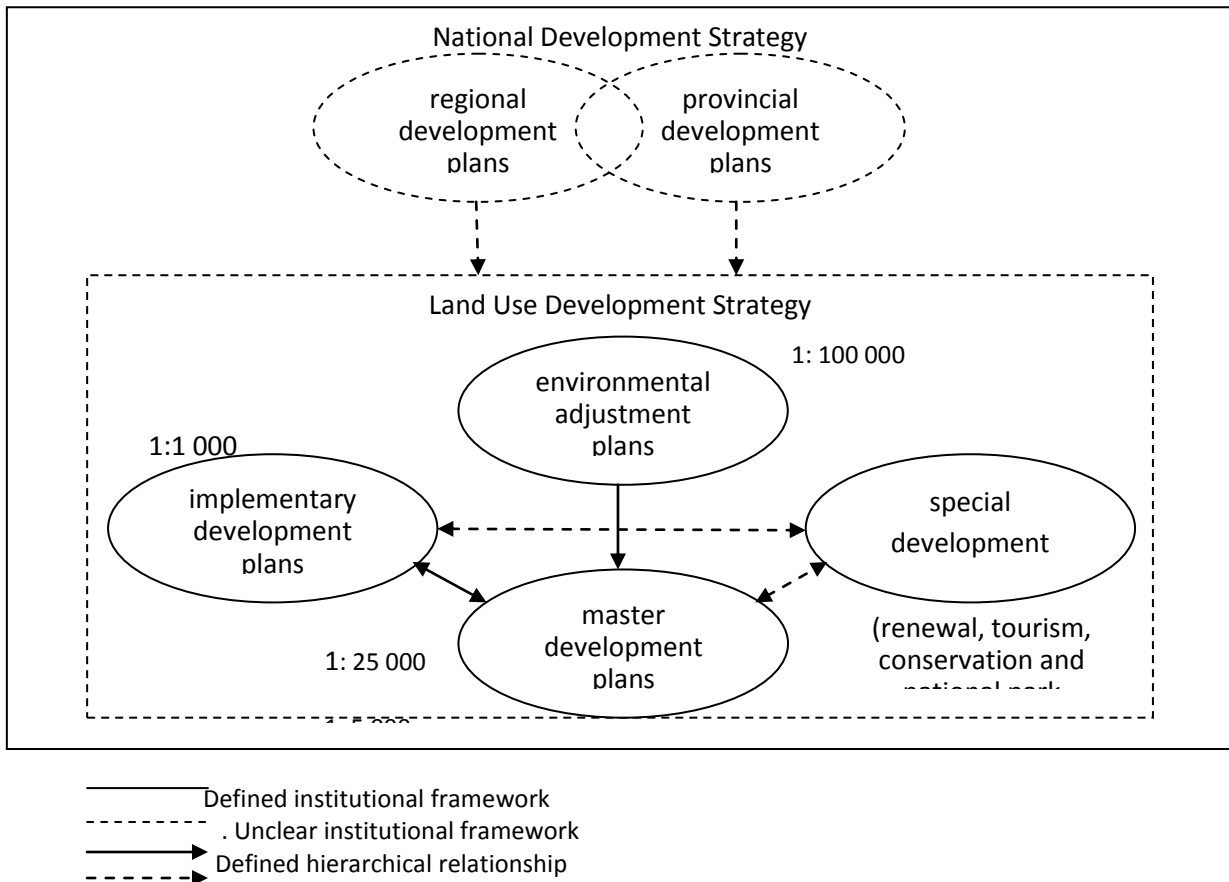


Figure 2 Spatial Planning System of Turkey  
Source: Özbek, 2009b, p. 676.

For this institutional restructuring, the main turning point is the introduction of the Ninth Development Plan of Turkey that attempts to establish a new strategic framework for spatial planning. The introduction of the Ninth Development Plan (2007-2013) of Turkey represents an important shift in terms of the institutional restructuring of spatial planning and new regional development policy. In institutional terms, the new development plan addresses some key issues including local governance, regional incentives, new development paradigm and subnational planning (Özbek, 2012: 259). The Ninth Development Plan is the first development plan abandoning a pre-determined vision of five years economic development plans in Turkey. In the report of this plan, the importance of institutional restructuring to implement a holistic development strategy is addressed at both regional and sub-regional levels. Addressing the issues of the institutional structure of spatial planning in Turkey, the

