

## Re-scaling of the state in Turkey: The case of villages

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### The Abstract

This paper uncovers the main economic, political and social drivers of state rescaling in Turkey through historical and comparative comprehension. It touches upon the transformation of the state and its development trajectories to examine in what ways the triad of local, national, global scopes, along with their main actors, roles and policies evolve. The discussions will provide hints of the evolution of local government structure of Turkey while particularly depicting the position of village administration during the heyday period of metropolitan municipalities and regional formations. For the Turkish case, it is possible to classify the drivers and motivations of rescaling under certain themes which are promotion of democracy, tackling identity issues, fighting corruption, generating economies of scale. More importantly, rescaling notably takes place for its professed close local units to confront uneven development (Smith, 1986) which could be defined as a contradiction of (Albrow, 1981).

**Keywords:** state rescaling, Turkish local administration, village

### Introduction

The re-conceptualization of the state space stands for the rescaling processes multi-scalar hierarchies of state institutional organization, political authority and regulatory conflict are being generated. (Brenner and references therein, 2004, p.71). The idea of dispersing urban populations and economic activities across the territories of the country has taken its source from diverse and mutant legitimising or compulsive factors. In reference to Poulantzas' comprehension this derives from the nature of ephemeral capitalist spatial formations, which are both the precondition and the reification of social relations. (Poulantzas, 1978) Soja stated this is the material form of social relations. This perpetual course of social production of space is highly ideological and political stances. (Soja, 1985).

Although rescaling as a processual response, either in proactive or reactive ways, is oriented towards political and social matters, its vigour is substantially affected by the dynamics of economy. The states also experience difficulty in terms of their technological competence, informational proficiency and adjustment capacity. (Eisenschitz and Gough, references therein, 1998) Therefore, the states appeal to internal spatial realignments. These re-formations include federalist readjustments, administrative amendments, gerrymandering practices, metropolitan jurisdictional fragmentations together with dissolution or incorporation of the legal entities of local units (Brenner, 2004, references therein). By employing these novel formations, the states target to arbitrate, propagate and entrench when desired the everyday power relations of a particular locality (Brenner, 2004).

In this context, this study ultimately aims to uncover rescaling process of Turkish state with its new geographical scales and territorial contours, giving particular emphasis to the case of villages during the post Law no. 6360 era. It is credible to point out the existence of a tendency towards larger units metropolitan and regional within states. (Soja, 1985; Brenner, 2004; Swyngedouw, 2004;

2006) To this point, Swyngedouw highlights the contingent threat for the groups with less negotiating capacity as the technocratic-managerial-entrepreneurial state grows up at the expense of the citizen's state (Swyngedouw, 1996).

### **The state rescaling in Turkey**

During the 1950 election, Turkey took a step into the democracy scene (Rustow, 1991; Szyliowicz, 1963). With the transition to a multi-party system, the Democrat party became competent to represent the discontent groups comprised of landlords (whom were severely affected by the Land Reform Bill of 1945), the merchants and also rural groups whom felt estranged by the secularist policies (Aydin, 2004). Despite the fact that Turkey initiated a multi-party regime, the relationship between local units and the central state continued to carry the traces of the single party period (Tekeli, 2009; Bayraktar, 2007). Regarding the question of central state's position in Turkish nascent democracy, it should also be noted that the elections of 1950 strengthened the hands of bourgeoisie to tackle and confront the autonomy of the state. While this emergent tension hinders the possibility for anti-elitist bourgeoisie segments to gain seats in the political scene, it is also obliged to hover in an unorganized complexion with no other option than depending on a patron-client affiliation (Aydin, 2004 and references therein). Concerning the state spatial organization, the tenets of the 1961 Constitution widely preserved the constructed administrative organization, though with certain amendments. Alluding to a regional pattern, a new spatial unit was introduced in Article No.115. According to this article, the adhesion of multiple provinces with the purpose of fulfilling certain public services is permitted. ( Bayraktar, 2007).

