

**RESTRUCTURING PLANNING THROUGH COMMUNICATIVE  
REASONING: QUALITY MANAGEMENT AND LEADERSHIP IN  
PLANNING FOR INFLUENCING INTEREST**

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**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF  
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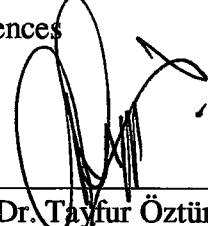
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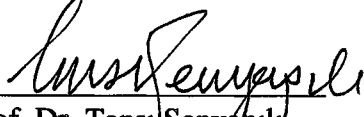
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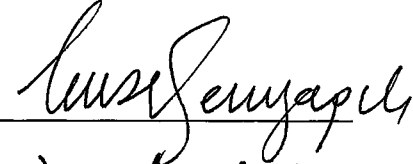
  
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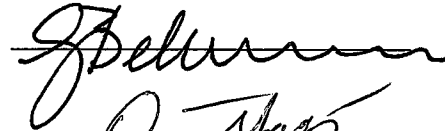
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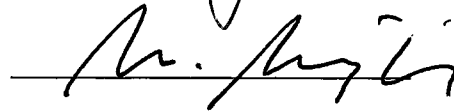
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# **ABSTRACT**

## **RESTRUCTURING PLANNING THROUGH COMMUNICATIVE REASONING: QUALITY MANAGEMENT AND LEADERSHIP IN PLANNING FOR INFLUENCING INTEREST**

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**June 1999, 89 pages**

This thesis is an attempt to search answers to the question of ‘how planning should be restructured through communicative action, as a democratic project’ in relation to the communicative reason. Developing a new rationality based on the relation between knowledge and human activity, on a communicative and intersubjective base forms the rationale basis of this thesis at re-legitimizing planning.

Because of this, the concept of communicative reason in quality management has been examined to outline its characteristics within an organization. The answers to the questions ‘how can communicatively reasoned planning approach be structured’ and ‘how will planning influence interest within shared-power situations’ are given according to the constitution of communicative action in quality organization observed.

In this study, the method used for research is literature survey since it can be considered as a good way to find out the relation between communicative reason and contemporary approaches in planning literature.



**Keywords:** network, Total Quality Management, influence, communicative reason, instrumental rationality, shared-power, organization, public sphere

# ÖZ

## PLANLAMAMANIN İLETİŞİMSEL RASYONELİTE İLE YENİDEN YAPILANDIRILMASI: YÖNLENDİRME İÇİN PLANLAMADA KALİTE YÖNETİMİ VE LİDERLİK

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Bu tezde, ‘bir demokrasi projesi olarak planlamanın, iletişimsel eylem içinde, nasıl yeniden yapılandırılabilirliği’ sorusuna iletişimsel rasyonalite ile ilişkili olarak yanıt aranmaktadır.

Bunun için, kalite yönetiminde iletişimsel rasyonalite kavramı incelenip bir organizasyon içerisindeki özellikler özetlenmektedir.

İletişimsel eylemin Kalite organizasyonlarında gözlenen yapısı ışığında ‘iletişimsel rasyonaliteye dayanan planlama yaklaşımının nasıl yapılandırılabilirliği’ ve ‘karar alma süreçlerine, pay edilmiş güç ilişkileri açısından, planlama pratiğinde nasıl etki edilebileceği’ sorularına cevap aranmaktadır.

Bu tezde, gelişmeler ve iletişimsel rasyonalitenin ilişkisinin ortaya çıkarılmasına uygun olduğundan dolayı, takip edilen metot literatür araştırması olmuştur.



Anahtar Kelimeler: ağ, Toplam Kalite Yönetimi, iletişimsel rasyonalite, araçsal rasyonalite, pay edilmiş güç, organizasyon, kamu alanı

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

It is argued that the transformations caused a turbulent world in which most of the economic and social relations are established through network relations emancipated from spatial boundaries and its outcomes. Castells (1996) named the age of this new turbulent world as “information age” and its society as “network society”.

The reasons that caused the transformations are the economic crisis of 1970s; the democratization demands that emerged at the end of the 1960s, and over time have transformed to green movement, feminist movement and many others; the technological developments that allowed the network relations to be established; and the decreasing importance of relations depending on space.

As a consequence, these changes caused the nation state to lose its power; the production to reorganized in post-Fordist systems; the citizens to act collectively in small groups for certain issues at which the traditional participatory democracy’s instruments are no more capable.

Within these transformations, it is observed that the classical planning approaches have lost their legitimacy. However, only a reform in the planning practice may not restructure its legitimacy. Consequently, a whole restructuring of the planning philosophy is required, which is based on new rationality, values, goals and ethics.

The modernity attempted to rationalize the world and to reach the great project of Enlightenment through reason was an age of rationally institutionalization of the society. The Scientism; with its implementation tools and supporting positivist science and instrumental rationality; provided the scientific legitimacy of the modern world. This legitimization has been criticized by the Frankfurt school, its followers and many others, for many years. Nevertheless, with the transformations occurring, and with the postmodern criticisms, the modern world's instrumental legitimacy has been started to be discussed also in the public sphere.

Under the light of these developments, the transformations and their occurred and forthcoming results; our worldview is in need of restructuring. It is obvious that to insist on solving the problems, both that had been existing and those that have appeared with the transformations, using the classical tools of modernity, which are deeply engaged with scientism, do not satisfy any demand of the contemporary world.

The new worldview has to be constructed on a new ethical and reasonable base for a new representation of the society. This new base has to differ from the scientism approach of modernity. At constructing this new base, it should not be supposed that it would be abstracted from the contemporary society and its conditions, so that it does not become a utopia. This new base has to free humankind from given tomorrow and open new progresses, with a continuous transformation and a restructuration process within existing conditions.

Yet, many have accepted that knowledge can not be objectively formed, and has to be constructed intersubjectively in public sphere through communication. This intersubjectivity of the knowledge provides a new perspective to understand the social relations through dialogue. This view of social relations causes a new comprehension of the structure of today's

world. The combination of this intersubjectivity with new technologies creates a turbulent social environment.

Thus, in the public sphere, the meaning of participation is transforming from political representation to intersubjectively communicative and collective decision-making, which may be defined as the new way of participation in decisions taken at planning practice. Participation in decision making becomes an activity of daily life; the actor starts to participate in all activities that occur within the public sphere that he/she is involved.

This participatory model supplies a multiplicity in decision-making processes, allowing differences in the public sphere, through a new understanding of identity. This identity is not defined through others, but within the society through realizing its projects and within shared power situations.

Consequently, democracy can no more ignore citizens' demand for direct participation through organizing for certain issues; by this, organizations and social institutions of the modern world can no more dictate an autocratic structure, that is based on scientism and atomistic individual philosophy.

It is argued that the traditional liberal representative democracy can no more answer the needs of the new age. As the liberal representative democracy has been based on the atomistic individual with no relation with society, it has failed at creating a society in which individuals do not feel themselves alone and alienated. In addition, the liberal representative democracy defined itself within incongruous territories defined by boundaries, undifferentiating from all other institutions of the modernity. Therefore, it could not cope with the network society's unbounded relations.

Nevertheless, in this contemporary world, consensus and collaboration increased their importance. These transformations have distorted the traditional structure of power relations and created new opportunities for different power relations that the liberal notion of representative democracy has ignored. Within these developments, processes decided through mutual understanding and collectively given decisions, with the participation of societies all groups and individuals are becoming dominant in the civil society.

Thus, the new democratization demands of society can be defined as the shift from a liberal representative democracy towards a dialogue based democracy of shared-power situations and multiplicity, in which the individual feels him/herself a part of the society and is aware of his/her responsibilities and rights.

In a society where the relations are established through networks and are based on dialogue, power is shared by the groups and individuals, which creates interdependency that decreases the violence of conflict. Within the new responsibility of society the decision is given within this shared-power concept, through consensus between groups and individuals, who do not risk to gain power due to the mutually dependent relations, as it may cause both sides to lose, and even to chaos.

This situation occurs in interactions in which all players of the game have to agree on an object. If they do not agree, all players lose the game together. Within this new shared-power relations and collaborative working, the structure of organizations are also in a great transformation.

As the authoritarian social organizations lose their power, new and non-authoritarian social organizations gain importance. These 'mixed-motive' organizations are in interaction within shared-power situations; such as the NGOs. This shared-power situation can be exercised within the new

representation of society, where groups and individuals act in mutual and collaborative interaction.

Individuals organizing in NGOs, and acting together in networks of organizations, the development in the organization of production and other developments, enlightens the fatal insufficiency of the modern world and the organizations that are based on scientism.

The Total Quality Management shift in organizations may have some similarities with other trends of transformation in production. The post-Fordist production occupies a huge part of the changing production system, but does not contain the main components of Total Quality Management shift that is providing the grounds for the communicatively reasoned organization.

In the new representation of the society relations of individuals, which are in relation with society and are interdependent with each other, are interactively builds through networks. These networks are based on individuals and groups that are organized with a non-hierarchical structure. Knowledge is shared within these organizations and decisions are given in shared-power situations in which the domination of group and individual is lowered.

The shift in organizations towards Total Quality Management provides a large base for analyzing this type of organization and for understanding its communicative basis. It provides a management approach adaptable to the new world of rapid change, rising complexity and rabid competition.

The decision-making process in Total Quality Management, which is based on communication, has demolished all previously known and used organization characteristics of the orthodox organization theory and its varieties. The characteristics of Total Quality Management, such as being



process oriented, customer oriented, steered and team based; all require free communication, participation in decisions and a non-hierarchical structure of organization. These processes allow individuals with different issues and objectives to participate in decision-making processes in organizations.

Thereupon, the participation of individuals in the decision processes through shared-power relations is gaining importance against the atomistic individualist philosophy of liberalism, and requires a solidarity in which the individual is in relation with the society and can realize him/herself.

These evidences indicate the need for re-legitimization, and thus, restructuring of planning practice on a critical and communicative reasoning, and requires the establishment of practical decision-making processes in groups interaction in shared-power situations.

This re-legitimization of the decision-making processes and rationality is constructed on the intersubjective characteristics of knowledge and decisions. The intersubjectivity of knowledge and decisions can be defined as reaching a common agreement (hereafter consensus) on knowledge and decisions within a community in public sphere.

Relating the decision-making process of the Total Quality Management with planning organization gives some evidences to understand how this may be achieved. However, this relation to be constructed is not based on the structure of the process but on the philosophy of it.

This philosophical background of Total Quality Management may provide the communicative interaction basis for the decision-making process in planning, and may provide the steering ability for the planner as a leader. The non-hierarchical and interactive decision processes of Total Quality Management can be defined as the organizational structure for the

individual that is in relation with others. However, most examples of Total Quality Management are lacking this characteristic.

The goal of Planning, which differs from Total Quality Management in profit oriented organizations, can be defined as providing equal access to the resources of the environment to individuals, communities, groups and other actors of planning. However, this cannot be realized unless the “allocation and use of power” (Friedman, 1973) is legitimately supplied. Therefore, how the legitimacy of planning is realized becomes the main question of the collaborative planning.

Within the approaching information age, the legitimacy of planning can be realized through opening and diffusing the decision-making process within shared-power in the public sphere, which differs from the liberal public sphere approach.

Studying the transformations in three groups in the second chapter may help to understand the contemporary conditions in which planning is to be practiced. For this, after examining the transformations that have occurred, its results will be summarized.

In chapter three, the philosophy of modernity and the scientism will be criticized and the advantages and disadvantages of a post-modern approach according to the theoretical framework of this thesis will be summarized, and the critical theory will be discussed.

In the following chapter, the shift in the organization of production, from the management viewpoint, is examined. The traditional orthodox organization theory of Taylor and Weber, and its development during the modern age, is summarized in order to understand the difference between quality management and the traditional organization. Next the characteristics of Total Quality Management that denotes the

communicatively reasoned organization is studied. In addition, quality management's main components that create the non-hierarchical decision-making environment within the organization are examined.

In the fifth chapter, the public interest concept is discussed and the legitimacy of planning is re-examined to restructure the planning practice within a critical communicative reasoning. The collaborative planning approach follows a late-modern path, as modernity is no more answering the needs and postmodern approaches are not giving any new frontiers, by rejecting a universal ethic and theorization.

In conclusion, the results of this thesis have been summarized, and the disadvantages and advantages of communicative reasoned planning are outlined. The organization of an alternative decision-making process to the existing political sphere and planning within this local public sphere is configured. The possible future developments of the planning approach are reviewed and some suggestions are presented.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **TRANSFORMING WORLD**

It is argued that an overall transformation is underway in social, economic and political issues all over the world. These transformations can be grouped in three sets; globalization; transformation in organization of production; and the transformation in technology. Studying the transformations in three groups will help to understand the contemporary environment in which planning is to be practiced. Hence, after examining the transformations that have occurred, relevant results of them will be studied. Next chapter addresses a fourth transformation that can be named as a paradigm shift in social sciences.

Within the last 20 years, due to these transformations, the USSR has collapsed and the Berlin Wall has been torn down; Japan became the world's number-one economic power; and USA is losing its economic and military hegemony over the world. (Wallerstein, 1995)

Wallerstein (1995) discusses that the ideological cement of the capitalist world-economy from 1789 to 1989 was liberalism (along with its correlative, albeit not derived, partner, scientism). According to him, this social representation came to an end, and these transformations are the signs of it. For Wallerstein (1995) The French Revolution marks the entry onto the world political scene of liberalism as a significant ideological option. The fall of Communism in 1989 marks its exit.

By the early 1970s, the U.S. economic hegemony was visibly starting to wane. The currencies of all the major capitalist countries were floating,

leading to vastly increased speculative surges of foreign exchange transactions around the world. In addition, the fiscal insecurity was then increased by the oil shocks of mid and late 1970s. (Wallerstein, 1995)

Contrary to the 1929 crisis, the 1973 crisis turns out less destructive in developed nations of center than the underdeveloped nations of the periphery. (Eraydın, 1992)

## **2.1 Three Transformations Experienced**

According to Tekeli (1999) the transformations that are experienced can be examined in three groups. To analyze the change in production will help to understand the new production systems that are gaining importance in the economy; to study the globalization process can highlight the new socio-economic relations in capitalist and non capitalist world; and to examine the technological change may provide the information necessary about the new technologies that have changed the production process and daily life.