plan redefines the geographical scope of the development strategies. “The preparation of a regional development strategy at the national level” aims both to build cooperation among the national spatial and economic development efforts and to provide an institutional framework for “lower level plans and strategies” (T.R. Prime Ministry State Planning Organisation, 2006: 91). Here, a new spatial planning hierarchy is aimed to establish through both organising local development initiatives toward a predetermined goal of economic development and making sub-regional level (NUTS 2) central to the achievement of goal consistency between spatial plans at various levels and national development strategies. (Özbek, 2008b: 226). However, in spite of the increasing importance of sub-regional level for development planning, the provincial level (NUTS 3) regained its strategic importance as the main spatial framework for the formulation of spatial development policies in the last phase of the plan. The local development efforts, which are most evident in the provincial development plans in Turkey during the early 2000s, can be regarded as a kind of deviation from the strategic priorities of the Ninth Development Plan.

The Ninth Development Plan specifies new tasks, policy tools and strategies on governance, development and spatial planning system in Turkey. These tasks and strategies seem to be very consistent with the socio-economic and socio-political conjuncture of Turkey in which there are tensions between the efforts of centralisation and decentralisation in administrative and institutional terms in the first decade of the 2000s. The strategic content of the Ninth Development Plan is mainly characterised by a number of new policy areas: local devolution, regional prioritisation, holistic development strategy, new rural planning strategy and subnational (provincial) planning. New policy areas in the Ninth Development Plan bundled with a number of implementation tools introduced by new planning legislation. However, there are important hereditary constraints affecting the efficiency of these approaches and tools. A systematic discussion of these issues made below may be useful to clarify how the new spatial planning strategy of Turkey must efficiently match the policy tools with the implementation problems in regional development policies. The implementation and management issues appear to be neglected in the plan and this negatively affects the performance of the new policies introduced in the plan.

One of the structural problems of development planning in Turkey was and is associated with the public administration system hindering a better performance of local actors like municipalities in the issues of spatial planning and socio-economic development. Here, the key problem is the uncertainty in the allocation and use of planning power. The issues of the allocation of planning power among the institutions responsible for spatial planning in Turkey are important to comprehend why a new power structure is necessary for the better performance of planning practices. Here, the channelisation of executive power into the local initiatives (particularly municipalities) has a central importance. In the Ninth Development Plan, a rearrangement of the allocation of planning power aims to enhance the executive power of local institutions. In the same plan, local devolution is highlighted as an important policy area in the determination of different levels of spatial planning. In recent, a need for a new planning mechanism providing coordination between the local and national planning authorities became apparent due to the authoritative ambiguity in the performance of planning practices in Turkey. Providing coordination between different planning levels and determination of tasks and responsibilities in the preparation and implementation of spatial plans appears to be the important topics in the local and national devolution. The report of the Ninth Development Plan also emphasises the necessity of a redefinition of the tasks, power relationships and responsibilities between local and central initiatives in terms of institutional “cooperation” and “supervision” in regional and local development (T.R. Prime Ministry State Planning Organisation, 2006: 91). Here, one of the prerequisites of this institutional cooperation is carrying out better practices for management and governance and this implies the necessity of a public administration reform which has been debated for a long time by the political parties and non-governmental organisations in Turkey.

The foundation of a new planning mechanism also requires the introduction of a broad spatial planning strategy bridging between regional, urban and rural development strategies in the Turkish case. In Turkey, the socio-economic imbalances between rural and urban settlements and regions fuelled by rural-urban migration make necessary the implementation of “a holistic spatial development policy” including local measures to be taken to overcome particular regional problems (T.R. Prime Ministry State Planning Organisation, 2006: 46). In the establishment of a holistic approach to the

“management and monitoring” of development and spatial plans, to determine the interscale planning tools and standards and to implement a “deconcentration principle” appear as the important tasks to carry out. In this respect, the plan highlights that effective and inclusive spatial development strategies cannot be introduced without addressing the issues of governance and management in the Turkish case.