Beginning from the first Five Year Development Plan, designed for the years of 1963-1967, the emphasis on and the expectations from small and medium sized enterprises gained a momentum in development plans and programmes of Turkey. Later, this inclination was revitalized once again with the notions of the Washington Consensus and also by the European Union agenda ( Erman, 2009). The year of 1963 is also important as Turkey put its signature to the first contractual agreement, an Association Agreement known as the Ankara Agreement with the European Economic Community (EEC). The path from 1960s towards 1980s was shaped both by internal occurrences and international developments. Until 1980, Turkey adopted the capital accumulation model of import-substitution under auspices of national developmental state. This model is based on the assumption that the regulatory role of the state is necessary to promote industrial bourgeoisie and to ensure their international engagements. The Turkish state also took the principal role of allocating credits and foreign exchange through its administrative structure and instruments. To illustrate this by means of the Iller Bank since 1945, the state played an active role not only through the transference of resources but also through handling the construction and industrial sectors at local levels (Tocci, 2012; Erman, 2009 and references therein).

In this regard, the maturity of the Turkish bourgeoisie was also determined by the 1980 coup d'état, which marks a breaking point in the social, political and economic development of Turkey due to its definite repercussions on Turkish state's spatial reorganization. It is not possible to point out the specific stage or time to which Turkish state rescaling dates back to due to the process nature of state rescaling. Still it could be stated that, especially in the aftermath of the 1980 coup d'état, Turkish state has begun to devise rescaling to handle, alleviate and overcome the existing obstacles and disputes while tackling the derailed political and economic situation, by paving the way for integrating Turkey in the global capitalist economy ( Nişancıoğlu, 1994). The urban places, in terms of their form and composition, were not immune to prevalent transformations. One of the striking outcomes of this period is the conviction that the real estate sector set out to winning a seat at the core of Turkish economy. ( Erman, 2012; Buğra, 2014)

According to Article no. 127 of the 1982 Constitution, provinces, municipal districts and villages are considered as units of local administration. It is noteworthy that the Constitution regulates for the first time that special administrative arrangements may be introduced by law for large cities, which forms legal basis for metropolitan administrations. Besides, Article no. 127 envisaged by stating that central administrative organizations comprising several provinces may be established to ensure efficiency and coordination of public services. This was intended to envision larger urban units, which turned over a new leaf in Turkish state spatial organization.

The ascendance of the Motherland Party to power in 1983 carried the agenda of market economy and decentralization with itself. With respect to decentralization, it should be highlighted that this agenda was not exclusively but substantially covered with *metropolitan* content. The rescaling policies and regulations of this period were undertaken for the sake of promoting democratization and economic efficiency. At this point, it is pertinent to slightly touch upon a vast and growing literature regarding the relationship between early and late capitalist countries in terms of their administrative implementations with their administrative and economic facets. Concerning the extent and nature of rescaling, the mainstream tendency is to put emphasis sheerly on the over-accumulation crisis of the former group of countries and their inclination towards other/new geographies. In the case of Turkey, being content with such focus could neglect the ascendant propulsion from maturing national capital groups for internationalization. This limited approach also amounts to neglect the decisive capacity of these propulsive forces in terms of rescaling (Ercan and Özüdoğru, 2006). Thus, Ercan and Özüdoğru state that the scale issue in Turkey can be traced through the intersections of these two groups: the international-advanced and the national-emergent (Ercan and Özüdoğru, 2006). In order to depict the internal economic dimension of this discussion, attention is due to the emergent small and medium enterprises (SMEs) which focus mainly on labour intensive manufacturing businesses. Their fame as Anatolian Tigers proceeds from their success on transnational and retail chains. The expansion of their demands and increase of their negotiation capacities both contributed to the state rescaling process as they were configured as the soaring hubs of industrial growth. In the issue of rescaling and the positions and positionalities of the actors of these emergent cities, Jessop puts forward the concept of scalar forms of representation as an alternative to traditional political representation, namely parliamentarism, corporatism and clientelism (Jessop, 1990, pp. 119-121). In this sense, Brenner's statement is also illuminative: the proliferation of different approaches to urban governance represents a key expression and outcome of the place- and scale-specific types of state spatial projects and state spatial strategies that have been mobilized by post-Keynesian competition states. As such, entrepreneurial urban policies have been closely intertwined with contemporary processes of state rescaling. (Brenner, 2004, p. 177).

