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CENTRAL PLANNING OF DEVELOPMENT THROUGH ETATISM IN TURKEY: THE STATE PLANNING ORGANISATION

Summary: Emphasising the state's role in the creation of the development climate and in the lessening the development disparities in spatial terms, etatism had been the basic ideology of economic development until the neoliberal policy shift in the 1980s in Turkey. Various institutions played roles in this statist economic development process in Turkey since the 1930s. While some of these institutions were the main actors of state capitalism, some of them took charge in the achievement of nationwide socio-economic development like the State Planning Organisation (SPO). The SPO founded in the planned era (1960-1980) of Turkish macroeconomic policy fulfilled important tasks in central planning of socio-economic development in accordance with the principle of etatism. In both descriptive and critical ways, this paper briefly analyses the statist content of the socio-economic development approach in Turkey in particular to the role of the SPO in centrally planned development.

Keywords: etatism, Turkey, central planning.

1. Introduction

The planning of socio-economic development remained as a key issue in the realm of the Turkish state since its foundation in 1923. The fundamentals of the socio-economic development approach of the modern Turkish Republic are mainly based on the principles of positivism, rationalism and enlightenment stated in the Kemalist ideology, which was most evident in the implementation of the reforms of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (the founder of the modern Turkish state). The etatism principle as one of the "Six Arrows" (ideological principles of the Turkish Republic) was very consistent with the foundation ideology of the young Turkish state defined as "the creation of a modern and secular nation-state".

The overall story of socio-economic development in the Republican Era (from 1923) reveals the partial success of some key institutions in the creation of the development climate in the backward regions in Turkey. The institutions in charge of the issues of regional development in Turkey played an important role also in the implementation of macroeconomic policy. While some of these institutions were the

main actors of state capitalism, some of them took charge in the achievement of nationwide socio-economic development: the institutions of the statist period of Turkish development policy in the 1930s and the institutions of the planned era (1960-1980) of Turkish macroeconomic policy. The State Planning Organisation (DPT or SPO) was a state institution of the planned era (1960-1980) of Turkish macroeconomic policy. Despite its foundation in a new policy era of the 1960s, the scope and duties of the institution had a statist character as seen in the most state institutions which took part in the economic development efforts since the 1930s in Turkey.

In this respect, this paper briefly analyses the statist content of the socio-economic development approach in Turkey in particular the role of the State Planning Organisation in centrally planned development. The SPO fulfilled important tasks in both the formation of a nationwide organisation of regional development and the implementation of macroeconomic policies and development plans. Methodologically, the paper is based on a brief descriptive analysis of the statist socio-economic development approach of Turkey and the institutional story of the State Planning Organisation. The paper also focuses on the performance of the SPO in the planning of socio-economic development in Turkey in a somewhat critical way.

2. Etatism and planning of development in Turkey

The modernisation and westernisation project of Turkey can be traced back to the political reforms (Tanzimat) in the late Ottoman Period (from the late 1800s to 1923). However, spatial planning gained an institutional presence in the era of the modern Turkish state founded in 1923. In the Turkish case, the rearrangement and reorganisation of regional area for the predetermined goals of economic development seems very meaningful in the “reconstitution project of the nation-state” in Turkey [Kazgan 2002, p. 41; Tekeli and İlkin 2000, p. 554]. In this project, the state’s role in the planning of socio-economic development was most evident in statist economic policies pursued between the 1930s and 1980s.

According to Heper [2006, p. 121], etatism was “a temporary economic program” implemented in Turkey during the world economic crisis of 1929. From another viewpoint, etatism was nothing short of a different mode of the “capitalist development model” implemented in Turkey of the 1930s [Boratav 2008, p. 65]. However, the statist orientation of Turkish socio-economic policy was not limited to the 1930s. Despite the important ideological shifts in the scope of the macroeconomic policy in Turkey, etatism remained as a key ideological framework in the former period in terms of emphasising the state’s role in the creation of a development climate and in the lessening of development disparities in spatial terms. The planning and implementation of this statist socio-economic development in Turkey displayed the characteristics of both socialist and capitalist economic models: to create a