The establishment of development agencies at sub-regional level is very consistent with a policy shift toward realising local devolution and implementing a holistic development strategy in Turkey stated in the Ninth Development Plan of Turkey. In this policy setting, the development agencies under the coordination of the State Planning Organisation are the new actors of indigenous economic development in Turkey. After a problematic legal process on the Law No. 5449 on the Establishment, Coordination and Duties of Development Agencies introduced in 2006, the agencies started to operate in 2008 (Özbek, 2012: 260). According to the Ninth Development Plan, regional development agencies will have a crucial role to play in helping to facilitate the completion of the regional development plans and strategies of all regions in Turkey and the financial support for this endeavour will be provided by the state. Some of the selected tasks of the development agencies include: to provide technical assistance to the planning projects of local administrations, to support actions and projects in the implementation of regional plans, to coordinate the regional actors (public and private sectors and non-governmental organisations) involved in economic development, to activate local entrepreneurship through institutional and financial support in the project making process and to eliminate regional disparities through the improvement of regional economic and social indicators (Resolution of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, 2006 and T.R. Prime Ministry State Planning Organisation, 2010).

The other important issue highlighted in the new spatial planning strategy of Turkey is subnational planning and interscale planning tools. With new institutional arrangements and acts, subnational level becomes a prominent scale in the introduction of spatial development strategies in Turkey. In this sense, the state’s efforts aim at providing a suitable regulatory environment for the promotion of local initiatives in regional planning in a collaborative manner (Özbek, 2008b: 226). According to the Ninth Development Plan of Turkey, in the preparation of regional development plans in Turkey, local initiatives and regional partnerships will jointly determine the course of regional economic development and cooperation. Here, it is aimed at achieving both endogenous and cooperative economic development with “flexible, dynamic, participatory and applicable” regional development plans (T.R. Prime Ministry State Planning Organisation, 2006: 91).

As highlighted above, the subnational development and planning efforts concentrate mostly on provincial strategies rather than strategies based on functional regions despite the existence of a growth pole strategy carried out through large regional development projects in the assisted regions of Turkey. Recent hierarchical arrangements on regional planning in Turkey make local initiatives and new planning tools rested on the power of local initiatives focal in terms of the achievement of economically sound development in normative territorial units (Özbek, 2008b: 226). New subnational planning tools like provincial development plans and strategic plans bring new responsibilities and tasks to local institutions. Provincial development planning was introduced as an intermediate planning level that bridges the gap between spatial and socio-economic development plans in the early 2000s in Turkey. In this period, provincial development plans mainly functioned as lower level or sub-regional development strategies between environmental adjustment plans and regional development strategies.

Last, the Ninth Development Plan emphasises the necessity of an area-specific regional development strategy: the establishment of a new settlement hierarchy through a policy of regional prioritisation. In the plan, regional “prioritisation” is suggested as a major policy tool in both creation of new regional centres and restructuring of the hierarchy of regional economic relations in favour of the less developed regions and provinces in Turkey: “[i]n terms of improvement of quality of life, increase of job opportunities, providing accessibility and establishment of intra- and inter-regional interaction, regional prioritisation will be given urgent attention in public investment projects and service supply”. As to this policy, especially in underdeveloped regions, new growth poles will be determined and so these centres will facilitate the generation of spread effects (Myrdal, 1957) in their regions. While the central position of these centres will be enhanced through transportation

investments, social infrastructure will also be strengthened in these centres. (T.R. Prime Ministry State Planning Organisation, 2006: 91-92).

The Ninth Development Plan also highlights how regional prioritisation will be used as the main strategic tool for establishing new settlement hierarchy in the planning of rural areas. At this point, it is pointed out that the characteristics of rural areas and the needs of rural communities will determine the principles of this new rural planning strategy. In the preparation of rural development plans, “it will be given precedence to rural centres, tourism areas, nature conservation areas and disaster-prone areas”. In rural areas, “participatory and cost-sharing pilot projects” that aim at both promoting cooperation among local initiatives and supporting “local entrepreneurship” will be launched. The implementation scope of “the most successful projects” will be extended nationwide. For more efficient use of economic and natural resources in rural development, certain rural centres will be determined and these centres will serve as both rural growth centres and socio-cultural sub-centres. District centres and some sub-district municipalities will serve as rural centres in this new spatial context (T.R. Prime Ministry State Planning Organisation, 2006: 93-94).

In conclusion, the new spatial planning system of Turkey brought by the last development plan is bundled with legislative, administrative and executive arrangements. The performance and efficiency of new policy tools in the Ninth Development Plan appears to be dependent on addressing the structural and actual problems of spatial planning in Turkey. However, the strategic framework of the previous and latest development plans in Turkey had and has a cyclical and cosmetic feature and these plans had the short-run policy tools instead of pursuit of structural policies on public administration and spatial planning system.