In that respect, the heading of Motherland Party towards decentralization could be interpreted as a complementary mechanism to its gravitation towards market economy. In the year of 1984, two-tiered metropolitan municipal structures were launched in Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir and district municipalities were initiated under their roofs in accordance with Law no. 3030 (Heper, 1987). By means of this law, the room of district municipalities to manoeuvre was restricted in extent, as they were put under the tutelage of Metropolitan Municipalities. Thus, the decentralization appeal became short of a board implementation and could only stretch out territorially and functionally from the centre to the Metropolitan level by disregarding the district level. Metropolitan municipalities and metropolitan mayors were turned into new-fangled formidable fortresses. They formed the novel *central configurations within locality* through their intimidating tutelage power and impressive revenue generation capacity by productive and unproductive methods. In other words, this decentralization attempt was a cautious one (Heper, 1987). As Ergüder mentions, the state still kept local governments on the scene with the intention of controlling the periphery rather than service delivery and democratization (Ergüder, 1987). This period also marks the begging of the

mayors equipped with ad-hoc duties and areas of action (Heper, 1987,p.55). Despite this, the monopoly of Ankara in terms of authority and resources remained as a prevalent and Danielson, 1985). In last instance, as municipal debts intensified, debt payments have almost gained a character of direct resource transfer to financial capital ( nal, 2009). This is critical to indicate the expansion of financial capital's embeddedness to the municipal system and to show their prevalent mutual interdependencies. ( nal, 2009)

In the meantime, on January 1<sup>st</sup> 1996, the Customs Union Agreement with the European Union came into effect in Turkey. This marks a milestone not only for big business groups but also had a profound effect on small and medium sized enterprises of Anatolia. It includes provisions that elimination of tariffs on manufactured imports originated in the EU, the adoption of a policy toward third countries and the elimination of many of Turkey's exit programs ( zar, 2009). These provisions have all served the purpose of integrating markets with enormous reflections on state rescaling and the prominence of urban places. In December 1999, Turkey's candidacy to the European Union was recognized by the European Council, while in October 2005, negotiations commenced (Tocci,2013).

The amendments merged under the title of the Turkish Public Administration Reform (2004), which remained on the top of the agenda from 2003 to 2006, can be considered as milestones in the Turkish rescaling process and are worth to take note. The Greater Municipality Law no. 5216 in 2004, the Municipality Law no. 5393 and the Provincial Administration Law no. 5302 in 2005 as well as the legislation enacted regulating the foundation of Regional Development Agencies in the NUTS-II areas in 2006 all fall under this reform package (Ata v and Erayd n, 2011; Y lmaz an

With this scenario in the background, and a couple of decades after the initial law on Metropolitan Municipalities, Law no. 5216 was enacted in 2004 concerning metropolitan municipalities. Under this law, the issue of district municipalities and their confined role and underprivileged position in terms of income-sharing remained (O uz and S nmez, 2014). Four years later, in 2008, by no. 5747, changes were issued regarding first-level municipalities under metropolitan municipality boundaries. Additionally, the scale of Metropolitan municipalities was amended. Leaving functionality out of the scope of required conditions and relying on the 750.000 inhabitants to form a metropolitan municipality under Law no. 5216 also faced criticisms. Furthermore, this law was still destitute of the tenets and norms regulating the means of public participation. The non-existence of arrangements on public participation is in contradiction with its initial purpose, which originally set forth to be closer to the public. (O uz and S nmez, 2014). Certain allegations and reservations exist regarding the award of the metropolitan title to the municipal units whom voted for the political party at power in previous elections. Besides, it also led to criticisms by allegations of gerrymandering. Also, reform initiatives altered the population criteria for municipalities and reduced the threshold from 5000 to 2000 inhabitants. In the sequel of this regulation, municipalities with a population below 2000 were disincorporated in 2008. Yet again, this exemplifies the motivation subservient to generating economies of scale in delivering services. (Y lmaz and G ner, 2013)

### **The Evaluation of State Rescaling in Relation to the Law No. 6360: The Case of Villages**

Turkey's current rescaling report takes up a new position with its proposed severances from well-established and historic settings. One striking example is the disincorporation of the village entities under all Metropolitan Municipalities, including both the former and recent Metropolitan epithet entitled ones. It alters not only the political and economic structure but also the social and physiological mould of citizens. Even considering the fact that Turkey is urban-biased in terms of countless measures and perceptions, the metaphor of village still remains adamant in national

psyche. That is to say that the village unit is still weighty as a founding component of identity (zt 2012).