This crisis caused the state to permit the capital to shift foreign nations. The unconditional sovereignty of capital causes to redefine liberty as the individual's liberty of probability and possibility of choice. The state interference leaves its place to aid through donation approach.

However, it may be argued that this notion has been dominant since the Enlightenment. This utilitarian model has been the framework of the economic reason of capitalism. Therefore, to assume that this notion of liberal democracy has emerged after the 1970s crisis will be wrong. It has always been the tool for the legitimization of public decisions that have been made by the bureaucrats, technicians and administrators of the nation state and orthodox organizations. (Gorz, 1995)

### **2.1.1 Towards a New Organization of Production**

For some theoreticians the main transformation of the last decades is the shift experienced in the organization of production: A shift from fordist production towards post-fordist production, or in other words, from mass production to flexible production. It is argued that this shift will be the tool for the survival of capitalist world from the crisis that it is experiencing.

On the one hand, the crisis of Fordism was in part an outcome of rising imports of mass-produced goods from Japan and NICs to North America and Western Europe. On the other hand, the same crisis induced a frantic search for lower costs of production by American and European Fordist enterprises, provoking in turn a massive shift of branch plants to overseas locations. The consequences of these trends was the break-up and dispersal of much of the apparatus of Fordist production, and eventually the wholesale abandonment of the Keynesian-welfare statist policies that had provided its institutional backbone. (Scott, 1996; 394)

During the collapse of Fordist production, with the 1970s, and 1980s, many new flexible production sectors were starting to move into frontier positions. The flexible production's new products entering the world market competed with Fordist production's traditional items of international commerce. Almost all of these sectors are anchored locationally within dense agglomerated production complexes. Such sectors constitute much of the dynamic core of modern capitalism. (Scott, 1996; 394)

They are prominently accounted by a triad of broad economic segments: namely a) high technology manufacturing, with its enormously diverse range of outputs b) an assortment of sectors engaged in the fabrication of design-intensive consumer goods c) business and financial services, which have grown with particular rapidity over the past couple of decades and which are one of the cornerstones of today's international economy.

Flexible production systems refer to forms of production characterized by a well developed ability both to shift promptly from one process or product configuration to another. However, it is argued that adjust quantities of output rapidly up or down over the short run without any strongly deleterious effects on levels of efficiency. (Storper and Scott, 1989; Eraydın 1992).

Both of these types of flexibilities are achieved through a variety of intersecting strategies. Within the firm flexibility may be attained through the use of general purpose, non-dedicated equipment and machinery and/or craft labor processes. In the domain of inter-firm relations, flexibility is achieved by extensions of the social division of labor facilitating rapid changings in combinations of vertical and horizontal linkage between producers, thus leading to intensification of external economies of scale in the production system as a whole. In addition, the labor markets associated with flexible production systems tend to be typified by high rates of turnover, and by the proliferation of part-time and temporary work as well as homework.

### **2.1.2 Globalization**

Castels (1992; 74) argues that “we have witnessed the formation of a new, global economy, in which economic processes take place throughout the world which supersedes national boundaries as the accounting unity, has the following characteristics:

The consolidation of a North/South gap that increasingly concentrates capital, income, and knowledge in the triangle formed by the U.S., Japan, and the European Community.

The seemingly irreversible decline of American supremacy, with the equally seemingly irreversible ascent of Japan, and the relative improvement of the position of Western Europe in the world concert. (See also Wallerstein, 1995)

The increasing diversification within the Third World,

The parallel rise of the Fourth World; those countries, regions, or segments of the population that lose the functional connection to the dynamic world economy, and enter a downward spiral of dramatic human suffering and threatening social consequences for the stability of the system as a whole. (Castells, 1992; 74)

The global-local nexus is comprised on the one hand of powerful processes of global disorder and on the other hand of largely reactive, and typically shallow, local responses.

Local regulatory experiments have to be understood for what they are;

1. Their global prominence and ideological significance stem to a certain extent from their straightforward rarity
2. Their 'visibility' is also a reflection of the fact that they have been sucked into the political vacuum left by the breakdown of the national regulation after Fordism-Keynesianism
3. In the context of neo-liberal hegemony and a generalized shortage of global investment, it is difficult to see how local strategies can do anything other than bend to the will of global competition. The basic difficulty lies in trying to establish local order in the face of global disorder. (Peck and Tickell, 1994)

These developments that follow the 1970s crisis caused continual lowering of tariff barriers and other institutional impediments to trade as well as by the dramatic improvements in transportation and communication technologies that have occurred in recent decades. The costs of transaction between different countries have progressively fallen, while the velocity of circulation of goods and information has been increasingly exponential. (Scott, 1996; 394 and Castells, 1996)

It is important to understand the nature of the global production systems that shape the insertion of third world regimes into the international economy. Most developing nations have been rather unsuccessful in



exploiting the backward and forward linkages inherent in the export-oriented strategies of growth, which has exacerbated the uneven impact of globalization between as well as regions. The development options for third world countries thus depend to a significant degree on the kinds of export roles they assume in the global economy and their ability to proceed to more sophisticated, high-value industrial niches. For NICs to continue to prosper, they will need to devise strategies that emphasize the creation of a local institution environment conducive to technological upgrading and the integration of industrial production with modern services. (Stalling, 1995; 102)

It is argued that the contemporary era of global capitalism has five central characteristics:

1. Intensified global competition and the emergence of new centers of production: This is best exemplified by the NICs of East Asia and Latin America. Low labor costs and the improved skill levels and productivity of workers in the third world make the global sourcing of production a virtual necessity for every corporation that seeks to enhance its international competitive position. The result has been the emergence of new regional divisions of labor that exploit the diverse resources of core, semiperipheral, and peripheral nations
2. An exceptionally innovative technological environment: Innovative transportation and communication technologies have shrunk both time and space, thus permitting managers to run complex global organizations in an integrated fashion. Modern technology can strengthen the forces of localization as well as globalization in the production process.
3. The proliferation, and restructuring of transnational corporations (TNCs): Previous theoretical paradigms foundered because they did not have a good way to tie the activities of TNCs into the structure of world economy (e.g. dependency theory), or conversely because they

did not embed transnational capital into the peculiarities and dynamism associated with local economies (e.g. world systems theory). Global capitalism distinguishes between producer-driven and buyer-driven commodity chains and thus highlights the central roles played by industrial and commercial capital, it tries to bridge the macro-micro gap in development research by focusing on the local context of global production and showing how globalization actually reinforces localization processes in the world economy, and the framework directs our attention to the multiple export roles that link countries to the world economy, although with varied consequences for national development.

4. A diversified global financial system: Large commercial banks followed TNC manufacturers in the 1960s and 1970s into their most significant overseas markets in Europe, Latin America and Asia. In the 1990s, the global financial system may again be perceived as an opportunity rather than a constraint in many regions of the third world. International financial institutions and new private sector investors appear to have ample money to lend, and attention in the 1990s has shifted from the debt crisis to how to deploy fresh resources to restore international competitiveness and generate nontraditional exports.

5. Important changes in the state's role in the domestic and global economic affairs: A favorable international trading and investment regime was indispensable to the globalization of production in the postwar era. The relatively liberal international trading environment embodied in the provisions of the GATT since World War II has permitted many third world exporters to have extensive, albeit regulated, access to developed country markets. (Stallings, 1995; 102-103).

### **2.1.3 Information Technology and Spatial Organization**

With the new technologies developed information and information technology has turned into a factor of production. Not only existence of information is important, but also transfer of that information is a crucial factor. The high quality power is emerging with the use of information and knowledge. This condition causes very intensive R&D efforts in the whole world. Today, it is no longer possible to think of Information Technology just as a supporting factor, it is rather now a productive force. It has the ability of informing which constitutes the basis of contemporary market economies. Thus, it is necessary to constitute a new perspective on the impacts of Information Technology, from the point of view of regional development and planning (Dede, 1995; 21).

According to Thompson (1989) Castells determines three main impacts of the new technologies as: First, they are creating a new space of production as the new communications technologies allow a substitution of a 'space of flows' for a 'space of places'. Second, they are changing the ways of working and are modifying the urban form through office automation, electronic zoning, and telecommuting. Third, they allow a new international and interregional division of labor wherein capital can more easily shift production to take advantage of labor. They also involve the government in the new role of keeping up the 'Warfare State' rather than the 'welfare state'. The net effects of high-technology development, according to Castells' scenario are that more jobs will be eliminated than created, forcing many people into petty service-industries where they need be paid less or into the underground economy.

Amirahmadi and Wallace (1995) show that nowadays there exist two basic techno-spatial tendencies with respect to the impacts of the Information Technology; disintegration and integration. According to the integration thesis different production, stages of the different firms are integrated and a virtual corporation is established. Base premises which support integration

can be listed as; resource sharing, increase of competitive advantage due to the linkages between strategic nodes among firms, and minimization of industrial competition because of the intrafirm production.

Integration process facilitates the emergence of monopolistic and oligopolistic structures because integrated firms consist of the best of everything, which lead them to be very powerful. Information Technology provides headquarters of these big firms (strategic nodes) with strong linkages. In this way, they get a competitive advantage through resource sharing. (Amirahmadi and Wallace, 1995)

From the regional development perspective, the integration has two policy implications: the need for universal access to a physical, intelligent network and the need for universal access to opportunities for integration.

According to the disintegration thesis, a centralized production core is fragmented into several structural units, each of which incorporates every necessary production stage to create a comprehensive and self-sufficient structure. Disintegration is realized generally through proprietary networks and this prevents to constitute a universal telecommunication architecture that can be accessible to everyone. Spatial trend does, in fact, weaken in potential as intelligent networks develop. Thus, regional economic development techniques based on spatial decentralization will fail to benefit lagging areas. Regions, in this case, would need to restructure innovation techniques specifically to accommodate disintegrated firms instead of decentralized firms. (Capello, 1996; 489) Table 1 illustrates the historical approach to the theories of industrial and spatial development.

Table-1 Historical Approach to the Theories of Industrial and Spatial Development (Capello, 1996; 487).

	The large firm paradigm (1960-1970)	The industrial district paradigm (1970-1985)	The network paradigm (1985 onwards)
External conditions Macro-economic Market conditions Market competition Technology	Stable raw material prices Economic growth Stable National Automated hardware	Increasing raw material prices High inflation rates Economic decline Unstable Mostly national Re-programmable fixed capital	Decreasing inflation rates Stable exchange rates (at least until 1992) Unstable Global Information and communication technology
Consequences on production systems Production Decision-making Competition factors Determinants of the efficiency of economic systems Optimal dimension of firms Organization of production Theories Firm's growth Local development Organization of firms in space	Mass production Perfect information Mass production Economies of scale Large Vertically integrated Internal growth Development driven by external forces Transport costs (division of labor with multi-located firms)	Small-batch, customized production Uncertainty Local know-how specialization Economies of scope Small Vertically disintegrated Transaction costs Development from below approach Cluster of small firms	Diversified mass production Uncertainty Control on complementary assets Network externalities Network externalities Quasi-vertical integration Cooperation agreements Local/global development New management of territory

## 2.2 Results of the transformations

These transformations have many results that have to be analyzed in order to understand what is happening all around the world.

Castells (1993) defines two fundamental transformations in the way we think about society and, "consequently, the way we organize our lives, have come of age,

The feminist culture, on the basis of the women's movement, has undermined ... patriarchalism as a fundamental social category institutionalized in every aspect of everyday life.

The environmental movement, for all its ambiguity and ideological confusion, has succeeded in redefining the relationship between society and nature, and therefore, between short-term productivism and intergenerational solidarity. (Castells, 1993; 75: See also Bookchin, 1994)

As a result of the transformations the national economic systems have gradually, but inexorably, invaded one another's territory and have become intertwined together in extended divisions of labor. (Castells, 1996)

According to Cook (1995; 17) the nation state is a modern structure, which can only be defined with its historical backgrounds. "Pre-modern states were dynastic entities within which diverse cultures co-existed, adhering to dissimilar religions and speaking numerous languages." With the modern age "past and future were ...synthesized in the ideas which contributed to the *invention* of the nation". (Cook, 1990; 20)

It is assumed that the economic reason underlies the formation of nation state. However, others are arguing that a dominant language and homogeneous culture are necessary for the nationalization of a country through industrialization. In other words, it is assumed that, the nation state requires the creation of a homogeneous society and citizen myth. It is a state constructed on a defined territory.

However, with the transformations experienced, the redistribution mechanisms of nation state are losing their legitimacy. The crisis of Fordism and the search for a new institutional fix are both intrinsically geographical problems. The collapse of Fordism-Keynesianism led to a crisis in which the nation state was de-centered and its capacity to intervene eroded. In the vacuum created by the erosion of the nation-state, new sets of

global-local relations have emerged. It is not a new spatial disorder, it is the geography of the unresolved crisis. (Peck and Tickell, 1994)

It should not be understood that this indicates the end of state, but only the national identity of the state is reduced, and thus, the *nation state* is losing power. Therefore, the state as a supra-local institution continues to exist, but this existence will be different from the nation state's.

Peck and Tickell (1995) assumed that the national capitalism is collapsing, but there is, yet, no mechanism in place for regulating the global capitalism which is emerging. While some attempts to create supranational institutions are underway, and even though some of these institutions are attempting to grapple with the demands of a financial system which is largely out of control, the argument is that as long as these institutions continue to adhere to neo-liberal ideologies, the global economy will remain in crisis. Thus, it is difficult to see how a new local order can precede a new global order. (Peck and Tickell, 1995)

In general, the most significant result of the transformations experienced in information technology is the increasing importance of competitive advantage, which is based on human-capital and intelligent networks. Relative importance of comparative advantage that is based on natural resources has been decreasing since information technology became a factor of production. Most important result of information technology with respect to regional planning is that it facilitated globalization through the intelligent networks; but at the same time, it has distorted the spatial hierarchical network implying a very strong spatial dependence. Today, territorial control has lost its importance and any locality has the chance of connecting anywhere in the world to make business and trade.