Table 1. Selected State Economic Enterprises (SEEs) in Turkey

Institution	Period	Scope	Affiliated Ministry
Etibank Eti Holding Company Eti Mine Works General Management	1935-2001 2001-2004 from 2004	to finance operations in mining and raw material supply to industry and energy sectors	Prime Ministry
Sumerbank Sumer Holding Company	1933-1987 from 1988	to finance operations in textile industry to produce commercial products	Ministry of Industry and Trade
Halkbank Halbank Joint-stock Company	1938-2001 from 2001	to operate in universal and retail banking to finance operations of (especially) small and medium-sized companies	Prime Ministry
Turkish Sugar Factories Corporation	from 1935	to operate in the manufacturing of food, chemical and electroless machinery products and agriculture	Ministry of Industry and Trade
The General Directorate of Military Factories The Mechanical and Chemical Industry Corporation	1921-1950 from 1950	to operate in the manufacturing of armour, supplies, munitions and equipment	Ministry of Industry and Trade
The General Administration of State Railways and Ports Turkish State Railways	1927-1953 from 1953	to regulate, operate and control railroad transportation	Ministry of Transport and Communication
(Etibank) Turkish Electricity Administration TEAŞ (corp.) TEDAŞ (corp.)	1935-1970 1970-1993 from 1993 from 1993	to operate in the generation, transmission and distribution of electricity	Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources

Source: author's research.

development climate not only for the state economic enterprises¹ but also for the private sector. In the planning of socio-economic development through the development plans in Turkey, there were some traces of a centrally planned socialist economy.

Developing strategies and making plans for regions have been happening relatively recently 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

¹ The state economic enterprises (SEEs) in Turkey are the state institutions engaged in the economic activities through using state resources. There are two types of these state capitalised enterprises: economic state enterprises operating by the free market principles and state economic institutions functioning as public service corporations in the production and marketing of monopolistic goods. Some selected SEEs are shown in Table 1.

that still exist among the regions. The regional development policy in Turkey evolved through a number of stages since the 1950s: the spatial allocation of “public investments” in the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s, the launch of “regional development projects” through the financial support of international institutions in the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, the implementation of regional development projects for underdeveloped regions with a strong state incentive in the 1970s and finally , a reorientation to the development projects for assisted regions since the 1980s [Eraydın 2004, p. 139-40].

There were some key institutions engaged in both the achievement of national economic development and monitoring the state enterprises in the pre-1950 period. The institutions responsible for regional development in Turkey can be chronologically divided into three groups. The first group institutions (Etibank and Sumerbank) represent the symbolic and practical intentions of the national economic development in the modernisation project of Turkey. Most of these institutions were established in the 1930s, when the ideological content of the statist economic policy of Turkey was shaped. The institutions in the second group were founded with the practical goals of spatial planning in the post-Second World War period. The institutions in the third group belong to the planned era (1960-1980) of Turkish macroeconomic policy and they aimed at bridging the gap between the socio-economic development strategies and the spatial planning issues of building and natural environments.

3. The State Planning Organisation (SPO) and planning of socio-economic development in Turkey

The State Planning Organisation is a key state institution shaping the content of development policy and determining priorities in the implementation of macroeconomic policy in Turkey. The SPO was established in 1960 as an undersecretariat of the prime ministry. The principles of the 1961 Constitution (prepared after the military coup on 27 May 1960) highlighted the state’s role in economic and socio-cultural development and in this conjuncture, the foundation of the SPO as a powerful planning institution was coinciding with the new policy shift for providing a central control and planning in the implementation of macroeconomic policy in Turkey. In this respect, the institution can be seen as a product of the organisational efforts for spatial planning and regional development in the post-military coup era in Turkey. Despite having authoritative institutional characteristics, the institution fulfilled important tasks in both the formation of a nationwide organisation of regional development and adding a spatial dimension to macroeconomic policies and development plans.

In the foundation period of the SPO in the 1960s, a new organisational structure dominated by the Survey and Analysis Department (Tetkik ve Tahlil Şubesi) was aimed to be built. The main duties of this organisational body were associated with the implementation tools of the economic policy: to monitor the whole economy and

to determine the dynamics in the achievement of macroeconomic policy objectives, to reveal bottlenecks for inter-sectoral relations and to take measures for these, to prepare the implementation matrix of plan and program measures, to monitor the implementation of plans and programs in terms of investment, production and foreign trade and to do research for economic policy decisions [Ölçen 1965, p. 15-16].

The Constitution of 1982 introduced after the military coup in 1980 ruled “a planned development” and thereby the preparation of development plans by the state [T.R. Prime Ministry State Planning Organisation 2011]. In this context, the legal and functional legitimacy of the SPO was well fitting to the official ideology of the Turkish Republic on socio-economic development issues in the same period.