In his interview for the *Marxism and The Question of Scale* issue of the *Tur* concerning the fading prominence of neighbourhood and village/countryside formations and patterns within developed countries, Jamie Gough clearly states that under current conditions, just a limited extent of daily social, political and economic interactions and socializations occur within such small-scale settlements. Gough relates this issue with the decisiveness of qualitative distances which could contain interdependencies and enable forms of societal cooperation for generating the reproduction of labour and capital. This enabling congruent size also forms the required scalar-level through which the state could intervene (Gough, 2006). Turkey, with its endeavour to become a developed country, has also been adopting similar legal, administrative and economic initiations which are worth to elaborate on.

There are numerous motivations behind the ceasing of village's legal entity where agricultural a concentrates and rural populations dwell. In the aftermath of 1980s, heading towards export-oriented strategies with the integration of low technology and labour intensive production exposed the need for low waged or clandestine workers (B l kba ,2012 and references therein). In the mean population of rural areas begun to face decline due to both dissolution of the agricultural sector and/or internal displacement due to security reasons. Thus, without much option, rural/village communities became suited to this worker role with minimum salaries and informal employment. Meanwhile, the gradual entry of companies to the agricultural sector has also generated a change in rural reality by contracting of agricultural labour (B l kba , 2012) In that respect, it is pertinent to mention about gradual and on-going process of de-agrarianization in conjunction de-peasantization in Turkey. It is not wrong to claim that rescaling as a tool boosting these two interpenetrated processes. To be more precise, de-agrarianization as a process stands for a gradual occupational (re)orientation, income source modification, estrangement from the agricultural mode of livelihood as a dominant way of making a living and drifting apart from the rural places (Bryceson et al.2000, Ayd n, 2009). Ultimately, this dwindling demographic trend, due to a waning economic capacity, caused the de-peasantization as a derivative of the de-agrarianization process (Ayd n, 2009). The former and the latter processes rescaling by causal and correlational relationships.

A critical reading certain articles of Law 6360, issued on 12 November 2012, with its concurrent and deep-seated fallouts in political, social and economic spheres is a must. For scholars, the amendments made to the constitutionally guaranteed legal entity status of the village are problematic and can even be considered as unconstitutional. G zler states that amendment is compulsory to readjust the status of villages. (G zler, 2013,) Within the borders of metropolitan cities, newly designated or not, Law 6360 envisages the termination of the legal entity of villages by converting them into neighbourhoods with no legal entity Under the constitution, villages are public corporate bodies established to meet the common local needs of (Constitutional Article No.127). Thus, one needs to bear in mind that the needs of village inhabitants differ from the needs of neighbourhood, district and metropolitan municipality inhabitants. In the cases where necessary measures are not taken, casting the responsibility towards upper level units would be unfeasible under current circumstances. More importantly, ceasing the legal entity of villages forces them to desist from the right of litigation for claiming their rights in case of discontent with the policies and decisions regarding their civic life At the same time, it puts village communities into a relatively passive position as they can no longer lean on their own capability to respond for their needs and necessities, meaning they might have to wait for the services rendered by the municipality.( G zler, 2013)

On the other hand, the law states that erstwhile granted rights on meadows, quarters to the villages are transferred to the neighbourhoods which they evolve into (Article:16). This is problematic in the sense that transferring rights is not enough to make village/rural people avail of these rights as the inhabitants lost their right to sue due to the villages' legal status. It is also important to note that the status of police and gendarmerie forces is estimated to undergo a change within villages. According to Law No: 2803, Article: 10 (Gendarmerie Organization, Duties and Authorities), the areas within provincial and district borders fall into the responsibility of police forces whereas in the areas falling outside these jurisdictions, the gendarmerie is entitled as responsible. However, Law 6360 leaves no area out; as municipal borders overlap with provincial borders, it could be interpreted that police forces will be incumbent on all areas within the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan territory. This might create a need for rearranging the tools, organizational capacity and structure of police forces while a change might also be necessitated in the areal deployment of the gendarmerie forces. Considering the Turkish rescaling experience solely through this aspect of village rearrangements is sufficient to indicate that it is hard to naively underestimate the state's role within the rescaling process. (Gözler, 2013) In this perspective is explanatory: the state has the monopoly of the legitimate use of force and the enforcement of its order (Weber, 1918). Thus, the state is the only entity capable to adjust the guardian forces of the reorganized sub-state units.