Spatially, a fundamental, and somewhat hidden transformation, has occurred: the rise of the space of flows in opposition to the space of places.... Personal experience, historical memory, and cultural identity are still place-rooted. The major danger in such a new



historically spatial dichotomy is the breakdown of communication between power and people, between cities and citizens, and ultimately between a spatial technocratic instrumentalism and localistic fundamentalism.” (Castells, 1992; 75)

The transformations and their results caused new political approaches that force re-conceptualization of democracy, as the representative democracy of liberalism has weakened.

### **2.3 Criticism for the Liberal Representative Democracy**

In complex industrial societies, which experience these transformations at highest level, marked by a high degree of social, economic and political, differentiation, it is very hard to envisage how the classical participatory model of democracy, that has emerged in city-states, and under conditions of ‘social exclusivity’, could succeed on a large scale. Therefore, the dominant democracy is based on the liberal notion of representative model.

This representative democracy of liberalism takes its roots from the Greeks’ participatory democracy experience, but has failed at practice on larger scales than locality.

Commonly accepted image of representative democracy identifies it with majority rule. What happens when a properly assembled majority regularly makes decisions that harm some minority? In recent decades, democracies could not successfully protect minority rights. The contemporary agenda is full of conflicts of threatened or ethnic groups.

An alternative worldview can be defined as a society in which communities are open to multiplicity and differences, although having a solidarity and collective identity.

In Western liberal democracies, the decision-making process has been structured as a representative democracy in which the electorates transfer their decision-making rights to the elite representatives for a given period.



(Üstel, 1997; 128) The decision-making mechanism, or the “democracy machine”, gives permission to public for voting in certain times, decided before, and closed until the second voting. (Toffler and Toffler, 1993; 18)

It is claimed that today no discussion of citizenship can be limited to a consideration of the situation of individual rights within the nation-state. The process of globalization has widened the gap between the citizenship and the development of international legislation, which imposes new regulations on individuals as well as on governmental and non-governmental organizations. (Zolo, 1993; 257)

Liberal democratic society fails as it is judged by its own promises, which are political participation, by representatives, liable government, and freedom to protest and reform. It is distinguished; by the existence of a largely passive citizenry; by the erosion and displacement of parliamentary institutions; by un-elected center of power; by substantial structural constraints on state action, and in particular, on the possibility of the piecemeal reform of capitalism.

Schmitter and Karl (1991) define modern political democracy as a system of governance in which rulers are held accountable for their actions in the public realm by citizens, acting indirectly through the competition and cooperation of their elected representatives. Modern democracy offers a variety of competitive processes and channels for the expression of interests and values -associational as well as partisan, functional as well as territorial, collective as well as individual.

However, Nodia (1992) mentions that democracy has always emerged in distinct communities; there is no record anywhere of free, unconnected, and calculating individuals coming together spontaneously to form a democratic social contract. In this sense, he mentions that nationalism is the historical force that has provided the political unit for democratic government. Consequently, to pass beyond nationalism is only possible, when another name for “we the people” is found in an alternative worldview.

Many theorists, politicians and intellectuals criticize representative democracy as never having represented the voter's choices. Periodical voting has never represented the democracy as the choice has always been given before the election by 'élites' and by those who hold the power in their hands. The elections mislead the electorates as if they were deciding. (Tekeli, 1996; Toffler and Toffler, 1993)

In a representative democracy, participation in planning process is only one part of the process, and it is mostly after the decisions are made. However, the participation has to be at making the decision of how the planning process should be; instead of participating into a decided process. The point is that the participant has to be included in the decision-making process from the beginning. Thus, it becomes a political issue and most technical implementation processes turnout to be political.

The participation problem becomes a critic against the liberal participant democracy and democratization of direct realization of political power. The democratization of the formation of political power is defined as collective decision-making by consensus in public sphere. (Tekeli, 1996; 58)

Collective decision-making in public sphere changes the meaning of participation, and directs all individuals to participate; not at project base but to whole levels of political action in life. Participation, in this way, differs from influencing the political elite for affecting their decisions for their own benefits, and becomes a process that is essential at constructing the pubic spheres.

Sandel, M (1993) finds the increasing attractiveness of liberal democracy in non-Western nations, as the post cold-war period declared the end of liberal democracy in Western countries, ironic. His criticism of liberal democracy is based on lose of self-governance characteristic, and of conscious of being society within a nation-state boundaries. Questioning the existing ideologies on liberal democracy, he suggests a new worldview as a new philosophy for the representation of society, conscious of being society, localization of

responsibilities and internationalization of human rights, transnational human rights to protect rights of minorities.

Following are the general characteristics of the republican notion of citizenship:

1. Modern citizenship is closely related to the process of functional differentiation that leads to the emergence of formal legal and political institutions. As the function of modern state, legal and political formalism is the result of the separation of the political subsystem from the ethical and religious one; and the autonomisation of the economic subsystem from the political one.
2. The notion of citizenship is primarily to be opposed to that of subjection, according to which individuals are not entitled to any rights as regards political authority, but are simply to duties and commands.
3. The notion of citizenship rests on the individualist assumptions of classical liberal theory. It is the individual rather than the family, the clan, the city, the nation or humankind, that is the “legal subject”.
4. Citizenship operates within the sovereign sphere of the modern state; that is, of a national, territorial and bureaucratic political organization. Natural law theory sees citizenship rights as natural and universal rights to which any human being is entitled as a member of a political community.

Democracy is thus imperiled when its people do not know what they think they know. The situation is defined as a democracy of the ‘uninformed’. Becoming civic illiterates is the main threat for the individual of the information society.

## 2.4 Evaluation

It is argued that the continuing transformation is not only a B-phase of Konratieff cycles, but also a transformation of social and political structures. (Eraydin, 1992; Wallerstein, 1995) This change can be called as a B-phase of Konratieff cycles, however with some important differences. Wallerstein declares the transformation as not complete, and estimates a 20-25 year period for a stabilization of the new structure. This change, similar to the B-phase, occurring within the world economic system has started with the 1970s and the world is still in this period. Nevertheless, there are also some indications that we may also be in a hegemonic B-phase. (Wallerstein, 1995)

Within this transforming conditions the spatial relation structures in society are assumed to be also transformed, as the meaning of space changed. It is mentioned that a shift from bounded national society towards a global network paradigm creating an unbounded world in which national borders have lost its meaning.

Thus, the capitalist world system, based on territorial boundaries of nation state, is collapsing leaving its place to a global capitalism, regulation mechanisms of which have not been established.

The network society concept and the changing meaning of democracy with the other transforming subjects, mentioned above, affect planning that is criticized for depending on instrumental reasoning of the modern world.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **THE ‘MODERNITY PROJECT’ AND A NEW REPRESENTATION OF SOCIETY**

In addition to the transformations and their results, presented in the previous chapter, a fourth transformation is also experienced in social sciences that can be defined as a paradigm shift. It is a shift from modernity and scientism towards postmodernism. However, postmodernism is not the only approach that criticizes modernity and scientism.

The criticism for modernity started at the time it became dominant in society through the Enlightenment, and the critical theory, established by Adorno and Horkeimer with the Frankfurt School, is one of its most ardent critics.

According to Horkeimer and Adorno (1972) the capitalist modernity includes the risk of preparing the end of individual. The growing state and its technocratic tools created a society that is deprived of alternative societies, thoughts etc. Thus, the enlightenment and its modernity project turn into a totalitarian position homogenizing the society.

The most important difference between postmodern approaches and critical theory is that the critical theory relies on the core of modernity project; the postmodern approaches leave it totally aside. (Tekeli, 1999) Critical theory analyzed modernity according to the path that enlightenment of reason has developed through; as a product of capitalist economic system, instrumental rationality and technology, but also accepted the cultures, social institutions and individuals.

Therefore, the critical theory and its follower Habermas' (1984; 1987) communicative action theory forms the theoretical background of this thesis at criticizing modernity and scientism, and at reforming the representation of the society.

### **3.1 The 'Modernity Project'**

It is possible to say that the 'modernity project', in other words, the enlightenment project, came into being with the French Revolution. The historical break-off from the middle age occurred after the French Revolution. Without such a historical break-off, it was not possible to realize the modernity project.

The 'modernity project', dating back to the 18<sup>th</sup> century declared the liberation from the religion, irrationality, the dark side of human and authoritarianism; through enlightenment. It was a call for the liberation of the human against the historical linkage with the middle ages. Therefore, the human nature would develop without any boundaries. (Harvey, 1989; Simmel, 1996)

It shall not be forgotten that the modernity project is a city-rooted project. The city life has freed the humankind from its rural roots towards a liberated personal life. However, this has created a relationship model based on instrumentalization of others. In addition, the time and space could not cope with relationships, thus, the hegemony of economic rationality occurred. (Simmel, 1996)

However, "punctuated with philosophical Enlightenment, the elevation of human reason to a privileged position in Western thought", (Cook, 1990; 5) modernity became more effective in all fields of life in the eighteenth century.

Reason could be used to make the future a malleable one, and could interrupt the flow of history, overturn traditional hegemonies. Modernity was now to be understood as the very expression of individual and collective reason to bring about the achievement of some great social project. (Cook, 1990; 5)

Moreover, with the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in addition to liberation, functional specialization in work is required of the human, which gave each individual a value. (Simmel, 1996) With the 20<sup>th</sup> century, modernity has been criticized for creating a stress mechanism in the name of universal liberty of human. (Horkheimer and Adorno, 1972) It is important to answer whether the modernity project has led us into a Kafka model world or still has the power to enlighten our way forward. For some, like Habermas, although having some suspects against the project, they still support it, and for others, the modernity project has to be left beside, like the postmodernist theorists. (Harvey, 1989)

### **3.1.1 Scientism Working as a Tool of Modernity**

The modernity attempt to rationalize the world and reach its 'great social project' through reason, was an age of rationally institutionalization of the society.

With modernity, the base of knowledge has also changed. Before Enlightenment, the knowledge had been theological. Copernicus has changed this base when he discovered that the earth was not the center of the cosmos, as the theological knowledge had dictated. The scientifically determined truth, "became in turn a definition of reason". (Cook, 1990; 90)

"Philosophy, subsequently, become the guardian of this method of discovering the truth. Reason become the means of enabling such truth to be the invincibility of the truth." (Cook, 1990; 90)



The instrumental rationality uses scientific rationalism for legitimizing its technical apparatuses. "Reason, understood as logic coupled with scientifically-constructed empirical knowledge, was unveiled as having achieved hegemonic power over other ways of being and knowing, crowding out moral and aesthetic discourses." (Healy, 1992; 145)

With modernity, the instrumental rationality assumes that social problems can be solved, with no need for discussing, through scientific and rational methods. From this view, the scientific-instrumental rationality can easily contrast with democracy, as the decisions are made through scientific legitimacy without any discussion. The Frankfurt School has criticized the instrumental and scientific rationality for making the political arena too scientific and determining the democratic and communicative sphere. (Göle, 1986)

Scientism becomes the dominant frame at all levels of social life. The scientific-instrumental rationality became a part of the decision making and administrative organizations. Scientism transforms the political process to a scientific application with no acceptance for discussion of the process. At the end of this process, the political arena becomes an organ of the scientific-instrumental arena. (Göle, 1986)

However, this approach has been attacked by many others. Kuhn (1972) and Feyerabend (1991) argue that the positivist science's supposed methods are not being followed. They discuss that being objective and open-minded, as assumed to be in positivist science, is not logical.

The critics of modernity argue that the system of meaning proposed by scientific rationalism has dominated and crowded out all other systems of meaning. If communicative action is to transcend this dominatory threat, its concern should rather be to develop understandings and practices of inter-discursive communication, of translation rather than superimposition. It can merely search for ways of opening windows on what it means to see things differently (Healy, 1992; 152).



“Scientific knowledge, too, is a belief system based on specific conversations or texts. To overturn such texts requires the development among an ‘out-group’ of a counter-discourse.” (Cook, 1990; 92)

According to this, the truth may be found in language. Habermas agrees that language is crucial because its character, as a medium of communication, enables the truth of statements to be adjudicated by means of argument. "Without acceptance of the foundations of what is to be allowed the status of ‘knowledge’, the achievement of consensus is impossible." (Cook, 1990; 93)

### **3.1.2 Scientism Dominates the Social and Economic Life**

With the increasing expansion of the state, during the growing capitalism and finally Keynesianism, “leads to an ever great involvement of administrators and technicians in social and economic affairs” (Held, 1980; 251)

With the growing state “a new form of legitimation is required - one that ensures sufficient latitude for state intervention to secure both the private utilization of capital and mass loyalty to the system. This requirement is met to a considerable extent by the depoliticization of practical issues”(Held, 1980; 264)

This growing technocracy has been named as a new form of ideology by Habermas and as ideology of engineering by Göle (1986).

“Practical issues, underpinned by particular historical class interests, are defined as technical problems; politics becomes the sphere for the technical elimination of dysfunction and the avoidance of risks that threaten the system!” (Held, 1980; 251) Habermas (1997a) discusses the effects of these developments at ‘Knowledge and Human Interest’; arguing that the reduction of practical problems to technical issues has dominated the modern thought through the instrumentalization of reason.

“The legitimation system of advanced capitalism, thus, tends to become a technocratic one, based upon the ability of groups of administrators, technicians and politicians to guarantee a minimum level of welfare, manage the economy successfully and sustain economic growth.” (Held, 1980; 264) Habermas (1997b) argues that the growing state capitalism and administrative and bureaucratic groups and private firms have taken over the role of the public sphere, and thus, the public sphere turns into a domination area and dispersed.

### **3.1.3 Critical Theory vs. Postmodernism**

Both theories attack the ‘modernity project’ and its dominating characteristic and rationality models. Both combine the cultural, ethnical and philosophical differences to carry the theories into practice and to transform the concepts into politics. (Best and Keller, 1998; 261)

The differences between postmodernism and critical theory arises from the point that the postmodern approaches mostly break the modern conceptualization into parts and refuses any universalization of concepts; differing from critical theory. (Tekeli 1999; Best and Kellner, 1998)

Critical theory tries to establish certain boundaries defending them, and accepts the need of a rational basis. In contrast, the postmodern approach rejects these. However, the present-day critical theoreticians do not accept an important difference between the postmodern approach and critical theory. (Best and Kellner, 1998) The postmodern approach goes more further than the critical theory at destroying the ‘modernity project’.