The duties of the SPO are related to the national development policy, targets and tools (development plans and annual programs):

- to provide consultancy to the governments in the determination of economic, social and cultural policies and their targets through the identification of natural, human and economic resources nationwide,
- to prepare the development plans and annual programs in accordance with the state’s development goals,
- to coordinate the activities of public institutions in charge of socio-economic and cultural policy formulation and implementation,
- to develop proactive strategies with a cooperative and participatory approach and to guide the private sector in the elimination of the medium and long-term uncertainties,
- to monitor the implementation of development plans and annual programs by way of providing organisational consultancy to the public institutions and local administrations,
- to provide consultancy to the governments in the implementation of development plans and annual programs in concordance with the policies of finance, foreign trade and exchange,
- to provide a general framework for incentive and guidance policies ensuring harmony between the activities of private sector and foreign capital and the goals of development plans,
- to take measurements for the rapid development of priority regions and to monitor the implementation of these measurements,
- to establish relations with the international economic institutions in accordance with the principles of development plans and annual programs,
- to prepare regional and sectoral development plans [Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Turkey 1994, p. 1-2].

The main executive bodies of the SPO are the higher planning council, the money-credit coordination council and economic and social council [T.R. Prime Ministry State Planning Organisation 2011].

The post-1980 (a key year for the shift to liberal policies in Turkish economy) period saw the ongoing and new development problems in Turkey: sharpening

regional disparities and urban to rural migration as well as the new problems of globalisation like the changing economic climate of cities, modernisation projects (urban renewal, transportation projects, new suburban centres, gentrified urban communities etc.) and the new urban poor in the large cities of Turkey. Despite the new policy shift in the Turkish economy and changing paradigm in the treatment of economic and social problems in Turkey, the SPO functions under the same institutional structure. Having weak linkage with local initiatives, the institution continues to introduce development plans and annual programs as is in a centrally planned economic system. This development model seems very consistent with the macroeconomic policy orientation of Turkey in the 2000s, “neo-liberalism with a regulatory state component” [Öniş, Şenses 2007, p. 20-22]. However, both in the formulation of the main development goals and in the determination of the implementation tools, the SPO functions as if it is an authoritative state institution of the statist period of Turkey and here, there is a need for a cooperative, communicative and responsive (to local development needs) institutional system as well as institutional autonomy against the political pressures of the central power.

In conclusion it is important to mention that different institutions played crucial roles in the introduction and implementation of development strategies and policies throughout the statist era of the 1930s, the post-Second World War period, the planned era and the post-1980 period in Turkey. However, the central planning of development encountered important institutional problems in the country in these periods. Here, one of the noticeable problems is that apart from the statist period, the institutions partially or wholly responsible for socio-economic development policies were not strong and autonomous in terms of long-term implementation of development strategies and plans. Under the pressures of governments, ruling parties and various political actors, their institutional and organisational structures were always exposed to every policy change dictated by the civil and military bureaucracy. These political changes were most evident in the content of the five year development plans and annual development programs prepared by the SPO.

However, within this period, the SPO became a very powerful and key institution of the central administration in the sense of the implementation of macroeconomic policies and of the introduction and monitoring of regional development strategies.

4. Conclusions

A brief historical overview of the institutions and problems of centrally planned development in Turkey highlights a fact that there is a close relationship between institutional efficiency and implementation performance in carrying out development policies.

Being exposed to political pressure in various periods, the centrally planned economic development model that Turkey partially pursued failed to reach the goals of socio-economic development and to lessen the development disparities among regions. However, most of the state economic enterprises of the statist period and planned era fulfilled their duties in the creation of a business and entrepreneurial

climate in specific location. In addition to these duties, the SPO as a state institution of the planned era played an important role in the nationwide implementation of macroeconomic policies and the introduction and monitoring of regional development strategies. As an ongoing institution, the SPO became a very powerful and key institution of the central administration in the issues of socio-economic development.

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CENTRALNE PLANOWANIE ROZWOJU PRZEZ ETATYZM W TURCJI: PAŃSTWOWY URZĄD PLANOWANIA

Streszczenie: Etatyzm był podstawową ideologią rozwoju ekonomicznego w Turcji do zmiany w roku 1980 związanej z pojawieniem się polityki neoliberalnej. Podkreślał on kluczową rolę państwa w tworzeniu klimatu do rozwoju i zmniejszaniu dysproporcji rozwojowych. Różne instytucje odgrywały rolę w rozwoju społeczno-ekonomicznym od lat 30. XX wieku. Chociaż niektóre z tych instytucji były głównymi aktorami kapitalizmu państwowego, część z nich była odpowiedzialna za realizację ogólnokrajowego rozwoju społeczno-ekonomicznego. Był to Państwowy Urząd Planowania założony w roku 1960, który odgrywał istotną rolę w procesie centralnego planowania rozwoju zgodnie z założeniami etatyzmu. W artykule przedstawiono rolę tej instytucji w kształtowaniu procesów społeczno-ekonomicznych w Turcji.

Słowa kluczowe: etatyzm, Turcja, centralne planowanie.