New Regional Development Policy and Structural Problems of Socio-Spatial Development in Turkey. Through a critical evaluation of the last development plan of Turkey, this section aims to briefly outline the structural problems of socio-spatial development in Turkey. This critical discussion is two-fold: the structural and institutional problems of pursuing and implementing regional development policies in Turkey and the strategic problems associated with the content and policies of the Ninth Development Plan of Turkey.

One of the development goals of the Modern Turkish state was to achieve an even socio-economic development in the realm of nation-state since 1923. However, these policies have had no territorial or spatial basis and the policy and implementation scope of development planning in Turkey remained as an obscure field until the 1960s. Starting from the 1960s, regional development policies in Turkey oriented towards eliminating socio-economic development disparities among the regions. In the implementation of regional development policies and strategies in Turkey, some structural problems negatively affected and still affect the performance of these policies: rapid pace of urbanisation, inefficient implementation tools of spatial planning, the institutional and administrative deficiencies like bureaucratic structure of public administration, partisanship and misuse of political power, socio-political events leading to a complete breakdown in the developmental trajectory of Turkey and emerging vicious cycle of underdevelopment at regional level (Özbek, 2008a: 77).

The traditional problems of a centralised public administration and bureaucratic structure inherited from the Late Ottoman Period as well as an unclear and complex spatial planning system intensified these structural problems. Here, one of the most important problems is related to the institutional characteristics of spatial planning system. The administrative and organisational framework for spatial planning is not well defined in functional terms. There are three important problem areas in Turkish spatial planning system: goal inconsistency among different spatial scales, lack of interscale implementation tools and complexity of institutional structure for spatial planning (Özbek, 2008b: 231). In one way, these are the problems associated with the structural characteristics of state bureaucracy and public administration in Turkey.

Today, the problems regarding both the hierarchical characteristics of the spatial planning system and the allocation of planning power among different institutional actors negatively affect the performance of socio-economic development strategies and limit the prospects of these strategies in spatial terms. The executive conflicts between the state planning institutions and local municipalities hamper the implementation of spatial development policies in the long-run. One of the most notable problems is that there is not a clear hierarchy of spatial planning in Turkey. Also, the legislative framework on spatial plans is more complex and not complementary. The plans at each spatial scale function as the independent implementation tools rather than being complementary in terms of

planning and administrative scope (Özbek, 2008a: 79). The lack of hierarchical relations among the plans can be seen as a different expression of goal inconsistency between the same spatial plans. This is most evident in the hierarchical gap between regional development strategies and urban plans. These structural deficiencies and hierarchical gaps contribute adversely to the efficiency of spatial development strategies at each scale. In this respect, current attempts to establish coordination among various development policy priorities at regional level like the Ninth Development Plan have placed emphasis upon the need for both a new spatial planning hierarchy and a new conceptual framework for spatial planning units.

Most of the conflicts and problems affecting the performance of spatial development policies in Turkey stem from the institutional characteristics and the size and composition of geographic units in Turkish public administration system. The spatial planning system in Turkey is under rule of central administrative units. Since the Planning Era of Turkish regional development policy in the 1960s, the conceptualisation and classification of regional planning units (administrative or geographic) appeared to be problematic. The problem is that there is no clear spatial planning hierarchy whereas the administrative division of spatial units is well defined in the Turkish version of “inclusive governorship system”. The legislative framework of spatial planning is very complex and the multiplicity of implementation tools (urban development plans, tourism plans, urban conservation plans, environmental adjustment plans etc.) at scales from intra-urban to sub-regional leads to a disorder in the use of planning authorities. A lack of coordination among various spatial plans and an unclear allocation of tasks and roles among planning authorities decrease the efficiency of regional and local initiatives in the participation to planning process. A top-down hierarchy of spatial planning can be seen an outcome of a centralised administrative structure in which municipalities and other local authorities have limited legislative tools rather than playing proactive roles in their planning areas (Özbek, 2008a: 77-79).