Critical theory, opposite to the most postmodern approaches accepts the ‘modernity project’, and the contemporary world because of a historical process of capitalist development, instrumental rationality. They analyze the world over this historical process and technological developments as a whole. In contrast, the postmodern approach accepts the postmodern world

as a result of the media, language, technology and local values.(Best and Kellner, 1998)

Therefore, in this thesis it is assumed that a new representation of society and rationality can only be established through a new theory that accepts a universal view for the conceptualization of the contemporary world; instead of tearing the whole into pieces.

### **3.2 The Representation of Society**

As the humankind has freed him/herself from the rural roots, he/she has also forgot his/her social solidarity and collective identity, leaving the liberated collective characteristic of citizenship notion, and taking the atomistic individual notion of the liberal society of capitalism: This was a break-off from the society that has important similarities with the new representation of society stated in this thesis; differing in the definition of their communities and individuals. Although the previous one was a closed society, which has been criticized for this as limiting the rights of individuals, the society of the new representation frees the individual without cutting its ties with the society. (Bookchin, 1999)

Liberalism is based on the assumption that the society is conceptualized on the atomistic individual. This atomistic individual was realized with the liberation from the middle individual's limits of age's. It was assumed that his liberation would free the individual's capacity. (Tekeli, 1999)

Within the liberal notion, what is good for the atomistic individual is good for the society. Therefore, the dominant system of meaning in instrumental rationality has been the utilitarian approach, a summation of atomistic individual interests (Friedmann, 1973; 4). The society is to guarantee this atomistic individual's freedom; the freedom of choice.

At this representation of society, the individuals are assumed to be equal. Inequalities can be eliminated if equal choices to everyone can be achieved.

Thus, it is possible to define the inequality as the inequality of equals. However, assuming that everybody is born equal is not rationale. The individuals come to world as unequal individuals, and this has to be healed. Therefore, at the new representation of society the equality of unequals is essential. (Bookchin, 1999; Tekeli 1999)

Within this context, the freedom of individual also changes. It transforms from the freedom of individual's choices into freedom of individuals in relation with society.

The new representation of society is based on the assumption that the society is formed through groups and individuals in relation with society. A society in which individuals are free and are connected to each other with solidarity and trust within shared-power situations.

This social pluralism is different from the liberal pluralist approach, in which the groups do not trust or do not have solidarity to the groups. They come together only for maximizing their utilities. However, at the new representation the individuals are coming together for the other benefits of being within a group.

### **3.3 Planning Within the 'Modernity Project' and within the New Representation of Society**

Planning has been affected from 'modernity project' and works for the reproduction of the system and for lowering the tension except some radical experimental attempts. (Friedmann, 1987)

If the planning is going to be restructured, planning it is essential to view its historical development within a brief summary. This will help to understand the relation of organization theory and planning practice, and their relation with scientism.

After Enlightenment, planning has developed as a technical reason in public domain. It was an attempt to link scientific and technical knowledge to action; to process of scientific guidance, and to process of social transformation. (Friedmann, 1987)

Within this process, planners were giving the decisions for the good of society. This had been legitimized through the tools of scientism such as scientific management and instrumental rationality. Furthermore, planning tradition, with its roots dating back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, can be argued as being structured on the positivist approach of the Enlightenment tradition. Thus, the dominant planning practice has been instrumentally reasoned; “it tells us how to combine the means and use them to achieve given ends” (Sager, 1994; 6).

“Planning involved a confident belief that the city, acting as a corporate agency, was an effective instrument” (Goodchild, 1990; 127) of realizing the project of modernity. Planning was considered as a tool for realizing the project by towns. No one “should doubt the need for a more scientific basis and greater technical competence in reshaping our habitat” (Goodchild, 1990; 131).

However, this process was realized through instrumental rationality and the ethic of planning did not questioned ‘planning for what’. It was based on liberal representation of the society, which assumes that the atomistic individuals are for forming society, who want only to maximize their own utility.

However, it should not be understood that this means the individual can reflect his/her choice to the decision-making process. Although the system is based on atomistic individuals, as stated before, the decision-making process of both politics and planning are based on an elitist procedure that makes the decisions for the individuals.

Within this context, the planner as expert was assumed to be the guardian of the idea of the good city, articulating for society what its needs and values were. "The 'planning conception' was allowed to dominate unchallenged as an expression of the 'public interest'." (Healey, 1995; 260)

Hence, the public interest concept of planning is also based on this previously defined atomistic individual model of liberalism, who sees the public interest as a tool for maximizing his/her utility and for protecting his/her own rights. Only a certain core of rights of all individuals is protected by laws within this rationalization.

This instrumental rationality implies full knowledge of all possibilities. It can be argued that there is little need for planning, when 'everything' is already known. However, "when assuming that knowledge is intersubjective rather than objective, 'everything' takes on a less absolute meaning" (Sager, 1994; 8).

The principle dividing line between types of rationality in planning distinguishes the type appropriate for goal-oriented behavior within a means-end-structured problem, and models of consistent reasoning when means and ends are not distinct categories. The first kind has been recognized for a long time, and is discussed by Habermas (1997a) as 'instrumental reason'. It tells us how to combine the means and use them to achieve given ends. Applications of analytic techniques in planning are examples of the use of instrumental reason. However, there is more to planning, as is evident from Forester's (1980; 1981) view of planning organizations as 'instrumentally productive and socio-politically reproductive'. (Sager, 1994; 6)

This synoptic planning practice has been based on the scientific management theory of Taylor and bureaucratic administration theory of Weber. An uncontrolled rationality, legitimizes the authority of the bureaucracy and technocrats assuming that their knowledge is the highest and most right.

The instrumental rationality determines the techniques and objectives without thinking on the rationality and rightfulness of the objectives. It is based on building domination on nature through atomistic individual's projects subjectively; but not intersubjectively. (Best and Keller, 1998; 286-87) However, the critical theory and communicative action of Habermas (1984; 1987) is based on intersubjective reasoning.

### **3.4 Evaluation**

Now, according to the new representation of society and individual, the organization and administration structure of planning is in need of a great restructuring. TQM, with its characteristic that will be analyzed in the following chapter provides an important advantage for the restructuring attempt at restructuring planning in the new representation.

Universal rights are formulated through a historical struggle and are ideological and normative. Thus, they are not a part of the reality, but are a result of the intersubjective consensus of decisions realized mostly in public sphere.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **THE BREAKDOWN IN PRODUCTION SYSTEMS: CHANGING ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE**

It is an age in which organizations work as a supplier to the alienation of the atomistic individual. Organizations with scientific management have turned individuals to objects of production with no human value. Attempts that aim to break this process have not been successful, yet. Modernism, modernist organization, and scientism still rule the day. There are, yet, no postmodern organizations. Once a postmodern construction becomes a formula that organizations implement, it is transformed by modernist discourse into a pattern for corruption.

However, the new representation of society gives the clues of the new structure of planning. An organization based on this new representation, with trust, mutual understanding and relations, solidarity, interaction and collaboration, provides a new structure for the organization.

There is a downside to postmodern organization: "labeling dimensions of organizations as postmodern does not remove the specter of exploitative control of humans by technical, cultural, and administrative fibers" (Heckscher, 1994). However, the value of an organization is no more measurable by its establishing capacity of hierarchical equilibrium or certainty of its boundaries.

If we summarize the results of the overall changes that take place all over the world, it may be possible to assume that one of the shifts that the world is processing is toward a dialogue based world in which relations can also



be established through networks. The shift that is experienced in organization structure of production can be discussed as being influenced by these trends.

For this reason, to understand the contemporary trends of planning towards communicative reasoning and to reorganize planning, it is essential to analyze the shift in social and financial organizations framework.

The quality management oriented organization is more adaptable to the environmental changes. In other words, it is a flexible organization. This differentiation of characteristics is shown at Table-2 with more details. These differences not only provide the flexibility at product, but also the flexibility at process.

To analyze of the communicative side of Total Quality Management in organization structure gives a chance to outline the organization base for institutions that depends also on communicative reasoning.

It is argued that the shift in organisations has occurred during the transformations all around the world has many dimensions. These dimensions differs according to the transformations they are have experienced. If they are analyzed according to their managerial transformation, they can be classified in two groups. First group is those that do not realized a large-scale administrative differentiation from classical organizations. Those that have significant differences form the second group. They form the base for the analysis of the communicatively reasoned administration of organization.

At analyzing the quality management, the question that has to be asked is ‘what parts, and in what detail, of the quality approach should be examined in order to be useful as an example for a communicatively reasoned organization?’

Table-2 The Fordist post-fordist production and Total Quality Management characteristics (This Table has been prepared depending on the writings on Total Quality Management that can be found in the references).

	Fordism	Post-Fordism and TQM
Production	Mass production of a certain product	Group production at small amounts
	Standardization of product	Shift between different products (and product models)
	Formal	Informal
	Retrospective correction of error	Catch-phrase 'right first time' (before error occur)
	Preventive maintenance	Productive maintenance
	Profit driven management	Manufacturing driven management
Labor	Functional division of labor	Team based division of labor
	Responsibility for a certain job	Responsibility for the whole process
	Award for individual	Award for the team
	Employee	Internal customer
Quality	Quality planning	Quality improvement
	Quality as product	Quality as process
Administration	Management of tasks	Management of relationships (politics brought into open)
	Bureaucracy	Post-bureaucracy
	Vertical control	Horizontal control
	Hierarchic	Non-hierarchic
	Strong autocratic management	Leadership through steering
Organization	Vertical organization of labor	Horizontal organization of labor
	Functional organization	Flexible organization
	Mechanic	Organic
Innovation	Innovative product design	Incremental product design
	To managerial experimentation	Collective experimentation
	Few major discrete change	Continuous incremental change
	Low Education at work	High Education at work
	Information technology as a Supportive factor	Information technology as a Productive factor
Communication	One-way communication (top-down)	Back-and-forth dialogue (multi-dimensional)
	Formal one-way (top-down) flow of information	Free flow of information through formal-informal communication networks
	Internal relations between labor Predetermined by the structure	Internal relations between labor Determined by problems
	Means - end measurement	Performance measurement
	Limited use of capacity of employee	High use of capacity of employee
	Full information at top management	Partial information at top management

In this chapter, the base for the communicatively reasoned organization, and Total Quality Management as the main approach, will be examined. For this reason, first the history of instrumentally reasoned orthodox organization will be summarized to outline the structural roots of the organization. These will help to outline the differentiating structure of the organizations and define the Total Quality Management approach.

Heckscher (1994) sees these changes in organizations as a part of a long-term shift with two basic characteristics. The first is that a type of organization is being invented centered on the use of influence rather than of power. The second is that this type of organization is not merely different from bureaucracy, but is an evolutionary development beyond it, generating *greater* capacity for human accomplishment.

The new formation of the new kinds of collaboration and cooperation by giant firms “signify the realization that stand-alone competition is no longer a serious option in” (Cook, 1990; 169) the new economic environment. Community seems to be re-emerging in the workplace. (Albert and Hahnel, 1994)

#### **4.1 The Rise and Fall of Modern – Orthodox Organization**

The classical organization theory continues to be the base of most organization models. The development of manufacturing brought new problems; the organization would prove itself through succeeding a well-organized production. (Shafritz and Ott, 1987)

##### **4.1.1 Classical Organization Theory: Taylor’s Scientific Management and Weber’s Bureaucracy**

In the orthodox approach, the organization was supposed to work like a machine, and capital, people, and machines would supply the system. Engineering type of thinking dominated the theories about the best way to

organize the production system. Centralization of equipment and labor, specialization of labor, division of labor, applying scientific methods to the management, and systematization of production are the main characteristics that the classical organization theory has introduced to management. (Smith, 1987; Towne, 1987; Fayol, 1987; Taylor, 1987)

Smith (1987) introduced the division of labor for the optimum organization structure. For him, this would be a part of the 'invisible hand' of the market mechanism. Transforming the pin maker's production into a partial production of the pin. Thus, the productivity of a worker increased "%10.000". Smith states that this was a revolution.

As Fayol (1987) universalized organizational management, Taylor (1987) was assuming that through scientific methods the management would increase the efficiency, productivity and profit of the organization. The scientific management was more a whole system of methods adapted to the organization. Taylor's scientific management has been more revolutionist than all other classical organization theories have.

Weber's (1993) bureaucracy, however, differs from these approaches. He introduced the relation side of the organization. His 'ideal type' can be defined as the characterization of the bureaucratic form of organization. Weber saw bureaucracy as providing scope for autonomous action by experts; including decentralization of operational responsibility as a basic principle. The fact that these principles have often been violated is a sign of the systematic tendency to degeneration discussed earlier; returning to the starting point does not change this tendency.

#### **4.1.2 Neo-classical Organization**

The neo-classical theory can best be described as a critic of the classical organization theory that has surpassed its oversimplified mechanical view. Its most important critic against the classical approach was that; the

classical organization theory had not considered the environment of the organization. The classical organization, according to the neo-classical theorists, had isolated itself into the organization. Simon (1987) criticized the classical organization as being inconsistent, conflicting and inapplicable. Parsons (1987) defined the organization as a social system constructed in order to pursue specific goals.

#### **4.1.3 New Dimensions in Organization Studies**

Within the transforming economic environment and organizational needs, probably the most common move is not to move away from the principles of bureaucracy at all, but merely to clean it up.