Another issue is that the dissolution of the legal entities of villages would be disputable in terms of ecological concerns and identity politics. Duru states that although the enforcement of Law 6360 granted the groups who have been internally dislocated due to security concerns (namely Kurdish communities) a right to return to their earlier abandoned villages, it became a fact that their villages were disincorporated. Even though the Village Law of early Republican times - still in effect - is equipped with pioneering tenets, those were sacrificed for the sake of unity and integrity reflexes during Republican times with certain exceptional periods. For instance, during the legislation process of the Village Law No. 442 (the year of 1924), the deputy of the Ministry of Agriculture is crucial to decentralize beyond the province level; only if further decentralization is realized could it be possible to prove the intimate intention of founding a regime on behalf of the villages. Although this is a quotation from early Republican discussions, decentralizing *beyond the province* still maintains its importance in the Turkish political and administrative scene considering the fact that metropolitan administrations have become the symbols of centralization within the country (Duru, 2012)

From an economic perspective, the motivations behind the alteration of villages' legal status can be elaborately explained in reference to the theories, discourses and debates on commons, primitive accumulation and accumulation by dispossession. (Harvey, 2003) In the current situation, meadows, pastures, winter quarters, grasslands and rivers within urban areas have already been depleted under utilization, whereas in rural areas, there are still common areas and fields allotted by laws to villages or municipalities that have remained quite untouched. Even though the orthodox Marxist discourse claims that the dispossession of commons as a phenomenon precedes the capitalist development, Massimo De Angelis asserts that the processual implementation of both the separation of people from their means of production and the enclosure of commons are embedded in all stages of capitalism, including today's form. Thus, rather than being a periodically-cyclical phenomenon or a precondition for capitalist development, the new enclosures are the result of the encroachment of land, water resources and rural livelihoods for the sake of industries, energy infrastructures, real estate developments and for other development projects and purposes. In case counter measures are not designated, it is not far-fetched to claim that these processes could have led to poverty, migration and criminalization and therefore bear risks for the future. (De Angelis and Stavrides, 2012) The states legitimize these processes by putting forward their developmental stance or by relying on the concept of the tragedy of the commons. The latter conceals

Gerrit Hardin in 1968, is based on the belief that to make common resources sustainable, either privatization or direct state inclusion is necessary.

From his point of view, it could be assumed that Turkish villages are experiencing the compound of enclosure of commons; the enforcement of disincorporation of villages legal en the *magnum opus* of this process. The motivation behind rescaling towards larger units at the expense of small and historical components can be understood by employing the primitive accumulation practices studied by Harvey. As briefly stated above, these practices may include commodification and privatization of natural resources in their entirety; the land, streams and labour power are at bull's eye. The amendments made to property rights by converting common and collective ownerships into exclusive private property rights, the elimination of indigenous methods by schemes and the transcription of debt and credit systems fall under this conception. There is no doubt that Turkey is not an exception, but a representative element of the set of applications (Harvey, 2009).

To ponder upon the notion of dispossession, MacPherson points out the acclaimed indissoluble bound between the individual and possession: there is no possession of property if (MacPherson, 1962). Hence the presence and absence of a person binds upon the condition of being a man of property. In this sense, Butler presents the essence of dispossessed ensuing derivative condition of enforced deprivation of land, rights, likelihood belonging (Butler, 2013, p. 5). Butler takes one step further to crystallize the functionality of dispossession which is critical for interpreting post-dispossession beneficiaries and losers/payers. In her words, *dispossession works as an authoritative often paternalistic apparatus of controlling, appropriating the spatiality, mobility, affectivity, potentiality and relationality of (neo)colonized subjects* (Butler, 2013, p. 5) Moreover, Butler states that the political fibre is converted into technocratic, corporate and post-political governance at the expense of historical components (Butler, 2013, p.40).