In such an institutional setting of development planning in Turkey briefly stated above, the development policies and strategies ought to address the radical and structural solutions. However, recent strategic documents like the Ninth Development Plan seem to replicate the cyclical policies and proposals of the former five year development plans in Turkey. This is most prominent in the general development approach of the Ninth Development Plan: to achieve a holistic development. This approach was formulated in the plan as the integration of interscale planning tools (both rural and urban) into a single regional development strategy. To actualise such a holistic development strategy entails the introduction of new planning legislation as mentioned earlier. Despite the claim about a holistic development in the report of the Ninth Development Plan, the same plan regards the rural development planning as a different strategic field of spatial planning instead of rolling rural and urban development strategies into one national regional development strategy “[i]n accordance with the National Rural Development Strategy, a Rural Development Plan will be prepared and implemented” (T.R. Prime Ministry State Planning Organisation, 2006: 91-93). The plan also neglects to consider both how the priorities of physical plans will be reflected in the upper scale plans (regional development plans) and how provincial goals will be formulated to determine the main spatial development framework for lower level plans (urban development plans) are unclear in the Ninth Development Plan. The implementation experiences of the provincial development plans in a number of Turkish provinces since the early 2000s partially illustrate these ambiguities. In this respect, the holistic development approach of the plan appears to have no geographic basis since the increasing intra-regional development efforts (provincial development or strategic plans) in Turkey are inconsistent with the development strategies of the plan that are formulated at sub-national and sub-regional levels in the plan.

Furthermore, old-fashioned the growth pole strategy expressed as a policy of regional prioritisation in the Ninth Development Plan seems problematic in terms of elimination of (structural) regional disparities in Turkey. Here, the main problem is whether new growth poles will promote the generation of spread effects or backwash effects (Myrdal, 1957). With the creation of new growth poles, it is more likely that the socio-economic inequalities between developed and underdeveloped regions will be reproduced at the intra-regional level through backwash effects. The experiences from ongoing regional development projects like the Southeastern Anatolia Project (GAP) indicate that new regional centres act as demographic magnets attracting population outflow from the surrounding poor areas instead of both enhancing investment and job opportunities and directing capital flows into the

backward regions. For that reason, a policy of regional prioritisation cannot succeed without both eliminating negative lock-in effects of underdevelopment stemming from the feudal structure of production and social class relations, physical geography and political tensions and creating an entrepreneurial climate in the aforementioned regions of Turkey.

Despite new institutional efforts for reformulation of development policy like the Ninth Development Plan, there is still a need for institutional revision of the regional development policy in Turkey. The efficient use of all policy tools for the new regional development policy of Turkey appears to be bound up with the well-functioning institutional system of spatial planning and public administration. Here, the devolution of planning power to local initiatives has utmost importance and regional prioritisation and growth pole strategy can be only realised through strengthening the local administrative structure in Turkey. One important task for this purpose is to give more initiative to the municipalities not only for a better performance of spatial development plans, but also for a reversal of top-down treatment of local development issues. But the key importance of local initiatives ought not to mean the neglect of sub-national and sub-regional development efforts. Here, there is a need for reorganisation and redefinition of regional area in Turkey on a functional basis rather than a normative basis.

**Conclusion.** Despite the tradition of planned economy and planning of socio-economic development for over fifty years in Turkey, regional economic development policies are far from a complete success. The key objectives of these policies like the elimination of regional disparities and creation of an entrepreneurial climate in the underdeveloped regions remained unachieved. The reasons for the poor performance of these policies are associated with a wide array of structural problems ranging from political, institutional and administrative ones to demographic, economic and geographical ones as stated in the previous sections. In this regard, the strategic content of the last development plan of Turkey, the Ninth Development Plan seems to have the same cosmetic and cyclical characteristics inherited from the former development policies and plans in Turkey. Although the plan focuses on new policy tools like local devolution, regional prioritisation, holistic development strategy, new rural planning strategy and subnational planning, these tools are far from being a remedy for the structural problems of regional development in Turkey.

The Ninth Development Plan to cope with the ongoing problems of socio-economic development in Turkey highlighted a need for a new regional planning approach and spatial planning hierarchy. The last development plan puts emphasis on how an efficient coordination and complementariness between various spatial planning levels can be provided. However, the lessons learned from the implementation of the former development plans in Turkey demonstrate that the establishment of new institutional bodies like development agencies and new implementation tools like provincial and rural development plans will have limited success without both revision of the overall institutional system of spatial planning and public administration.

In this context, two structural policies are worth to mention: changing the market (or neo-liberal) centric view of development issues with a social state approach and reorganisation and redefinition of regional area in Turkey on a functional basis rather than a normative basis. Definitely, these institutional tasks in the long-run entail a radical departure from the traditional planning logic and centralised bureaucratic structure in Turkey. In the same vein, further studies may offer new insights into this issue in the triangle of development policy, planning and implementation.

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