The core of most versions of change in post-Fordism is increasing the autonomy of the parts of the organization: Its proponents, sometimes, talk about 'making the boxes larger'. What this means is that the scope of responsibility of those lower in the organization is widened, so that operational authority is decentralized. Frequently this involves a revival of Sloan's principles of 'Management By Objectives': rewarding people according to their success in meeting the goals established for their particular organizational 'boxes'. (Heckscher, 1994; 29)

However, even this aim may seem revolutionary to an old bureaucracy, it is in actuality nothing but a return to the roots of classical organization. (Heckscher, 1994; 29)

Other variants of this 'false' version of restructuring organization in order to cope with new demands include most 'Just-In-Time' production systems and most forms of "Total Quality Management." These consist in a sense of putting bureaucratic tools of analysis in the hands of the workers themselves, and giving them the autonomy to apply them. Thus they tighten up, eliminate slack, and reduce layers of hierarchy; but they do nothing to

increase dialogue among various parts of the organization or create a system of collective experimentation. (Heckscher, 1994; 29)

What marks the communicatively reasoned organization model is 'dialogue' among boxes, not increasing their size. The pull toward autonomy -"Tell me what to do and leave me alone"- is a profoundly bureaucratic instinct that does nothing to improve the basic weaknesses. (Heckscher, 1994; 29)

"Most critics, make a crucial mistake: They fail to distinguish which aspects of the problems are results of *badly managed* bureaucracy, and which are *inherent* in the model." (Heckscher, 1994; 18)

The new model "must pass a fourfold assay: (1) it must be *consistent with sociological laws* that have been grounded in other empirical analyses, (2) it must be *fundamentally different from bureaucracy*, (3) it must be *internally consistent* and logical, and (4) it must be *consistent with the available evidence* from the partial and fragmentary" examples analyzed. (Heckscher, 1994; 18)

Examples of such mechanisms in industry include all kinds of consensus-based committees; task forces; product development teams; and problem-solving groups. (Heckscher, 1994; 24-25)

#### **4.2 The Achievement of Quality in Organizations: Towards a Communicatively reasoned Organization**

It is supposed that quality concept in organization is solution to;

- Competitive environment,
- Uncertainty in the organizational environment,
- Need to work smarter,
- Change in management and leadership philosophy, principles, methods, tools, and techniques,
- More selective customers who increasingly demand added value,

- Conservation of limited resources,
- External factors affecting the organization which are progressively out of control,
- The organization's systems constantly requiring updating to optimize productivity, quality, and costs,
- New or changed products and services perpetually being introduced,
- Continuous vigilance needed of all factors affecting the organization, the product and/or service, the competition, and the customers,
- Economic pressures causing requirement for cost management,
- Shrinking budgets,
- Rapidly changing technology making stability difficult,
- Accelerated production time being essential to a competitive advantage,
- Customer-driven quality being critical to long-term growth,
- Application of telecommunication and information systems. (Saylor, 1996; 11-12)

When these advantages of Total Quality Management comes together with the communicative action and new representation of society, leadership becomes a component of organization taking the place of managers. Their differences can easily be seen if they are studied according to their relation with the external and internal customers of the organization.

The internal customer concept comes with Total Quality Management as assuming the workers and groups within the organization as customers of other workers and groups of the organization. For this, communication with external and internal customers is very important. At this point, trust and solidarity is the main component of relations in organization that apply the Total Quality Management approach.



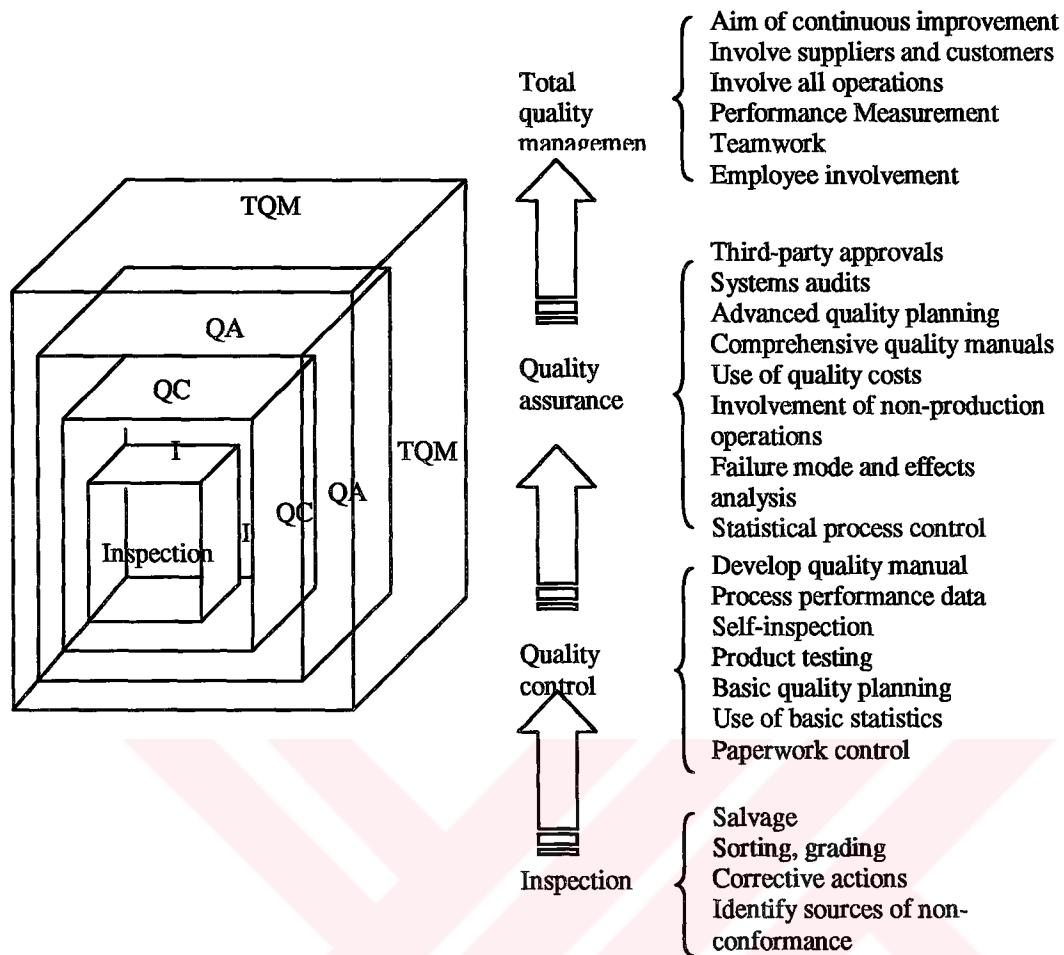


Figure-1 The Four Levels in the Evolution of Quality Management (Dale, Lascelles and Plunkett, 1990)

#### 4.2.1 Communication within the Organization

To adapt the concept of communicative reasoning into an organization a foundation of ethics, integrity, and trust with open and honest communication is required. Total Quality Management, as a communicatively reasoned management practice, will be incomplete and misunderstood without these. (Saylor, 1996)



Because of the possibility of ineffective communication, it is critical to ensure through feedback that the right information is communicated. It has been always the sender's responsibility to ensure effective communication. (Saylor, 1996)

In contrast to the orthodox organizations hierarchical one way (from up to down) communication, the Total Quality Management needs a free flow of information provided by the formal and informal communication networks.

### **3.2.2 Leadership**

The limitation of vision to the top further means that change in a bureaucracy is tangled with the charisma of top leaders, who necessarily have a very limited time in office to realize their ambition. (Heckscher, 1994; 23)

Guiding people to achieve a common goal is the focus of improved performance in any organization. Leadership involves the sustained, active, hands-on participation of all leaders continuously setting the example, coaching, training, and facilitating empowered people. (Saylor, 1996; 18)

"Strong leadership, both at top and all other levels, is needed instead of strong management. Leadership is essential to maximize the human potential to care about and satisfy the customers". (Saylor, 1996; 17-18)  
Therefore, the leadership has to have the ability to steer the process so that the organization's objectives can be realized.

### **4.2.3 Product Orientation vs. Process Orientation**

it is argued that defining the organization as goal/product-oriented is somewhat problematic.

In the orthodox organization, the organization is designed to increase the performance of production. This organizational view forms a product-

oriented production. In the product-oriented organization none of the units has control over the whole process, although most processes involve a large number of functions. This structure is likely to create complex, wasteful processes, as people do things in one area that must be redone or underdone in another.

These product-oriented organizations have been dominated for more than a hundred years by Taylor's scientific organization notion, who manifested the rational-scientific organization, and Weber's bureaucratic administration notion, who divided the labor and organization into functional groups. Studying this scientific organization model within the overall shift may provide some evidences for coping with the turbulent transformation.

Theories about process orientation are mainly focused on structural, technical, and managerial aspects, while theories about learning organizations mainly focus on cultural, social, and philosophical aspects (Kennerfalk, 1995; 297). Kennerfalk states that learning organization as "an organization skilled at creating, acquiring, and transferring knowledge, and at modifying its behavior to reflect new knowledge and insights" (Kennerfalk, 1995; 297).

A process oriented organization views its results as the outcome of a network of processes but not as the outcome of the work of different functions. Process oriented organizations divide work along processes, thus increase horizontal information flow through the organization. (Kennerfalk, 1995; 298)

Therefore, process oriented management has to focus more on efforts for improvement in processes than improving the performance of results. This is done through the support and stimulation of the people involved in the process, not through control with carrot and stick (Kennerfalk, 1995; 299).

Table-3 Summary of value dichotomy in manufacturing literature on process orientation and product orientation. (Choi and Liker, 1995)

Author	Process-Oriented Terms	Results- <i>Product</i> -Oriented Terms
Deming	Process quality	Result- <i>Product</i> quality
Ishikawa	Quality as process	Quality as results
Imai	Process-oriented thinking	Results-oriented thinking
Juram	Quality improvement	Quality Planning
Nakajima	Productive maintenance	Preventive maintenance
Dertouzos, et al.	Incremental product design	Innovative product design
Robinson	Manufacturing driven management	Profit driven management

#### 4.2.4 Information Technology, Innovation and the Organization: Continuous Improvement

Continuous improvement becomes important all over the world since 1970s. Some organizations realized that their survival in the new global economy required fundamental changes. These were organizations like Xerox, Motorola, IBM, and Hewlett-Packard (HP). They sought assistance from quality experts applying Total Quality Management and continuous improvement today. (Saylor, 1996)

Continuous improvement is specified as the most important factor in the Japan's manufacturing success. It has been the most important difference between the Japanese and Western Management models. The differences of these production cultures are not directly related with the national cultures,

but also not totally unrelated. (Choi and Liker, 1995) Through continuous improvement philosophy Japan advanced in many small products developed in U.S.

Continuous improvement emphasizes the value of making continuous incremental changes as opposed to making a few major discrete changes. Users focus on making small changes, modifying processes, and eventually creating a large cumulative effect. Continuous improvement compiles 'collective intelligence' by involving everyone related and effected with the decisions given, in and out of the organization. (Choi and Liker; 1995)

According to Choi and Liker (1995) Deming believed that continuous improvement can only be achieved through process-oriented manufacturing that focuses on improving 'process' quality.

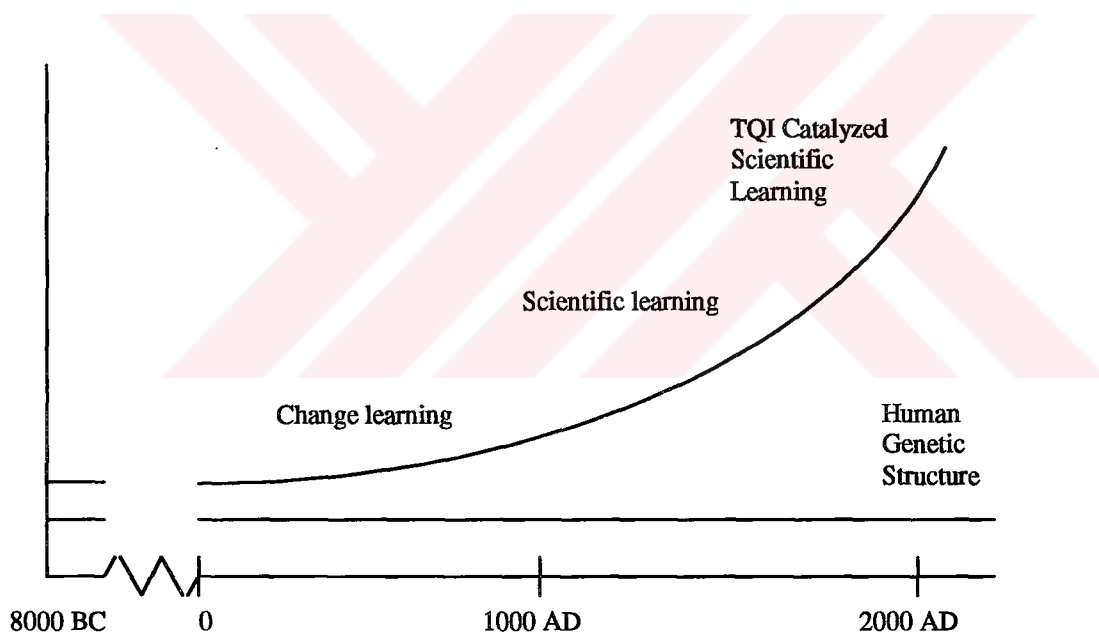


Figure-2 Three phases of increased human learning contrasted with nearly static human genetic structure. (Box, G. 1995; 122)

The limitation of even the best bureaucracies concerns their pattern of change and adaptation: They do not effectively manage processes over time. (Heckscher, 1994; 23)

Innovations in information technology change both the organization's demand for information processing, and its capacity for processing information. (Burton, and Obel, 1995; 45)

Information processing is a way to view organizations and their designs. Information "channels can be created or abandoned, and their capacities and the types of signals to be transmitted over them are subject to choice, a choice based on a comparison of benefits and costs" (Burton, and Obel, 1995; 45).

"Gabraith, in a seminal work, presented the organizational design problem as information-processing problem 'the greater the uncertainty of the task, the greater the amount of information that has to be processed between decision-makers'". The task uncertainty can be raised from the technology and environment. (Burton, and Obel, 1995; 46)

#### **4.2.5 Customer Relations**

Customer policies in orthodox organizations have been only seen as a person whose demands could be known by the managers of the firm. However, this has changed sharply in the organization theory with the developments that have entered. For example, the customer policy in Total Quality Management is based on dialogue that is established through all levels of the organization. It provides the communication with outside the organization, in order to realize the objective of the organization according to the demands.

As the relation with customers is established only through the customer services in orthodox organization, the employee has a very poor contact with the customer. The rest of the organization is related only with their

own jobs that has been divided into functional groups without any direct relation with neither the customer, nor the other groups.