In parallel, 10<sup>th</sup> Development Plan of Turkey for the years of 2014-2018, under Article 898 envisages that metropolitan areas will henceforth be entitled as responsible for the rural areas. This rearrangement is believed to have the potential to contribute to the development of Turkey, generating high commitments and expectations. Official documents pledge that the spread of urbanization could bring solutions to problems of technical and humane capacities, quality standards and productivity (10<sup>th</sup> Development Plan 2014-2018). On that note, Article:914 of 10<sup>th</sup> Development Plan predicts that in the year 2018, the urbanization rate might reach 76.4 per cent in Turkey. Putting the rural-urban dichotomy and urban limits discussions aside, it should be noted that if this rate is reached, it will not be as a result of free-will nor of an evolutive trend.

Within this context, Turkey is experiencing two confounding situations at the same time. On the one hand envisaging the one single blueprint for all metropolitan municipalities by solely relying on the population criteria neglects the complex and locally variable nature of the development issue. On the other hand, disincorporation of villages under Metropolitan Municipalities while leaving villages under other cities as they are has caused duality and discord across the country have the potential to cause problems for the status of villages and equality before the law.(Duru, 2012)

There exist widely-accepted assumptions and certain reported facts that, more fragmented local units could hamper service delivery and foment troubles for reaching collective decisions. Besides, more fragmented formations are also not favoured due to claims that their structure is relatively higher cost-generating than the systems composed of large-scale sub-state units with no further sub-level ramifications (Pagano, 2013, pp. 37, 114). However, it is neglected that transformations in this direction bear the high risk of serving the sake of built-environment's suppression on natural

environment. Thus, ceasing the legal entity of villages under a Metropolitan municipality could be comprehended as an *outcome* of preceding resolutions rather than being a *motive* for future contemplations to succeed development. As Duru proposes, this could be perceived as the outcome of the pursuance of lands and natural resources' commodification for further construction, infrastructure and development purposes (Duru, 2013). Additionally, there is also apparent anxiety regarding how villagers might respond to estate taxes in the sequel of the five years of legal exception granted to them (G zler, 2013). Backing up village communities in socio-economic terms appears a order not to sacrifice them by adding new burdens onto their shoulders.

The current condition is not the debut of urbanization without cities (Duru, in Turkey. Quite the contrary, urbanization in Turkey has had a long-established history of urbanization without industrialization, as Erman defines, which indicates the urbanization experience of Europe and Turkey. The former came along as a derivative of industrialization whereas the latter ensued that the intervention of the agricultural sector, which rendered the vast number of communities in rural places redundant. Yet again, the imposition of the (metropolitan) *model* to cities and the recognition of urban places and local entrepreneurs as able to generate production capacities and economic boom proves that the tradition of a effect relationship concerning urbanization and industrialization prevails in the Turkish experience (Erman, 2012).

Still, it is not surprising that the cities converted into metropolitan municipalities pretty much greeted their new status with happiness. In this regard, the image of metropolis in a determinant, given the fact that particularly Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir are considered the Turkish equivalent to the land of opportunity (Erman, 2012). Nevertheless, this could a na ve imposed and/or self-persuasion at least in the short term prospect. It is also worth to note that a townsman has always been considered as being inventive and contributing to the wellbeing of the country while the metaphor of living in a metropolis has been enough to be gratified (Erman, 2012 and references therein).

It is significant to note that, as the legal status of 29 provincial local governments, 1.591 municipalities and 16.082 villages were altered, it would be pertinent to consult the local public consent by means of a referendum. This would fall in line with Turkey's commitments to the European Charter of Local Self Governance, under which Article. 5 articulates on the protection of local that changes in local authority boundaries shall not be made without prior co communities concerned, possibly by means of a referendum where this is permitted by statute. pursuance of such approach would also comply with Turkey's recent undertakings for further democratization and its prospective democratization agenda. Besides, if Turkey is committed to green development in line with the European Union candidacy prospectus, one of the fulcrums is engendering participation and self-determination, which requires taking all measures to guarantee the participatory approach. As Adams (1992) stated greenness of development is to concern with ecology or environment per se, but in its concern with control, power and self-determination (Adams, 1992, p. xiii; Arsel and Adaman, 2012, p. 317).