This separation causes a narrow view of the desire of customers, for the organization as a whole. Due to this narrow view, employees are not conscious about their real responsibilities. Their only responsibility turns into satisfaction of their own department's 'next-level administrator', although the organizations aim, and hence, the employees aim is to satisfy the customers desires.

In contrast, the Total Quality Management is based on the concept that everyone has a customer, and that the requirements, needs, and expectations of that customer must be met every time if the organization as a whole is going to meet the needs of the external customer. (Tenner, and DeToro, 1992; 32-33)

In an organization model that is based on communicative reasoning, the employee is becoming an internal customer of the other employees he/she is related to. An 'internal customer' is another person or group within the organization who depends on the work of others to get their work done. This model creates a chain of customers within the organization, but excludes the external customer, and sees the job of creating the link between the organization and customer to some external procedures.

The customer become more selective, increasingly discriminating, demanding added value. "The organizations that can answer constantly changing customer's demands will succeed in this new environment of rabid competition." (Saylor, 1996; 12)

Organizations having flexible structures with as few layers as possible are best able to rabidly response to the customer's changing demands. Organizations with rigid structures cannot react fast enough to keep pace with a formidable competitor. (Saylor, 1996; 17)

#### 4.2.6 Employee Empowerment and Innovation

An individual in relation with society also requires the conditions for realizing his/herself. For this, in the new representation of the society, 'empowerment' concept has an important position within the whole transformation process. This leads to rebuild the individual philosophy. This is obtained through the development of the whole group, or community, in order for him to reach his full potential.

A special contribution, for which Total Quality Movement is responsible, is the democratization and comprehensive diffusion of simple scientific knowledge. In addition, the essential information necessary to solve the problems is known to people who are in immediate contact with the process. By providing the workforce with simple tools and empowering their use, it is ensured that thousands of brains are active not only in producing product but in producing information on how this process can be improved. (Box, G., 1995; 121)

Therefore, special care must be given to developing quality individuals, not to just train them for job skills, but also to develop their capacity for personal growth. Hence, the premise is to build the individual and through that the organization. Quality in the individual proceeds the quality in the organization. TQM in the organization follows from the building of quality individuals. (Wet, and Wet, 1995; 280)

The orthodox organization's mistake at handling its employee's innovative capacity is that it systematically limits the use of intelligence by employees: The system uses only a small fraction of the capacity of its members. (Heckscher, 1994; 20)

Whenever employees, at whatever level, have been involved in decision-making beyond the limits of the usual job descriptions, they have proved capable of developing improvements that their superiors could never do alone. This is the source of the success of Quality Circles and other shop

floor participation groups: these have their limitations, but they always produce gains unforeseen by the industrial engineers whose 'office' responsibility to maximize their effectiveness. (Heckscher, 1994; 20)

An essential assumption of bureaucracy is that the top managers can get into their heads all the necessary information to make the best possible decisions about the whole system; then the head can delegate pieces of implementation to people who are not so gifted. The top layer has a fundamentally different nature from the rest of the organization: It is the only place where the substantive questions of direction and strategy can be considered. All other levels deal only with implementation. In Weber's terms, this is a locus of charisma, in the otherwise rational organization. (Heckscher, 1994; 20-21)

#### **4.2.7 Team Based Organization**

"In today's complex workplace, teams are the structure capable of providing the high level of performance, flexibility, and adaptability necessary to rapidly respond to customers and provide deliverables that delight them." (Saylor, 1996; 17)

Although teams have been used also in orthodox organisations, the teams in Total Quality Management are different due to their collaborative characteristic and solidarity. These teams can be defined as the reflection of communities in organizations.

#### **4.3 Evaluation**

The master concept is *an organization in which everyone takes responsibility for the success of the whole*. If this happens, then the basic notion of regulating relations among people by separating them into specific, pre-defined functions must be abandoned. The problem is to create a system in which people can enter relations that are determined by



problems rather than predetermined by structure. Thus, organization control must center not on the management of tasks, but the management of relationships; in other words, *politics* must be brought into the open. (Heckscher, 1994; 24)

The leadership concept in TQM has an important role at this point. Leadership can be defined as steering the organizational development; as in planning steering the discussions within shared-power situations in public sphere.

The characteristics of Total Quality Management, analyzed above, have created communicatively reasoned organization structure that may highlight the communicative reasons organizational characteristics.

These may be adapted to the planning process considering the social environment of planning and public sphere as the whole organization. This can define the decision-making processes in shared-power situations in public sphere. Thus, the results that have been concluded from the quality management approach defined the philosophy of the structure of planning.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **RESTRUCTURING PLANNING AS A DEMOCRACY PROJECT**

It is argued that the contemporary legitimacy of planning is constructed on the concept of public interest that is defined through scientism (scientific management and instrumental rationality), which has strongly influenced by the planning practice. Therefore, discussing the legitimacy basis of planning requires analyzing the rationality background of planning.

Planning, which can be defined as the application field of scientific rationality aims the adaptation of engineering to social subjects. In other words, it assumes that the rationalization at the production level and organization structure may be also adapted and diffused to the public level.

Instrumental planning with perfect information cannot be process-oriented, it is product oriented. The only purpose of this product-oriented process is to increase the probability of identifying and implementing a better product. (Sager, 1994; 16)

Therefore, ethical problems that arise at both within the instrumental planning approach, decision process and implementation process, are not taken into account. If planning is handled within this framework, questions about 'how to plan' and 'why planning' are not queried. Planning becomes only a tool for reaching a previously given objectives' end.

The 'command and control' model of scientific management was used "with development investment and regulation followed strictly the land

allocations and development principles articulated in the plan” (Healey, 1995; 260).

With 1960s, the ‘command and control’ models of policy implementation shift to the idea of flexible frameworks: governed by policy goals, and dominated by economic imperatives. In addition, the ‘rational choice’ and ‘rational decision-making’ influenced planning taking the technical a step further. Scientific management and its applications had been derived to planing for establishing a rationally organized planning practice. (Goodchild, 1990)

With 1970s, this ‘growth’ oriented planning strategy of the national economy is harmed by the internalization, and technological and organizational restructuring. “Thus the discursive dominance of the ideology of economic growth and instrumental rationality came into question.” (Healey, 1995; 261)

The important question in communicatively reasoned planning is not ‘who gains’ from the implementation of particular plans, but “whose terms dominate the discussion” (Healey, 1995; 259) and who is included to the process.

Communicative reasoning is providing a suitable base for the social relations desired between planning and social organizations such as stakeholders. It provides a public sphere where intersubjective communication shapes the relations and forms the agreement towards the interactively given decisions for planning, in shared-power situations. Intersubjective communication opens the social relations, and hence planning process, to mutual understanding and as Healy (1992) maintains, to “collective deciding and acting” within the public sphere.

Public sphere has a critical role in the communicatively reasoned collaborative planning approach, due to being the arena for the

communicative action. The agents of planning formulate their collective decisions for planning process within this sphere.

However, in public sphere the dialogue occurs in a distorted communication environment. The 'ideal speech situation' of Habermas does not exist. For this, the planner has to work within a distorted communication to achieve the aim: to influence and organize interest.

Organizing interest has an important role within the collaborative planning. This context can be criticized for leaving a subjective position for planner. Nonetheless, this agreement with the democratization of planning is possible within the public sphere in which consensus is tried to be established.

It should not be forgotten that influencing or organizing interest is the same as it was in the modernist planning approach. Influence is subjective and ideological, also in modernity, but is hidden by tools of scientism assuming that planning is an objective practice area.

However, in collaborative planning, influence and intersubjectivity is pre-accepted within the communicative action. Furthermore, this pre-acceptation gives the change to control planning as a political implementation tool within the public sphere, this is an agreement with the assumption of this thesis previously stated; planning is brought back to politics.

The master concept is an organization in which everyone takes responsibility for the success of the whole. If that happens, then the basic notion of regulating relations among people by separating them into specific, pre-defined functions must be abandoned. Thus, the problem is to create a system in which people can enter relations that are determined by problems rather than predetermined by structure. (Heckscher, 1994; 24)

Communicative rationality guides communicative action. The co-ordination and socialization aspects of communicative action come close to, what Diesing denotes, 'social rationality'. (Sager, 1994; 7)

The customer relations presented in fourth the chapter can be argued as a new understanding of the relation between the planner and stakeholders. This new understanding has an important difference, if it is confronted with the modern planning approach. Previously Public as the customer of planning; had been excluded from planning process; just as it was in the orthodox organizations.

Public sphere has an important role in the new representation of society due to being the arena where the public opinion is formed. it is the sphere where consensus is formed within dialogue. (Habermas, 1997b) However, it is also the sphere in where the inequalities are legitimized through the distortion of communication and through the third dimension of power.

### **5.1 Towards a new definition and legitimization of Planning: Redefining Public-Interest**

"The public interest is a philosophical idea that implies particular images of man and of society." (Friedmann, 1973; 4) The previous image of man and society has been the atomistic individual and the liberal society.

The public interest, at the beginning, had been defined by what is good for the individual is also good for the nation. "Only the self regarding interests of individuals and groups antagonistically held together by an interest in private gain". (Friedmann, 1973; 2)

Therefore, the dominant system of meaning in instrumental planning has been the utilitarian approach, which is influencing other systems of meaning. (Friedmann, 1973, 1992; Healey, 1995) Thus, ethical legitimacy of planning has been based on the public interest concept that originated

from the utilitarian notion: a summation of atomistic individual interests. (Friedmann, 1973; 4)

The best definition of the public interest by the utilitarian notion is the “‘Pareto Optimum’ which assumes that the common good (public interest) is served as long as no one’s interest is hurt while that of at least one other individual is helped” (Friedmann, 1973; 4).

Within the last decades, this utilitarian approach, although it is not left totally, is heavily criticized. One of the new approaches, sharply differing from the postmodern approach, assumes an individual that is in relation with the new understanding of society. This new representation opens a new possibility for restructuring the public interest concept.

Thus, the changing world implies the contemporary utilitarian public interest towards redefining its legitimacy. The redefinition of its legitimacy, or philosophical backgrounds of it, should be handled within process and substance. By process, “the manner in which a moral community agrees to conduct its public business, which includes not only the process of arriving at decision on laws, policies, and programs but also the processes of carrying them out” (Friedmann, 1973; 5) should be understood.

Consequently, the process of public interest refers to the “allocation and uses of power”. Planning can serve public interest “so long as the allocation and uses of power... is regarded as legitimate by all members of the moral community to which they retake perspective of their” (Friedmann, 1973; 5).

The process of planning should not be considered alone and regardless of its outcomes. It should be compared “to the norms and values we have agreed to observe as a moral community” (Friedmann, 1973; 5). This new understanding and new representation of society provides a new public interest that is based on consensus for collective development of communities, and thus, society. The process becomes a communicative

action that effects the outcomes. Therefore, it is a process decided in the public sphere.

“To ensure that the process is equitable and the outcomes fair, we must invoke yet another principle that will mediate between equity and justice. This is the principle of equal access to the resources of the environment of individual person ... sub-communities” (Friedmann, 1973; 5) and groups. It can be assumed that this principle can be achieved through more equal access to the decision-making, for redistributing power.

Healey (1995; 256) argues that “The preparation and use of a plan involves not merely establishing meanings for the agendas and priorities in a plan, but a dialogue *between* systems of meaning.”

However, instrumental planning rejects communicative processes. The collaborative planning, which is communicatively reasoned, provides a democratic base for the planning process, and opens the way to plans decided in the public sphere. In the public sphere, the meaning of participation transforms from political representation to inter-subjectively communicative and collective decision making which may be defined as the new way of participation in planning. As a consequence, participation in decision making becomes an activity of daily life; the actor starts to participate in all activities occurring in the public sphere that he/she is involved.

This type of sphere may take place in every arena in which the actor is actively participates. Participation in decision-making processes opens the way to multiplicity at decisions. It permits differences at choices in politics and in implementation of planning. Therefore, planning in public sphere requires individuals acting in the public sphere within overlapping discourse communities. (Benhabib, 1996)

This transformation in public interest concept and democracy concept gives some references for creating planning as a democracy project. However, the

trends towards democratization, which have been stated in previous chapters, are in need of steering and strengthening.

The instrumental approach served as a tool in an elitist framework for many years reduced the participation in a technical application. The incrementalist approach, raised against the instrumental planning, has not been the solution for the search of the legitimate planning. Lindblom's incrementalism, the "muddling through", created an important, but incomplete critic against the instrumental approach. (Forester, 1981; Sager, 1994; Lindblom, 1959)

In communicative action for coordination and socialization, the integration itself is the purpose. In the disjointed incrementalism of Lindblom, the main purpose is to implement collective action on which there is sufficient agreement. Disjointed incrementalism is mainly meant to increase the likelihood for a satisfactory output, while rational integration is process-oriented. (Sager, 1994; 13)

Lindblom's (1959) "muddling through", or the disjointed incrementalism, has been the strongest criticism of this instrumentally reasoned planning approach. However, this attempt could not answer the question: Planning for what?

Disjointed incrementalism does not fully incorporate any (unbounded) type of rationality, which can compete with instrumental reason in guiding planning. "Lindblom stressed the restricted ability of being fully instrumentally rational in planning process." (Sager, 1994; 14) "Incrementalism, find it necessary to proceed in a stepwise trial-and-error manner to be able to correct failures and guide projects through all the partial decisions of a pluralistic democracy." (Sager, 1994; 16)

However, the pluralist democracy has important differences with the democratization concept that is discussed in this thesis. The pluralist democracy does not need a re-representation of the society and individual.



It can easily work in the utilitarian approach and with the atomistic individual of liberalism. In contrast, the new democracy demand, as stated before, requires a new representation of the society in which the individual is in relation with the society. Therefore, if it will still be named as pluralism, it will have no similarity with the previous one.

Within the new representation of society, for democracy, the question is not 'yes' or 'no', it is to what are we saying 'yes' or 'no'. It is; "to what are we participating, and is this the only solution, or is there others which are not even discussed?" (Sandel, 1993)

For democratic planning, new and "different conceptions or systems of meaning" (Healey, 1995; 256) within dialogue has to be find. (Friedmann, 1992)

## **5.2 Redefining the rationality of planning.**

According to the critics, against the instrumental and Lindblom's incrementalist approaches, there is need for a new rationality basis to restructure planning in political conception. (Forester, 1981; Sager, 1994)

The discussion in planning is within the "dual opposition between technocratic and technocorporatist forms and discursive process forms" (Healey, 1995; 257). It is argued that this duality arises from the epistemological and ontological difference between "conceptions of social organizations based on the consciousness of individual subjects pursuing instrumental rationality, and those based on conceptions of intersubjective consciousness pursuing" (Healey, 1995; 257) communicative rationality. (Friedmann, 1973)

Forester (1981) argues that making processes communicatively rational and dialogical is a worthwhile strategy construct the collaborative, and thus, communicatively reasoned planning.

Facilitating dialogue is the answer to this question. 'If political-economic inequalities threaten to make our political life only formally democratic, democratic 'on paper', but not actually so, what are planners and public administrators to do? How may they respond *practically*?' (Sager, 1994; 4)

Planning can never be a satisfactory form of public policy" in the instrumental view, "because its scope is too broad to be comprehended by any one kind of expert, because it wrongly assumes that 'ought' can be derived from 'is' and because it encourages technocracy and takes political issues out of the public arena. (Goodchild, 1990; 131)

Healey (1992; 1995) and Forester (1980; 1981) argue that planning is a political action. According to them, not considering planning practice within the political arena and leaving the politically conceptual questions "to the political philosophers" will "ask for problems" (Forester, 1981; 164), thus politics must be brought back to open.

At this point, Friedman (1972), Sager (1994) Forester (1980; 1981) and Tekeli (1997b) argue that the planning is in need of a new rationality and ethical legitimization.

Healey (1992) characterizes five main directions in planning, and Tekeli (1997) sees three important alternatives for planner. For Tekeli planner may try to return to the instrumental scientific planning rebuilding it, or create a utopian totalitarian model, or try to adapt the planning to the contemporary turbulent world in a synergetic way. For Healey (1992) the five directions discussed are:

A retreat to the bastions of scientific rationalism as expressed through neoclassical economics. Planning is formulated to provide a framework of rules to ensure collectively experienced impacts that are addressed through the price mechanisms.

An idealism based on fundamental moral or aesthetic principle. Planning purposes and practices would be directed to realizing this principle.

A relativism in which self-conscious individuals assert their own principles and 'mutually' adjust when they get in each other's way. Planning has little purpose in this route except as deconstructive technique, to reveal 'dominatory' systems in order to remove them.

Enlarged conceptions of democratic socialism beyond economic struggles over material conditions, to incorporate other loci of 'cleavage', such as gender and race, and allow more space for cultural issues (moral and aesthetic). This refocuses the purposes and practices of planning around a reformulated substantive agenda.

A communicative conception of rationality, to replace that of the self-conscious autonomous subject using principles of logic and scientifically formulated empirical knowledge to guide actions. his new conception of reasoning is arrived at by an inter-subjective effort at mutual understanding. This refocuses the practices of planning, to enable purposes to be communicatively discovered. (Healey, 1992; 147)

Communicative rationality and critical theory "gives us a new way of understanding action, or what a planner does" (Forester, 1980; 203), as influencing interest (communicative action), "rather than more narrowly as a means to a particular end" (Forester, 1980; 203) (instrumental action).

The differences of instrumentally reasoned and communicatively reasoned actions can be seen from their orientation and situation viewpoints at table-4 (Habermas, 1984; 285)

If these action types were carried to planning, it would be possible to point a new difference between instrumental planning and communicatively reasoned planning. In communicative actions, the agents (planners) "are coordinated not through egocentric calculations of success but through acts of reaching understanding." (Habermas, 1984; 285-286)

Table-4 Differences of the instrumentally reasoned and communicatively reasoned actions (Habermas, 1984; 285)

Action Situation	Action Orientation	Oriented to Success	Oriented to Reaching Understanding
Nonsocial		Instrumental action	---
Social		Strategic action	Communicative action

This characteristic of communicative actions gives leaders, the possibility to achieve consensus in planning within the shared-power situations. However, the collaborative planning should not be understood as only depending on communicative action: it is a combination of instrumental action and communicative action in order to realize certain objectives through reaching an interactive understanding.

Therefore, collaborative planning approach has to be an alliance of instrumental action (purpose-rational action) and communicative action (communicative interaction), which form the strategic action. However, it should not be forgotten that, although the collaborative planning approach is formed from this two actions (and rationalities), it is mainly constructed on communicative reasoning; and the instrumental reasoning works only as a secondary implementation tool.

### **5.3 Power and Decision-Making in Planning: Planner as a Leader**

If it is accepted that the public interest at planning refers to the rightful 'allocation and uses of power', the power relations in the 'network society' have to be analyzed to establish the legitimacy of planning.

The assumptions of the Neo-classical economics lie at the heart of rational choice models of decision-making. However, it has been argued that,

decision-making is more a game of power than a rational decision process. Therefore, power relations in the 'network society' can be defined best as *shared-power* situations.

Bryson and Crosby (1992; 92) defines shared-power following Giddens, Bryson and Einsweiler as; "*shared capability exercised in interaction between or among actors to further achievement of their separate and joint aims*". The "shared-power situations are 'mixed-motive' situations" (Bryson and Crosby, 1992) with no dominant authority. To join and to leave to these free the sphere's rules. This openness allows the protection of unshared objectives of the participation.

The changes in world that causes shared-power situations are defined by Bryson and Crosby (1992; 17-19) as:

Increasing complexity, uncertainty, turbulence, and risk,

The blurring and interpenetration of previously distinct realms,

Fragmentation, division, separation, and the concomitant need for integration,

Individual versus society and competition versus cooperation

Declining capacity to manage and to govern.

Bryson and Crosby (1992) identifies three basic kinds of social action for public participation, depending at Giddens' writings:

Communication,

Policy-making and implementation,

Adjudication.

These shared-power situations also provide a base for multiplicity in decisions, as the domination of certain groups and concepts are reduced. However, each of these three kinds of actions are shaped by three different dimensions of power, which still influence the power relations within the shared-power situations. (Lukes 1974)

The pluralist approach of power has been named as the first dimension of power that has first criticized the rational decision making of the neo-classical economy. The first dimension of power is assumed as unequal shifting powers relations among elite, and groups “under the ecospecies of a largely neutral set of institutional assignments.” (Miller, Hickson and Wilson, 1996; 297) However, attending solely to manifest conflict reveals only the most easily discernible ‘face’ of power.

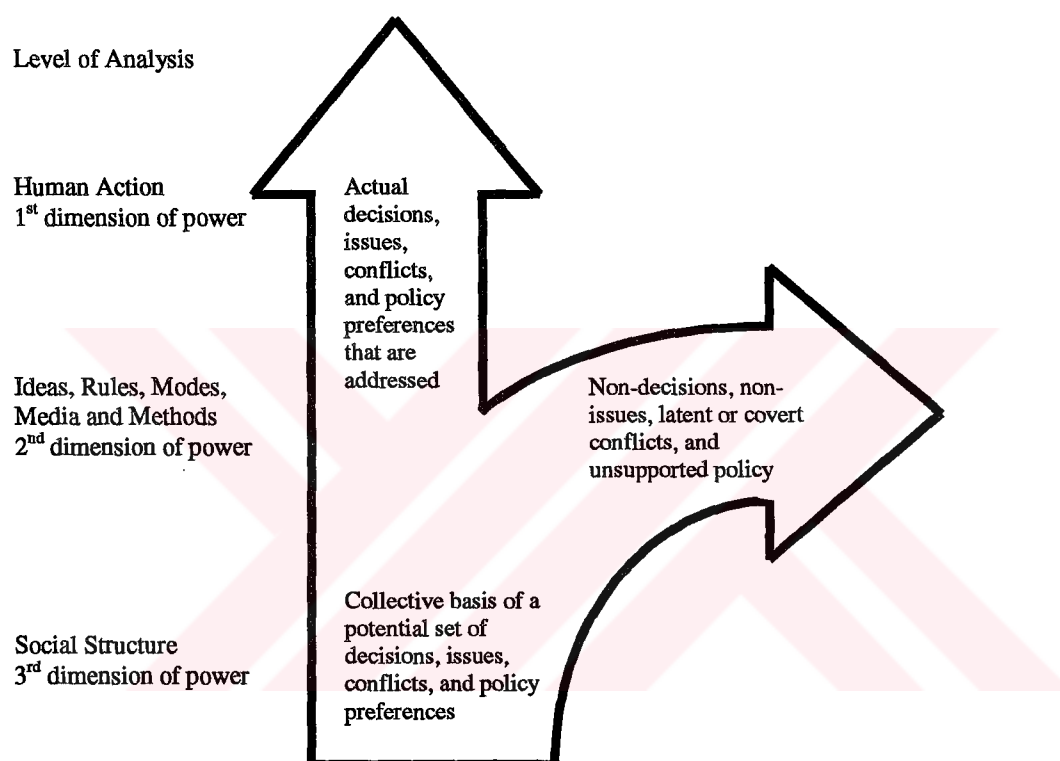


Figure-3 The Three dimensions of power (Bryson and Crosby, 1992)

Bachrach and Baratz (1962) have defined the second dimension of power as ‘non-decision-making’. Non-decisions are the covert issues about which a decision has effectively been taken that will not be decided. (Miller, Hickson and Wilson, 1996; 297) They are what is really going on, not just on the surface but underneath it.

Lukes (1974) have developed the third dimension of power. He argues that even the non-decisions are assumed to be in surface, and to be observable behavior, conflict still exists. According to Lukes (1974) "a more sinister, insidious and yet ultimately more effective way of exercising power would be to prevent any awareness of conflict in the first place." (Miller, Hickson and Wilson, 1996; 298)

If all interests are perceived to be shared, then conflict does not occur. This can be achieved through shaping views and beliefs in such a way that one's own interests are not recognized by others. (Giddens' 1984)

Giddens (1984) sees the unreflectivity concept in corporate actions largely taken for granted and left unquestioned. Thus, it would be possible to explain conflict as emerging from inherently inequitable power relationships in society.

These three dimensions of power can best observed in organizations assuming it as a community.

The three-dimensional view of power reveals how the biases embedded in rules, resources, and transformation relations can severely distort communication, policy-making and implementation, and adjudication, so that some matters of importance are considered, while others are not. (Bryson and Crosby, 1992; 84)

Within this three dimensions of power the organizational and inter-organizational structures, including social relations and outcomes, are produced and reproduced. Giddens (1984) named this process as 'structuration' of social systems. These social structures are both the means and outcomes of human action.

The third dimension of power, or the deep structure in policy-making and implementation, is shared by aspects and principles of 'domination'. These principles are embodied in, or rationalized by, unequal distribution of resources within institutional frameworks,-for example, social position,



authority, skills, intelligence, status, or money. Unequal resources generate unequal individual or group capacities to make and implement policies. (Bryson and Crosby, 1992; 102)

In previous instrumental planning practice, the planner was acting in the first dimension, of power as a elite technocrat, defined above. In addition, planning had been thrown out from the political arena. Planning was a tool for the implementation of decisions taken within the second and third dimension of power in the political arena.

However, as planning is brought back to the political arena; and politics is brought back to open; planning begins to influence the decision-making process in second and third dimension through communicative action.

Within this three-dimensional power conceptualization planner has to involve a public leader's skills and responsibilities as he/she is influencing not only the actions but also the rules, ideas, modes, and even the social structure. In other words, planning intervention to the second and rarely to the third dimension of power, likewise the first dimension.

However, this requires a reestablishment of the ethics of planning. The previous ethical base, which has been assumed to be constructed on scientism, can no longer serve planning within the contemporary conditions and the shared-power situations. Therefore, ethics of planning has to be reestablished on a new ethical philosophy that is based on the multiplicity of ethical values. (Tekeli, 1997)

This multiplicity in ethics will be realized through intersubjective communicative processes in the public sphere, and will become a political process similar with planning process.



Table-5 The Three Dimensions of Power (from Bryson and Crosby, 1992; 83)

Interaction	The First Dimension of Power	
	Focus on:	behavior (communication, policy-making and implementation, and sanctioning of conduct) key issues observable (overt) conflict (subjective) interests, seen as policy preferences revealed by political participation
Ideas, rules, modes, media, or methods (also: rules, resources, and transformation relations)	The Second Dimension of Power (Qualified critique of behavior focus)	
	Focus on:	policy decision-making and non-decision making issues and potential issues observable (overt or covert) interests seen as policy preferences or grievances ideas, rules, modes, media, or methods that influence transformation of a set of potential decisions, issues, conflicts, and policy preferences into those actually considered and those not considered.
Deep structure	The Third Dimension of Power (Critique of behavioral focus)	
	Focus on:	policy-making and control over political agendas (not necessarily through decisions) issues and potential issues observable (overt or covert) and latent conflict subjective and "real" interests collective basis for a set of potential decisions, issues, conflicts, and policy preferences that people might consider

If it is accepted that the planner influences the shared-power situations to reach a consensus and to realize the objectives of the society, planning becomes, as Healey (1995) stated;

an inherently ideological project. The stronger the attempt at consensus formation and at consistency and integration in the elements of a plan, the more the plan acts as a dominatory influence on the social relations in its sphere of influence and grater the role of the plan in guiding subsequent review. (Healey, 1995; 258)

Habermas (1987) argues that the informing ability of agent (planner), which has also been the agent of instrumental planning, has failed to achieve at steering the society. He, therefore, remarks two different agents that have not been used by the instrumental planning practice; influence and value commitment. (See table 6) Influential people and institutions”; in this thesis the planners and planning organization;

meet with a willingness in their audience to take advice. ...The utterances of the influential are not authorized by an official position, but they function as authoritative in virtue of a persuasive power that is manifested in the communicative achievement of consensus. (Habermas, 1987; 273)

Influence with the traditional informing methods, from their effectiveness through sanctions and influence actors is compared in table-7.