## Conclusion

Turkey, in its official rhetoric, puts forward diverse political and economic motives for its course of action to explicate and contextualize its rescaling venture. In that sense, it is pertinent to touch upon the achieved and failed fields. It should be noted that rescaling applications have been undertaken to tackle corruption. However in February 2014, Transparency International called attention to the issue of the accountability of politicians and the transparency of their relations w in times when lucrative construction contracts are brought to the table. Strengthening th

mayors in consequence of the rescaling process and failing to care for the necessary precautions properly to prevent corruption might lead detrimental results. (Transparency International, 2014)

In 2010, Under and Zylidris put forth a paradoxical display of the state regional development. According to their findings, state-owned banks make more positive contributions to developed regions through the means of credits when compared to less developed ones while private bank credits have equal contribution to GDP (Gross Domestic Product) of both developed and the less developed regions. In the last instance, their study supports their purpose of existence state-owned banks did not reduce economic disparity among Turkish provinces (Under and Zylidris, 2010, p. 975). Taking the findings of this role of efficient allocation of financial capital, it could be estimated that reconsidering the priorities and conditions for credit extension in the banking sector could have a constructive effect on less developed regions.

On the other hand, pushing for alternative proposals should also be promoted. Brenner, in his commentary on Lefebvre's autogestion, reveals how dissenting and confronting parties, civil society members and communities all sing the same hymn sheet concerning rescaling and decentralization. (Brenner, 2001, p.789 and references therein). In that sense, being incapable to propose any alternative options causes deadlock in the social, political and economic spheres which could be summed up as the perils of consensus. (Rodrik, 2014)

Within the context of rescaling, it is also critical to discuss how the participation is presented as a heroic recipe not only for development and democratization but also to boost investment. On the other hand, giving credence to the myth of a single, indivisible local community acting in concert is naive (Cleaver, 2001, p. 44). The recurrently stated expectations from participation are the procedural and technical means (as only these means deemed appropriate) for civic engagement to the process while precluding the ways of radical or critical engagement. In that sense, participation is limited within proposed and permitted methods which are mostly individualized and depoliticized. As an example, public availability sessions for hydroelectric power plants projects are allowed while other patterns of participation are mostly condemned to be underwhelmed (Cleaver, 2001).

It is also critical to lay the way open for local actors and their actions to address *non-local* subjects, affairs, situations and the concepts. Local actors should be promoted to address the issues transcending their respective localities. Only in the cases where local appeals go beyond the range and limits of locality by overarching issues such as feminism, anti-capitalism and anti-imperialism can the signs of upturn and progress in social, political and economic spheres. (Kothari, 2001, p. 166). Concerning the social movements, and much like with a compass, it is essential to keep one foot with a strong support foothold on locality while allowing the other to draw across the upper-tiers. Thus, it is important to note that social movements strategically and discursively construct and reframe (Sandberg and Gilbert, 2009 p. 249) This illustrates that even for peasant movements success, having claims transcend to the spheres of the states and elites is fundamental. (O'Brien and Li, 2006, p.2; Borras, 2008, pp. 282-283) However, it is crucial to remember that in order to make use of the latter strategy it is necessary to preserve the competence of the local socio-political core, which in the Turkish example corresponds to villages. Finally, it is cardinal to note that although the narratives of hyper-mobility, globalization, and multi-level governance command the various spheres of life, people still live in localized contexts and with predominantly local-scale sets of relationships and interactions (De Filippis, 2001, p. 368).

The rescaling process has become a potent symbol that entitles power to certain groups and classes while concurrently incapacitating the others, ultimately generating winners and losers (Miller, 2009; Yılmaz 2006). This process mostly results in a greater size and degree of control on human capital

other potentialities attached to a particular locality for the winning group sense, Lefebvre's notion of autogestion, which proposes the affirmation of an on-going limitless project at all geographical scales and within all sectors of social and political life including state institutions themselves, could be put forward (Brenner, 2001). This embracing tenet could be enriching for any country as such an approach is not limited in duration, as in the case of development plans or reform packages, and is not confined by a deadline, as encountered in accession schemes.

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