Table-7 Grounding of the Media inn Action Theory; Habermas, 1987; 278

Influence on actors' Sanctions	Intention	Situation
Positive	Persuasion (influence)	Inducement (money)
Negative	Admonition (value commitment)	Deterrence (power)

Table-6 Steering Media at the Level of the Societal Systems; Habermas, 1987; 274)

Components	Standard	Generalized value	Nominal claim	Rationality Criteria	Actors' attitude	Real value	Form of institutionalization
Medium	Situation						
Money	Exchange	Utility	Exchange value	Profitableness	Oriented to success	Use value	Property and contract
Power	Directives	Effectiveness	Binding decisions	Success (sovereignty)	Oriented to success	Realization of collective goals	Organization of official positions
Influence	Advice	Loyalty	Authoritative explanations (declaration, interpretations, judgements, etc.)	Consensus	Oriented to mutual understanding	Reasons for convictions	Prestige orderings
Value Commitment	Moral appeals	Integrity		Pattern consistency	Oriented to mutual understanding	Justifications for obligations	Moral leadership

Team based social organization provide a valuable tool for the application of communicatively reasoned collaborative planning. Teams enable individuals to give decisions collectively with no autocratic hegemony. These teams can also be defined as NGOs, social movement groups; briefly, the actors of planning, and planning organization itself.

The role of leaders in these teams is to enable “others to make their contributions while simultaneously making one’s own” (Bryson and Crosby, 1992; 36).

As actors of the decision-making process acts, within the cycle, they either reinforce or modify the structures that shape subsequent actions. (Bryson and Crosby, 1992; Giddens, 1984)

The policy change cycle can also be viewed as a set of interconnected ‘games’ played by reasonably structured and stable rules. The play, however, is often designed to change the rules. When the rules of the policy game change, meanings, actions, or consequences are also likely to change. (Bryson and Crosby, 1992; 60)

Thus, planning practice in a communicative basis participates to this game through its changing meanings. The decision-making process occurs in the “policy change cycle” (Bryson and Crosby, 1992; 57).

The structuration concept (Giddens, 1994) provides a basis for planners and leaders to organize interests to influence discussions within the public sphere. Planner may constitute forums in public sphere to organize the interest and influence the discussions in public sphere; strengthening, weakening, or altering the discussed topics. Thus, the challenge for planner/public leader “is to guide change in desirable directions.” (Bryson and Crosby, 1992; 14) However, planner’s capability to influence discussions within public sphere depends on the rule and resources he/she can use and mobilize.

“What one sees on the surface is not the only activity going on, and very well may not be the most important activity, since it is the underlying ideas, rules, modes, media, methods, and bedrock social structure which strongly influence what becomes observable action.” (Bryson and Crosby, 1992; 116)

Bryson and Crodby (1992; 12) argue that: “to make progress against major public problems in” public sphere, “public leaders can begin with political decision-making or with rational planning. ...[T]hey must create networks organizations and groups that engage in political decision-making aimed at” organizing interest.

Leaders need an appreciation of social, political, and economic history, but at the same time, they must avoid being captured by that history.” (Bryson and Crosby, 1992; 33)”Leaders naturally must focus on accomplishment of team goals or tasks, but they also must attempt to individual team members needs and consciously promote group cohesion. (Bryson and Crosby, 1992; 36)

Bryson and Crosby (1992; 36-50) defines the skills of leaders as:

- Communicating effectively,
- Balancing unity and diversity,
- Defining teams roles, goals, and norms,
- Establishing an atmosphere of trust,
- Fostering group creativity and sound decision-making,
- Obtaining necessary resources,
- Tailoring direction and support to team members,
- Rewarding achievement and overcoming adversity,
- Recognizing that leaders and followers influence and empower each other.

## 5.4 Evaluation

Restructuring planning on a communicatively reasoned basis provides a new ground to legitimize planning within the transforming world.

This basis may answer the demands for a more democratic world, in where power is shared between issue oriented groups. Hence, the meaning of participation in communicatively reasoned planning changes; it becomes a part of the decision-making process of planning.

This view of participation differs from the traditional one that includes the actors of planning only in the decision-making processes at the implementation stage. However, it has been seen that in communicatively reasoned planning, the actors come together at most stages of decision-making and gets into a mutual interaction. This participation approach allows the planner to influence the decision-making processes.

This, in other words, means that the planning becomes a political action, beside its technical characteristic. Therefore, the control of the implementation of planning process becomes an activity that has to be handled and discussed within the public sphere, in addition to technical control procedures of implementation processes. This shows the need for combining the instrumental and communicative actions in planning for the use of public interest: with no domination of scientism.

Furthermore, the communicative reason provides the needed flexibility to mention with the turbulent social environment of planning. This is achieved through adaptation to the continuously changing information and information resources, and through activating the innovative capacity of individuals and groups in public sphere.

This innovative capacity of participants; such as the NGOs, individuals and communities; creates a planning approach that is continuously improving itself at coping with problems and at realizing individuals' and groups' demands.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

This thesis is based on the assumption that the world, and thus, the socio-economic environment of planning, is experiencing an enormous transformation. Planning has been affected by this transformation in many dimensions. During this transformation, the utilitarian legitimacy of planning has lost its rational basis. Tools of planning, which are based on scientism and instrumental rationality, can no more cope with the problems of the implementation process of planning.

The characteristics that make planning and Total Quality Management approach capable with the turbulent environment and continuously changing information and information resources of the 'information age', can be assumed as originating from the intersubjective basis of communicative rationality.

Collaborative planning based on communicative rationality has important advantages when it is compared with instrumental planning. The communicative approach is open to participation processes so that the civil groups in society can get the chance to participate in planning within new shared power situations. Instead of determining certain structures, it opens the way for continuous improvement, allowing the participation of individuals and groups to realize their own and collective projects.

In addition, the communicative action may answer the demands of citizens for a new democracy practice different from the traditional participatory model. The contemporary political structure is still dominant; however, the

developments in organizations, especially in Total Quality Management approach, and in civil groups prove the trend towards a democracy in which power is more equally shared.

The transformation experienced is argued as affecting all known institutions that form the modern world. In a world in which the representation of society and individual is changed; the territorial boundaries lose their meanings, the organizational structure is also in a transformation. The reflections of this transformation in the organizational structure have been various.

However, Total Quality Management, examined in this study, shows significant advantages at coping with the new and turbulent environment. The leadership, process orientation, continuous improvement, teams, are the main characteristics of Total Quality Management that create a communicatively reasoned organization, which is structured as non-hierarchical. Thus, the analysis of it has provided information for the communicatively reasoned organization structure that can be adapted to planning.

If it is accepted that planning is an ideological practice that is open to politics for achieving the 'public interest'; intervention to the power relations for more equally shared situations will be legitimate. If planning is communicatively reasoned, this intervention can not be exercised through the authoritarian power.

Thus, the planner has to intervene in the allocation and uses of power through influencing decision-making processes in public sphere, where the decisions are open to discussion. For this, the planner has to act as a public leader, besides his/her planner position. It means that, the communicative reason provides planning an area in where planner can influence the power allocation, not only through plans, but also through communicative action.



The new approach, outlined in this thesis, provides a philosophical basis for locally constructed planning: it which may work in the public sphere influencing the decision-making processes, and tolerates the development of the approach for specific environmental, socio-economic structures and many more differences of the social structure

As discussed in previous chapters, the demand for democracy has increased within the last two decades. However, this is not a demand for a more democratic state and administration, but it is for retaking 'politics' from the nation state and representative system to the public sphere and decision-making processes of planning practice. This transforms the meaning of 'politics' from being an elitist activity towards an activity of people realized in the public sphere.

Within this view, Total Quality Management has an important advantage in restructuring the political decision-making processes (from now on political sphere) and planning. Although participation in organization that apply Total Quality Management is in previously planned production processes, it also involves the advantage of changing the organization model towards a democratic process in which all decision making processes are collectively realized in shared-power situations. The characteristics of it can be used to reorganize the organization so that the external customer and the internal customer (employee) are directly involved to the decision-making processes of production process; and institute the public sphere in organization and carry the organization into the public sphere.

Within this alternative political sphere, the domination of the state leaves its place to the interdependent control of the civil groups or individuals that are active. This sphere can also be named as a public sphere in which communicatively rational discussions can be realized.

Through this, Total Quality Management can help to integrate the organization with the public sphere and with the society. In addition if this is realized in local level, the organization becomes a part of the local public

sphere and the domination of the organization shifts is from the owner to the customers of the products of that organization.

This is totally different from public, labor or private owned organizations. However, to accept the customer of organization as the customer of the planning process, with its meaning in the utilitarian approach may destroy the democratization of the planning process, and thus, the public sphere.

If it is assumed that the atomistic individual is the consumer of public goods, services and of the outcomes of planning practice, it would be easier to understand the relation between Taylorist management and instrumental planning. These approaches are directly related with the utilitarian approach and liberal representation of society, which has been criticized at previous chapters. In this perspective, the individual has been seen as a consumer of public goods and municipality services for maximizing his/her utility.

However, within recent arguments, a new meaning of individual has emerged: the customer approach. Although this approach has very important advantages as it is compared with the consumer concept, it also has important disadvantages when it is used within the utilitarian approach with the atomistic individual concept. Such a usage may demolish all the advantages of the customer concept and leave only a mask that hides the inherent consumer within the customer. This relation can demolish the democratization attempts in decision-making processes if this view of customer concept is adapted to planning within the utilitarian approach.

Therefore, it would be enlightening to study the customer concept within the new representation of society, before it is adapted to planning. Thus, to use the 'new actor' concept can be more suitable for the new representation of society.

This 'new actor' is not only participating in planning, but he/she is also giving decisions. He/she is aware of his/her rights and responsibilities. However these responsibilities are no more limited by the citizen

conceptualization of the nation state. He/she gives reaction, takes position and gets into interaction with other 'new actors' and groups in the public sphere and alternative political sphere. Thus, planning that is reentering politics needs actors that are also politic.

If planning will be accepted as a political activity after defining the actor, to define politics becomes essential. First the scale of politics has to be redefined that permits the actor to be aware of what is going on participate in decision-making processes; and thus, in planning. Second, politics planning can no more be realized within the traditional institutions of the representative voting system.

If planning is going to be a political activity, the nation state and the municipality as the local government can not be the only institutions that the planning activities will be involved in. A direct participation to decision-making processes requires a more decentralized organization for administration and organization.

Therefore, the municipalities in local level and nation states in regional or global level can no more be the only organizations that are involved in decision making processes and planning activities.

However, within the contemporary conditions, to formulate this process as an additional activity to the existing decision making processes and political structure will be more realistic. The additional political sphere may organize the 'new actors'; the civil organizations, NGOs, and individuals, that will produce projects, services, and others that the municipalities or state are not responsible or are not capable at responding the demands.

Through this, groups involved into the additional political sphere will not only give decisions, but will also influence the public organizations. To form a committee in this sphere may work as a spokesman and negotiator between the 'new actors' and the municipality or other governmental organizations.

This committee may also organize the actors in locality, for providing financial aid for local project that will be realized by the civil initiative. Furthermore, it may supply the organization for controlling the governmental organizations and the planning activities of the municipalities.

It may also help groups and individuals to come together for issues such as to resist against projects that are implemented by the nation state, or multinational entrepreneurs, for a sustainable local development. If production is reformulated within this political sphere the aim of the local organizations may shift from increasing profit towards a collective development at the locality based on local solidarity.

However, although it is possible to talk about a collective action, within this alternative sphere the protection of differences is essential. Through this, the identity and the culture of the locality can survive.

However, to organize is not the only step that will democratize the decision making processes and planning, as democratic participation is only possible, if the individuals gain a democratic identity. Therefore, the hardest problems comes after establishing the organizational structure; to realize the shared power situations in local relations and to open the way for active individuals that want to realize their own and collective projects.

Planning within this new structure influences not only the administrative institutions, but also influences the political sphere which has emerged as an alternative to the current governmental organizations of the representative democracy. Planner within this sphere will: help the 'new actor' to get access to the information sources; work as a negotiator in groups and between groups and governmental institutions at planning issues; inform the groups and individuals of the alternative sphere about how to achieve a sustainable development in locality. These activities can be collected under the concept of 'influencing interest' in public sphere.

This structure may; open new perspectives for the individuals for his/her self-development; include differences and multiple identities in itself;

This political sphere can also be active in supra-local levels at regional and national decision-making processes and planning practice. However, this organization of 'new actors' as an alternative to the governmental institutions at local level can not be easily implemented to supra level. The local public sphere provides the communicative base for discussions and shared-power situations. Hence, to adapt this structure to supra-local level requires additional institutions for reproducing democratic decision-making processes and planning without any distortion, and requires the establishment of public sphere at supra-level.

Furthermore, this attempt requires also the definition of national, regional and supra-national planning and decision-making processes' to be analyzed to develop the needed institutions.

Thus, the following questions are still open to discussion:

How will major problems be solved within the shared-power relations in where there is no dominant group having the necessary power to implement a solution?

How will the government's planning activities be effected from these developments, and how will it be related with the groups' and individuals' in the alternative political sphere demands arising in shared-power situations?

How will the implementation tools of the communicatively reasoned planning differ between localities and at supra-levels?

How will the land-use plans, development plans, and similar tools of instrumental planning be transformed into the communicatively reasoned planning practice?

The structural philosophy has been outlined and the how the decision-making process will work within the public sphere in a communicative discourse. However, it should not be assumed that planning has to leave the spatial planning, or government will no more intervene to plans. The new structure of planning has to work with the traditional one; until the tools of instrumental planning has been replaced with new ones that do not create new problems and solve the existing ones.

Thus, the instrumental planning will continue its hegemony in planning practice for a long time, and especially in Turkey, where the political and social structures do not permit the shared-power relations to be exercised.

The first thing to do is to establish institutions that will work with the contemporary planning practice of governments.

As planning becomes a part of politics, influencing the decision-making processes, to reach consensus gains an important role within the planning process. Consensus, in Habermas' 'ideal speech situation', forms the 'rational consensus' of the communicative rationality. However, the 'ideal speech situation' of Habermas is rarely realizable, and communication is mostly distorted.

The consensus notion has the disadvantage and risk of misuse for legitimization of manipulation of individuals and differences for the good of reaching consensus.

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